Muslim Exegesis of the Bible in Medieval Cairo

History of Christian-Muslim Relations

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Muslim Exegesis of the Bible in Medieval Cairo

Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī's (d. 716/1316) Commentary on the Christian Scriptures

A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation with an Introduction

By

Lejla Demiri

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To the blessed memory of my late father
Zulbehar Demiri
(1943–2008)

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PREFACE

> It is wonderful to have an open mind; it is like opening up the windows of a room. It is good to have the windows of a room open, but only provided, of course, the room has walls. If you take a couple of windows into the middle of the desert, it does not matter whether you keep them open or closed since there are no walls.
>
> Anonymous[1]

Muslims and Christians living in the multi-religious milieu of the medieval Muslim world were encircled by their own 'walls' and 'windows'. Religious loyalty served as a separating and unifying factor, simultaneously revealing the differences they had and the similarities they shared. It was religion that distinguished them from one another, yet at the same time encouraged them to explore each other's faith and tradition. The scripture of each community of believers played a crucial role in this enterprise, providing essential material for self-identification and awareness as well as informing perceptions of the 'other'. It comes as no surprise to see the birth of theological interactions from the very beginning of the Muslim-Christian encounter. On both sides, theologians were eager to defend their faith, as well as to express their thoughts and critiques of what their counterparts held to be true.

The Qur'an speaks about the People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb*), Jews and Christians, their faith and practices. For a Muslim, therefore, exploring the belief and tradition of the 'other' is prompted not only by intellectual curiosity and academic interest, but also by the aspiration to read and understand what is written in the Book of God, the Qur'an. Encounters with other faith communities led Muslims to portray and present the teachings of their religion in a more comprehensible manner to their Jewish and Christian counterparts. This undertaking aimed to offer a theological explanation for their own beliefs and to respond to the questions and objections raised by adherents of other faith traditions. Both apologetic and polemical strategies

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[1] This passage is quoted by S.H. Nasr in his article "In Commemoration of Louis Massignon: Catholic, Scholar, Islamicist and Mystic", *Presence de Louis Massignon: Hommages et témoignages*, Paris, 1987, p. 54.

shaped Muslim interests in the study of other faiths, the resulting Muslim-Christian theological discussions[2] taking form in various literary genres: as letter-exchanges between the two parties, fictional narratives of debates between 'them and us,' and for the majority of the time as theological treatises.[3]

Najm al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316), a Ḥanbalī theologian originally from Iraq, is one among many learned Muslims who contributed to this tradition. His exegetical work, *al-Taʿlīq ʿalā al-Anājīl al-arbaʿa wa-al-taʿlīq ʿalā al-Tawrāh wa-ʿalā ghayrihā min kutub al-anbiyā'* (Critical Commentary on the Four Gospels, the Torah and other Books of the Prophets), however, stands out from the rest of this literature due to its original format, structure and literary style. The *Taʿlīq* contains Ṭūfī's critical comments and annotations on the Bible. From the New Testament, it covers the four Gospels, while from the Old Testament the focus is on Genesis, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Jonah, Habakkuk and Malachi. The present study makes Ṭūfī's Biblical commentary available for the first time, offering a critical edition of the original text, its translation into English and a detailed analysis of its contents. It further sheds light upon Ṭūfī's role in Muslim-Christian theological interactions and his contribution to the Muslim understanding of Christian theology in early 14th century Egypt. In the study of the text, a comparative perspective is adopted, combining history, theology and textual analysis.

The present work begins with a thorough introduction to Ṭūfī's life and work. Various aspects of his life, including his personal and intellectual contributions to the dialogue between the Muslims and Christians of his time, are among the topics covered in Chapter I. Chapter II provides an overview of the interreligious milieu in which Ṭūfī wrote his commentary, and subsequently discusses which Arabic version of the Gospels Ṭūfī made use of. After a lengthy introduction to Ṭūfī and his work, the critical edition of the *Taʿlīq* follows, accompanied by an annotated translation which is provided in parallel pages. Appendix I lists Ṭūfī's published and unpublished works as well as his lost writings, while Appendix II offers an inventory of the Biblical verses commented on in the *Taʿlīq*.

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[2] On the structure of disputations between Muslims and the *ahl al-kitāb*, see E. Wagner, "Munāẓara", *EI*^{2}, vol. VII, pp. 565–568; H. Daiber, "Masā'il wa-aḏjwiba", *EI*^{2}, vol. VI, pp. 636–639.

[3] S.H. Griffith, for instance, categorises the principal genres of Christian apologetics under four headings: (1) 'the monk in the emir's *majlis*'; (2) 'the master and the disciple' (questions and answers); (3) the epistolary exchange; and (4) the formally systematic treatise (S.H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*, Princeton-Oxford, 2008, pp. 75–92).

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJAS	*American Journal of Arabic Studies*
AO	*Acta Orientalia*
AS	*Arabian Studies*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BSAC	*Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BBRISMES	*Bulletin* (*British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*)
CMR	*Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, eds. D. Thomas et al., Leiden: Brill, 2009–.
CCR	*Coptic Church Review*
CE	*The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. A.S. Atiya, New York–Toronto: Macmillan, 1991, 8 vols.
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
DI	*Der Islam*
DİA	*Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–.
EI	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, Leiden: Brill, 1913–1938, 5 vols.
EI²	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, ed. P.J. Bearman et al., Leiden: Brill, 1960–2004, 12 vols.
EQ	*Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, ed. J.D. McAuliffe, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2001–2006, 5 vols.
GAL	Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1943–1949, 2 vols.
HI	*Hamdard Islamicus*
HR	*History of Religions*
ISBE	*The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1995, 4 vols.
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JNES	*Journal for Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*The Jewish Quarterly Review*
JQS	*Journal of Qur'anic Studies*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*The Journal of Theological Studies*
LM	*Le Muséon*
Al-Masāq	*Al-Masāq: Studia Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea*
ME	*Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue*

MIDEO	*Mélanges. Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*
MW	*The Muslim World*
OC	*Oriens Christianus*
Pd'O	*Parole de l'Orient*
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
SI	*Studia Islamica*
Suppl.	Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur. Supplement*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937–1942, 3 vols.

ARABIC TRANSLITERATION AND DATES

Arabic words, terms, names and titles of books are transliterated according to the method of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam Three* (*EI3*). Technical terms in Arabic are all italicised apart from common terms (e.g. Qur'an, madrasa). The *tā' marbūṭa* (ـة/ة) is rendered 'a' (e.g. *sūra*) when the word is not in the construct state (*iḍāfa*), but 'at' when in the construct form (e.g. *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*). The definite article 'al-' is left out in personal names when mentioned as single-word references (e.g. Ghazzālī), but is kept when accompanied by other names (e.g. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī). In general, Biblical names are spelt in their Anglicised forms. There are only a few cases where transliteration is preferred if they significantly differ from the English usage.

Double dates are used in reference to the Islamic (AH) and Common Era (CE) calendars (e.g. 716/1316), while single dates refer to the Common Era.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

ṬŪFĪ: LIFE AND WORK

The first part of this introduction focuses on various aspects of Ṭūfī's thought, offering an extensive biography of this significant Ḥanbalī scholar whose work on Christianity has not received the attention it deserves. An examination of Ṭūfī's contribution to Islamic learning will help us better understand his role in Muslim-Christian relations of the period. It will further facilitate an informed reading of his critical commentary on the Christian scriptures, the text of which constitutes the main body of the present study.

Biography

Abū al-Rabīʿ Najm al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Qawī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Saʿīd al-Ṭūfī al-Ṣarṣarī al-Baghdādī[1] was a Ḥanbalī jurist, theologian, scholar of legal theory, poet and man of letters. Like many other Ḥanbalī intellectuals, he was a prolific author, to such an extent that some biographers credit him with a library (*khizānat kutub*) of his writings in the town of Qūṣ.[2] He

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[1] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUlaymī mistakenly calls him *al-Ṭūkhī* in his *al-Uns al-jalīl bi-taʾrīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl*, Najaf, 1968, vol. II, p. 257. In his other two works, however, he is mentioned as *al-Ṭūfī* (*al-Manhaj al-aḥmad fī tarājim aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad*, ed. ʿA.-Q. al-Arnāʾūṭ, Beirut, 1997, vol. V, p. 5, and *al-Durr al-munaḍḍad fī dhikr aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad*, ed. ʿA.-R.b.S. al-ʿUthaymīn, Cairo, 1992, vol. II, p. 464). The use of *al-Ṭūkhī* may well have been a typographical error, since the text of the printed edition of *al-Uns* is full of errors. However, Ismāʿīl Bāshā al-Baghdādī also calls him *al-Ṭūfī* and *al-Ṭūkhī* in his *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, eds. K.R. Bilge and İ.M.K. İnal, Istanbul, 1951, vol. I, p. 400. Ḥajjī Khalīfa adds the titles *al-Qudsī* and *al-Maqdisī* in his *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn*, eds. Ş. Yaltkaya and K.R. Bilge, Istanbul, 1941–1943, p. 756 and p. 1738 respectively. Among other names and epithets attributed to Ṭūfī are *al-Qarāfī* (Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, ed. R. al-Sayyid, Wiesbaden, 1993, vol. XIX, p. 62), *Ibn al-Būqī* (Abū al-Barakāt al-ʾĀlūsī, *Jilāʾ al-ʿaynayn fī muḥākamat al-Aḥmadayn*, Bulaq, 1298, p. 23.) and *Ibn Abū ʿAbbās* (Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Hyderabad, 1930, vol. II, p. 154; ʿA.M. al-Marāghī, *al-Fatḥ al-mubīn fī ṭabaqāt al-uṣūliyyīn*, Egypt, n.d., vol. II, p. 124).

[2] See Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-dhayl ʿalā ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Fiqī, Cairo, 1952, vol. II, p. 367; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 155; ʿUlaymī, *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 6; *Uns*, vol. II, p. 258.

appears to be the author of more than 50 works in a number of disciplines, including legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*), dogmatic theology (*ʿaqāʾid*), Qurʾanic exegesis (*tafsīr*), poetry (*shiʿr*), and the science of dialectics (*jadal*).[3] Of all these works, only twelve seem to have been published so far.[4]

Ṭūfī was born in the decade following 670/1271[5] in a village called Ṭūfā,[6] a district of Ṣarṣar near Baghdad,[7] where his educational journey commenced with the study of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and Arabic grammar (*naḥw*).[8] His passion for knowledge led him first to Ṣarṣar and in 691/1292 to Baghdad, where he studied legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), logic, *ḥadīth*, and many other disciplines. Although his biographers do not mention the name of his school, he must have studied at the Mustanṣiriyya Madrasa, since most of

[3] The lists of Ṭūfī's works provided by his biographers vary slightly. Over 30 works are listed by Ibn Rajab (*Dhayl*, vol. II, pp. 367–368), ʿUlaymī (*Uns*, vol. II, pp. 257–258; *Manhaj*, vol. V, pp. 6–7 and *Durr*, vol. II, pp. 464–465) and Baghdādī (*Hadiyyat*, vol. I, pp. 400–401). Some 26 works are mentioned in various parts of the *Kashf*, while Ṣafadī mentions only seven of them (*Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr wa-aʿwān al-naṣr*, eds. ʿA. Abū Zayd et al., Beirut, 1998, vol. II, pp. 446–447).

[4] See *Bibliography: Ṭūfī's Works* at the end of the present volume.

[5] According to Ibn Rajab, he was born in 670/1271–1272 and some (*biḍʿ*, i.e. between 3–9) years (*Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 366). The same approximate date is suggested by ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-ʿImād (*Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, Cairo, vol. VI, p. 39) and by ʿUlaymī (*Uns*, vol. II, p. 257; *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 5; *Durr*, vol. II, p. 464). Other biographers, however, give various precise dates such as 670/1271–1272 (Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat*, vol. I, p. 400) and 657/1258–1259 (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 154; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām: Qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-al-nisāʾ min al-ʿarab wa-al-mustaʿribīn wa-al-mustashriqīn*, Cairo, 1954–1959, vol. III, p. 189; and ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn: tarājim muṣannifī al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, Damascus, 1957, vol. III, p. 266). This latter date, 657/1258–1259, does not seem to be accurate since some early sources such as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (*Dhuyūl al-ʿibar fī khabar man ghabar*, ed. A.H.M. Zaghlūl, Beirut, 1985, p. 44, and *Dhayl Taʾrīkh al-Islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-al-aʿlām*, ed. ʿU.ʿA.-S. Tadmurī, Beirut, 2004, p. 154) and ʿAbdallāh b. Asʿad al-Yāfiʿī (*Mirʾāt al-jinān wa-ʿibrat al-yaqẓān fī maʿrifat mā yuʿtabar min ḥawādith al-zamān*, Beirut, 1970, vol. IV, p. 255) note that he died as a middle-aged man (*kahlan*), i.e. some time between the ages of 30 and 50 (for the meaning of *kahlan*, see Ibn al-Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, Beirut, 1956, vol. XI, p. 600).

[6] While Ibn Ḥajar calls it *Ṭūf* (*Durar*, vol. II, p. 154), ʿUlaymī once calls it *Ṭūkhā* (*Uns*, vol. II, p. 257).

[7] There were two towns in the suburbs of Baghdad: Upper Ṣarṣar and Lower Ṣarṣar, both of which were located on the bank of the river ʿĪsā, also called the river of Ṣarṣar. For further information, see Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Kitāb muʿjam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Frankfurt, 1994 (reprint of the first edition, 1868), vol. III/1, p. 381.

[8] See Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 366; ʿUlaymī, *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 39.

his teachers in Baghdad served as professors there.[9] He also appears to have written one of his earliest works at this school.[10]

Subsequently, in 704/1304–1305, Ṭūfī travelled to Damascus where he met, amongst others, Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), and according to biographers, 'sat with him', that is to say, he attended Ibn Taymiyya's study circles.[11] This has been identified by some as a master-disciple relationship through which Ṭūfī 'took knowledge' from Ibn Taymiyya[12] and studied with him.[13] Likewise, Ibn Taymiyya is reported to have studied the Arabic language with Ṭūfī.[14] In his writings, Ṭūfī refers to Ibn Taymiyya with the title 'our Master' (*shaykhunā*)[15] and informs us about the book he read to Ibn Taymiyya.[16] Ṭūfī is also known for his poems praising Ibn Taymiyya and criticising his adversaries.[17] Perhaps the most accurate description of Ṭūfī's relationship with Ibn Taymiyya is Khayr al-Dīn Nuʿmān al-ʾĀlūsī's (d. 1317/1899)

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[9] Such as his *fiqh* teacher, a prominent Ḥanbalī jurist, Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh al-Zarīrātī al-Baghdādī (d. 729/1329); his *usūl* teacher, a Shāfiʿī jurist, Abū Bakr Naṣīr al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh al-Fārūthī (d. 706/1306); his *ḥadīth* teachers Abū al-Faḍl ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl Ibn al-Ṭabbāl (d. 708/1309), Abū Muḥammad Mufid al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarrānī al-Baghdādī (d. 700/1301) and Abū Bakr Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qalānisī al-Bājasrī al-Baghdādī (d. 704/1305); as well as Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī (d. 726/1326), an Iraqi grammarian and a scholar of the Qurʾanic sciences (see Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, pp. 366, 379; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 154; Fāsī, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 48; ʿUlaymī, *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 5; *Uns*, vol. II, p. 257; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, pp. 39, 74).

[10] Entitled *al-Ṣaʿqa al-ghaḍabiyya fī al-radd ʿalā munkirī al-ʿarabiyya* (ed. M.b.K. al-Fāḍil, Riyadh, 1997, p. 632).

[11] Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 366; ʿUlaymī, *Uns*, vol. II, p. 257; *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 5; and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 39. These sources only mention that Ṭūfī met with Ibn Taymiyya and attended his circles without providing any further details about the exact nature of their relationship.

[12] M. Abū Zahra, *Ibn Ḥanbal: ḥayātuhu wa-ʿaṣruhu, ārāʾuhu wa-fiqhuhu*, Cairo, 1981, pp. 324–326.

[13] H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Takī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya, canoniste hanbalite né à Harrān en 661/1262, mort à Damas en 728/1328*, Cairo, 1939, p. 488, fn. 1; W.P. Heinrichs, "al-Ṭūfī", *EI*^{2}, vol. X, p. 588; F. Koca, *İslam Hukuk Tarihinde Selefî Söylem: Hanbelî Mezhebi*, Ankara, 2002, p. 94.

[14] Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 388; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, pp. 80–81.

[15] See Ṭūfī, *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa*, ed. I.b.ʿA. Āl Ibrāhīm, Riyadh, 1989, vol. II, p. 216 and *ʿAlam al-jadhal fī ʿilm al-jadal*, ed. W.P. Heinrichs, Weisbaden, 1987, p. 222.

[16] Ṭūfī read to Ibn Taymiyya the latter's treatise on miracles, entitled *Qāʿida fī al-muʿjizāt wa-al-karāmāt* (see Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 335).

[17] In one of these poems, written in 707/1307, Ṭūfī encourages Ibn Taymiyya to be patient during his days of imprisonment. This *qaṣīda* is quoted by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Dimashqī's *al-ʿUqūd al-durriyya min manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya*, ed. A.M.Ṭ.b.F. al-Ḥulwānī, Cairo, 2002, p. 197. However, in a report attributed to Ṭūfī on the authority of Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn Taymiyya's personality and some of his views are criticised (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. I, pp. 153–155).

assertion that 'he was not from among the Shaykh's [i.e. Ibn Taymiyya's] distinguished disciples, but instead one amongst many people who met him and took knowledge from him.'[18]

In 705/1306, Ṭūfī left Damascus for Egypt and settled in Cairo,[19] the city that had become the major religio-political and cultural centre of the Muslim world after 656/1258, when Baghdad was destroyed by the Mongols. Ṭūfī must have followed the common route of many other knowledge seekers and scholars of his time who were attracted to this intellectual haven.[20] In Cairo, where the Ḥanbalī school was flourishing under the Mamluks,[21] he reached the pinnacle of his career, teaching as a *muʿīd* (repetitor)[22] at two schools, the Manṣūriyya and the Nāṣiriyya.[23] Both were administered by Saʿd

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[18] ʾĀlūsī, *Jilāʾ*, p. 23.

[19] The date coincides with the time (Ramaḍān 705/April 1306) in which Ibn Taymiyya moved to Cairo (see H. Laoust, "Ibn Taymiyya", *EI*^{2}, vol. III, p. 952).

[20] C.F. Petry's excellent study on the civilian elite (*ʿulamāʾ*, artisans and the bureaucratic class) of Cairo, offers abundant information on the origins of these scholars and their emigrations to Cairo in the Middle Ages. See C.F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1981.

[21] The establishment of the four chief judgeships was the major change that promoted this achievement. While in earlier periods there had been only one chair of *qāḍī al-quḍāt* represented by a Shāfiʿī *qāḍī*, in 663/1265 Sultan Baybars set up four independent chief judge positions in Cairo, one for each of the four *madhabs*. This was the first time that scholars of the four legal schools were given equal authority to serve as judges and teachers of law in madrasas, although the Shāfiʿī chief judge enjoyed some administrative privileges and had precedence over other chief judges in the sessions of the *dār al-ʿadl*, sitting to the right of the Sultan. See J.H. Escovitz, "The Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in the Mamlūk Empire", *JAOS*, 102/3 (1982), pp. 529–531; J.S. Nielsen, "Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars and the Appointment of Four Chief Qāḍīs (663/1265)", *SI*, 60 (1984), pp. 167–176.

[22] G. Makdisi defines the function of the *muʿīd* (repetitor) as repeating the law lesson of the *mudarris*, and explaining it 'so that it was understood by the students. He could himself be a graduate student, or an accomplished jurisconsult without his own chair of law.' Also, 'the muʿid in law was able to go from the mere drilling of the students in the lesson delivered by the professor of law to furnishing the students with his own notes, remarks and observations' (G. Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges. Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh, 1981, p. 193 and p. 214). According to C.F. Petry's description, 'a muʿīd's duties emphasized rote technique rather than explication. The office thus ranked below the mudarris in prestige and, presumably, remuneration. Yet the occupational ranges were quite similar for both, suggesting frequent promotion of muʿīds to professorships' (Petry, *The Civilian Elite*, pp. 247–248).

[23] As Petry writes, the Manṣūriyya madrasa was built by Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in 683–684/1284–1285, while the Nāṣiriyya was founded by Sultan al-ʿĀdil Katbughā and completed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 703/1303–1304. Both of these madrasas held professorships in jurisprudence of the four *madhāhib*. With its large library, impressive architecture, and its gate transferred from the Roman Cathedral in Akka, al-Nāṣiriyya was considered among the most significant madrasas of Cairo (Petry, *The Civilian Elite*, pp. 331–333).

al-Dīn Masʿūd al-Ḥārithī al-Baghdādī (d. 711/1312),[24] the Ḥanbalī chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) who appears amongst Ṭūfī's teachers of *ḥadīth* in Cairo.[25] After the incident leading to his imprisonment in Cairo in 711/1311, about which detailed information will follow, Ṭūfī was expelled to Damascus. Not being able to enter the city because of the satirical poems he had directed against its inhabitants, he settled first in Damietta (Dimyāṭ)[26] and then left for Qūṣ[27] in Upper Egypt, where he lived for some time. In 714/1315 he went on pilgrimage, spent the year in the Hijaz,[28] and died in Hebron (al-Khalīl) in Rajab 716/September–October 1316.[29]

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[24] For his biography, see Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, vol. V, pp. 416–417; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, eds. ʿA.M. Muʿawwaḍ et al., Beirut, 1994, vol. XXIV, p. 52; Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, pp. 362–364; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. IV, pp. 347–348; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, pp. 28–29.

[25] Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 367; ʿUlaymī, *Uns*, vol. II, p. 257; *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 5; Fāsī, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 48; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 39.

[26] Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 370. The poem is quoted by Ṣafadī in his *Aʿyān*, vol. II, p. 447 and Ibn Ḥajar in *Durar*, vol. II, p. 155.

[27] Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, vol. II, p. 446; Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, pp. 367, 369; see also Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 156; ʿUlaymī, *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 6; *Uns*, vol. II, p. 258; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 40.

[28] Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, vol. II, p. 446; Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 369; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 156; ʿUlaymī, *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 7; *Uns*, vol. II, p. 258; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 40. Cairo and Damascus were important centres for the pilgrim caravans to Mecca. Ṭūfī must have joined one of these. For detailed information on pilgrimage travels during the Mamlūk period, see A. ʿAnkawi, "The Pilgrimage to Mecca in Mamlūk Times", *AS*, 1 (1974), pp. 146–170.

[29] Dhahabī, *Dhuyūl al-ʿibar*, p. 44 and *Dhayl*, p. 154; Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 369; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. M.M. Ziyāda, Cairo, 1941, vol. II/1, p. 167; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, pp. 155, 156; ʿUlaymī, *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 7; *Durr*, vol. II, p. 465; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 40; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vol. III, p. 189. The same date is given by Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vol. XIX, p. 62; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt*, vol. IV, p. 255; Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat*, vol. I, p. 400; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam*, vol. III, p. 266; M. al-Zuḥaylī, *Marjaʿ al-ʿulūm al-islāmiyya: taʿrīfuhā, tārīkhuhā, aʾimmatuhā, ʿulamāʾuhā, maṣādiruhā, kutubuhā*, Damascus, n.d., p. 592; F. al-Jazzār, "Al-Ṣarṣarī", *Madākhil al-muʾallifīn wa-al-aʿlām al-ʿarab ḥattā ʿām 1215 h./1800 m.*, Riyadh, 1992, vol. II, pp. 845–846. According to another opinion, Ṭūfī died in Rajab 710/November–December 1310 (Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, vol. II, p. 446; ʿUlaymī, *Uns*, vol. II, p. 258 and Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, relevant pages). However, the latter must be incorrect, since Ṭūfī wrote his commentary on the Qurʾān *al-Ishārāt* in 716 (for the date, see the editor's introduction to *al-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya ilā al-mabāḥith al-uṣūliyya*, ed. A.-ʿĀ Ḥasan, Cairo, 2002, vol. I, p. 127, and also Ṭūfī's note found in the same work, vol. II, p. 256. In the present volume, all references to the *Ishārāt* are based on this edition). In his introduction to Ṭūfī's *ʿAlam*, Heinrichs mentions that according to one of the manuscripts, Ṭūfī is deemed to be still living in year 725/1325 (see *ʿAlam*, p. yāʾ-ḥāʾ). This note, however, could be a mistake on the part of the copyst, since the date has been verified by no other source.

Ṭūfī's Relationship with Shīʿī Tradition

Pre-modern historical sources do not offer us a clear picture of Ṭūfī's position within the Ḥanbalī school of the time. There are aspects of his life which, according to biographers such as Dhahabī (d. 748/1347), Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362), Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1393), Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), ʿUlaymī (d. 928/1522) and Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1089/1679), place him at odds with his fellow Ḥanbalīs. In these accounts Ṭūfī emerges as a controversial figure among his contemporaries. Besides the epithet of *Ḥanbalī*, Dhahabī also ascribes to him the label of *Shīʿī* and identifies him as a follower of the path of innovation (*bidʿa*),[30] while Ṣafadī calls him *Rāfiḍī*,[31] and Ibn Rajab describes him as 'a *Shīʿī*, who in matters of belief deviated from the Sunna.'[32] His biographers also point out that certain satirical poems written against the Prophet's eminent companions such as Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and the Prophet's wife ʿĀ'isha were attributed to him by his opponents.[33] As the result of an incident that occurred in 711/1311 between him and Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥārithī, the Ḥanbalī chief judge, Ṭūfī was punished and beaten, imprisoned for a time and banned from his duties in the schools of Cairo.[34] Ṭūfī, nevertheless, seems to deny and question the accusations levelled against him. Defending himself sarcastically, he reportedly said: 'A Ḥanbalī, Rāfiḍī, Ashʿarī? This is one of the gravest (misfortunes) ever'.[35]

According to biographical accounts, Ṭūfī later repented and returned to orthodoxy,[36] and after composing a controversial work while living in

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[30] Dhahabī, *Dhuyūl al-ʿibar*, p. 44.

[31] Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vol. XIX, p. 62.

[32] Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 368. The same is repeated by Ibn al-ʿImād in *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 39.

[33] Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, vol. II, p. 446; Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, pp. 369–370; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, pp. 154, 155, 156; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, pp. 39–40; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt fī ṭabaqāt al-lughawiyyīn wa-al-nuḥāt*, ed. M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1964, vol. I, p. 599.

[34] Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, vol. II, p. 446; Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 369; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 156; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 40. See also Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, vol. I, p. 599 and ʿUlaymī, *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 7.

[35] حنبلي رافضي أشعري هذه أحد العبر (Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 368). A slightly different version is أشعري حنبلي رافضي هذه إحدى العبر (Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 39). There are some other versions such as حنبلي رافضي ظاهري أشعري هذه إحدى الكبر (Dhahabī, *Dhayl*, p. 154; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vol. XIX, p. 63) and حنبلي رافضي ظاهري أشعري إنها إحدى الكبر (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 155). In this last version, he is apparently using the same pattern as that of the Qur'anic verse: ﴿إِنَّهَا لَإِحْدَى الْكُبَرِ﴾ (Q 74:35).

[36] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 155; see also Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vol. XIX, p. 63, which describes him as repenting not only from being a Rāfiḍite, but also from *hijā'* (satirising in verse).

Qūṣ, which he subsequently changed, nothing 'reprehensible' seems to have emerged from him.[37] However, Ibn Rajab does not accept his repentance as genuine. In his opinion, Ṭūfī's repentance was simply out of dissimulation (*taqiyya*) and hypocrisy (*nifāq*), since his companion in Medina during the last period of his life was a certain Rāfiḍī scholar called Sakkākīnī (d. 721/1321), who was a Muʿtazilī.[38] Other biographers, nevertheless, describe Sakkākīnī as a person who was not rigorous in his Shīʿī views and who, in fact, was accused of being a Shīʿī by the Sunnīs, and of being a Sunnī by the Shīʿīs.[39] Did he and Ṭūfī encounter a similar predicament? Information at hand is not adequate to determine the case. However, the mere fact of meeting and befriending such a person is insufficient for establishing Ṭūfī's commitment to Shīʿī tradition, as Ibn Rajab boldly claims.

As to the blasphemous poems ascribed to Ṭūfī, one of the verses cited by the biographers[40] is actually of Shīʿī origin and quoted by Ṭūfī only with an intention to refute the Shīʿī view on the Imamate and defend the Sunnī standpoint.[41] No other satirical poems seem to have derived from Ṭūfī, nor are they cited by any of his biographers with the exception of Dhahabī.[42] Yet, it is not far-fetched to conclude that the other verses might have been of a similar nature, that is to say, Ṭūfī's citations from Shīʿī sources, whether accompanied or not by his criticism. For it is not unusual of him to present

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[37] Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, vol. II, p. 446; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 157.

[38] Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 369 and p. 370. As D.P. Little writes, in the Mamluk period the Shīʿī presence was substantial in the government of Mecca and Medina. Although the Mamluks, who acted as custodians of the pilgrimage sites, were adherents of Sunnī Islam, they traditionally delegated rule to local tribesmen of noble descent, the Āl Qatāda, who were Shīʿī of the Zaydī branch. See D.P. Little, "Religion under the Mamluks", *MW*, 73 (1983), pp. 170–171.

[39] For the life and work of Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Qāsim al-Hamadhānī al-Dimashqī al-Sakkākīnī, see Dhahabī, *Dhuyūl al-ʿibar*, p. 60; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, pp. 55–56.

[40] The saying كم بين من شُكَّ في خلافته وبين من قيل إنّه الله (How great is the distance between he whose caliphate was doubted and he who was said to be God!) is attributed to Ṭūfī by authors such as Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vol. XIX, p. 63; Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 369; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 155; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 40.

[41] Ṭūfī quotes the verse within the context of an incident that purportedly occurred between a Shīʿī and a Sunnī. The verse is presented as a comparison between Abū Bakr and ʿAlī, to which the Sunnī replies with a similar verse comparing the two prophets Muḥammad and Jesus: كم بين من شُكَّ في رسالته وبين من قيل إنّه الله (How great is the distance between he whose prophecy was doubted and he who was said to be God!) and thus winning the argument against the Shīʿī (see Ṭūfī, *ʿAlam*, p. 222).

[42] The only exception is the poem attributed to Ṭūfī by Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Shabīb (d. 724/1324) in Dhahabī's *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh: al-muʿjam al-kabīr*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Hayla, Taif, 1988, vol. I, pp. 80–81.

the opponent's point of view in an impartial manner, a method which he frequently follows in his commentary on the Qur'an, to be discussed below.

Another proof furnished by the biographers in support of Ṭūfī's Shīʿī leanings is a work attributed to him: *al-ʿAdhāb al-wāṣib ʿalā arwāḥ al-nawāṣib*[43] (Perpetual Punishment for the Souls of the Nawāṣib).[44] According to Ziriklī, this treatise was the actual reason for Ṭūfī's persecution.[45] Is this the aforementioned controversial work that Ṭūfī subsequently had to change? Unfortunately, we are not able to answer this question, as the work is not extant today.

One of the arguments brought forth by Ibn Rajab against Ṭūfī is the claim that his concealed Shīʿī tendencies are revealed in his commentary on Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) *Arbaʿīn* (Forty Ḥadīths). In this work, Ṭūfī maintains that the conflicts among Muslim scholars over religious matters resulted from the contradictory variants of prophetic reports. He further refers to the opinion which holds ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second Caliph, responsible for this, by preventing the companions from recording and collecting the corpus of *ḥadīth*, despite the Prophet having encouraged them to be written down.[46] Commenting on this passage, Ibn Rajab concludes that Ṭūfī had a hidden agenda.[47] With this conclusion, however, Ibn Rajab seems to have ignored the fact that the opinion quoted by Ṭūfī may not necessarily reflect his own position and has disregarded the vast number of instances in Ṭūfī's other writings where he explicitly shows reverence to all the companions of the Prophet alike. The explanation offered by Wolfhart P. Heinrichs is also worth mentioning here, in which he observes that Ṭūfī 'was troubled by the rifts in the Muslim community and tried to find out where things had gone wrong. This rethinking of history may easily have been felt by others as a weakening of the Sunnī position.'[48]

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[43] Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 368; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 156; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 39; Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat*, vol. I, p. 401.

[44] *Nawāṣib* is a plural of *nāṣib* which originates from the root *n-ṣ-b* meaning both 'to appoint someone to an office' and 'to act with hostility and enmity towards someone' (see E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, n-ṣ-b). The term has been used pejoratively by some Shīʿīs to refer to the *ahl al-sunna*, meaning those who hold the view that the *imām* is determined by the community's election and appointment, and those who acted with hostility towards ʿAlī and the *ahl al-bayt*.

[45] Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vol. III, p. 189.

[46] See Ṭūfī's text in "Risālat al-Ṭūfī fī riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa" published by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Khallāf in his *Maṣādir al-tashrīʿ al-islāmī fī mā lā naṣṣa fīh*, Kuwait, 1982, p. 133.

[47] Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 368.

[48] W.P. Heinrichs, "Naǧm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī on the Incorrect Reading of the *Fātiḥa* and Other Thought Experiments", *MUSJ*, 58 (2005), p. 147.

Following on from the pre-modern sources, some modern authors have seen Ṭūfī as a crypto-Shīʿī who presented himself as a Ḥanbalī. They argue that although he wrote his works as a Ḥanbalī *faqīh*, he spread Shīʿī ideas throughout his writings.[49] According to this point of view, there is a direct link between Ṭūfī's theory of *maṣlaḥa* (public interest), which will be discussed later, and his adherence to Shīʿī tradition. In Muḥammad Abū Zahra's view, for instance, Ṭūfī's understanding of *maṣlaḥa* is a result of his Shīʿī leanings.[50] Devin J. Stewart also describes Ṭūfī as a Shīʿī who 'was involved with the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*' and followed 'the Shiite tradition of legal study in Sunni environments'. According to him, 'that al-Ṭūfī took refuge in Upper Egypt, which harbored a significant Shiite minority at the time, also suggests his Shiite allegiances.'[51]

As demonstrated by the various points raised above, the question of Ṭūfī's Shīʿī identity is not as clear as some classical or contemporary biographers have suggested. A degree of uncertainty was felt even among his early biographers such as ʿUlaymī, who hesitates to give any clear-cut answer about Ṭūfī's status. After mentioning the accusations made against Ṭūfī, he concludes that only 'God knows best their truthfulness.'[52] Furthermore, the fact that Ṭūfī was not listed among the Shīʿī scholars in any pre-modern Shīʿī biographical sources is of great significance. The earliest Shīʿī author mentioning Ṭūfī in his work appears to be Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khʷānsārī (d. 1313/1895), who also questions his adherence to Shīʿī thought, since, as he says, none of the Shīʿī biographical sources have listed him among the scholars of this tradition. He further expresses his doubts about having a Ḥanbalī described as a Shīʿī, for, as he points out, the Ḥanbalī school has been the furthest Sunnī school from Shīʿī tradition. It is also worth noting that both Khʷānsārī's work[53] and the twentieth-century Shīʿī biographical source *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*[54] draw their data on Ṭūfī's life from Sunnī sources, such as Suyūṭī in the former work and Ibn Ḥajar in the latter.

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[49] Abū Zahra, *Ibn Ḥanbal*, pp. 325–326.

[50] Ibid., pp. 324–325. For a similar approach, see M.Z. al-Kawtharī, *Maqālāt al-Kawtharī*, Homs, 1968, pp. 119–121, 333.

[51] D.J. Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: Twelver Shiite Responses to the Sunni Legal System*, Salt Lake City, 1998, pp. 70–72. On Shīʿī sentiments in Upper Egypt, see J.P. Berkey, "Culture and society during the late Middle Ages", *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Volume I: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. C.F. Petry, Cambridge, 1998, p. 383; L.S. Northrup, "The Baḥrī Mamlūk sultanate, 1250–1390", *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Volume I*, pp. 265.

[52] ʿUlaymī, *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 7.

[53] M.B. al-Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa-al-sādāt*, ed. A.A. Ismāʿīliyyān, Qom, 1391, vol. IV, pp. 89–90.

[54] S.M. al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, ed. Ḥ. al-Amīn, Beirut, 1983, vol. VII, pp. 301–302.

According to the information provided by the biographical accounts, the conflict between Ṭūfī and his teacher and patron, the Ḥanbalī chief judge Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥārithī, is related to an incident at one of Ṭūfī's lectures. Ostensibly, the chief judge, who was also originally from Baghdad, used to think highly of Ṭūfī and honoured him by attending his lectures and appointing him to teach at several Ḥanbalī schools. After winning Ḥārithī's favour, as the historian Ṣafadī relates, Ṭūfī eventually became unreserved in his manner towards his master, and during one of his lectures addressed him with coarse and impolite words. This bold attitude caused the son of the chief judge,[55] Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥārithī (d. 732/1332),[56] to challenge Ṭūfī. Subsequently, the case was committed to one of the deputies,[57] Badr al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥibbāl, who was made an arbiter therein. It was at this point that testimonies against Ṭūfī appeared, accusations of his having Shīʿī leanings arose, and satirical poems about the companions of the Prophet (*shaykhayn*, i.e. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar), allegedly written by Ṭūfī, came into public view.[58] In its totality this earliest version of the story clearly presents an alternative perspective on Ṭūfī's persecution, as it explicitly shows the involvement of other factors, rather than purely theological convictions. This story in itself reveals the complexities of medieval Egyptian society, in which, as Jonathan P. Berkey asserts, 'behind the competing social and religious identities one can perceive intense personal quarrels and professional rivalry, but also (and more importantly) a political dimension.'[59] In Ṭūfī's case, although we do not have sufficient data for verifying the latter, the aforementioned account clearly bears the mark of 'personal quarrels and professional rivalry.' We also know that the son of the chief judge, who was a professor at the Manṣūriyya, the school where Ṭūfī taught, acted as deputy to his father, served as a judge

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[55] As I.M. Lapidus observes, *qāḍīs* in this period carried out important judicial and administrative duties as a result of which they gathered groups of subordinates and dependents around themselves. The chief *qāḍīs*, as authoritative religious notables, offered great political support to the regime and were responsible for appointing school staff and for the maintenance of discipline and religious standards (I.M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 111–112, 134–138). This fact may illuminate the nature of the subordinate relationship between Ṭūfī and his master.

[56] For his biography, see Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, vol. III, pp. 45–46; *Wāfī*, vol. XVIII, p. 270; Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, pp. 420–421; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 347.

[57] *Nāʾib* (pl. *nuwwāb*) was 'a judge-substitute or delegate of the qāḍī in the administration of law' (H.A.R. Gibb, "Nāʾib", *EI*^{2}, vol. VII, p. 915).

[58] Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, vol. II, p. 446; the same piece of information is quoted by Ibn Ḥajar in *Durar*, vol. II, pp. 154, 157.

[59] Berkey, "Culture and society during the late Middle Ages", p. 378.

and later on became the head of the Ḥanbalīs in Egypt. It cannot be far from the truth to conclude that his stand against Ṭūfī may have been determined by feelings of jealousy and intentions of gaining supremacy. As a prominent legal scholar who was eager to climb the ladder of success in jurisprudence, Ṭūfī might have posed an obstacle to his ambitions.

In order to determine his relationship to Sunnī or Shīʿī Islam, a thorough study of Ṭūfī's writings and especially an examination of his theological commentary on the Qur'an, *al-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya*, his final work, would be required. In particular, looking at his understanding of the Imamate may give us some useful information on the question. Many contemporary authors who have studied his work have underlined the fact that Ṭūfī's writings do not contain anything that may imply his adherence to Shīʿī tradition.[60] On the contrary, they include many passages in which he shows disapproval of even the slightest deviation from Sunnī etiquette towards the *ṣaḥāba*,[61] explicitly censures the Shīʿī understanding of *imāma*,[62] and directs numerous other criticisms at Shīʿī thought.[63] Although Ṭūfī, following the Sunnī tradition, uses the title of *amīr al-muʾminīn* for ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and praises him with the words *raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu*,[64] in two places this is replaced with *ʿalayhi al-salām*, the Shīʿī manner of praising the imams. The first passage appears in a quotation from Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025) and the phrase is already present in the original text;[65] while the second passage is a direct citation of ʿAlī's words[66] without mention of its source. The latter may also be an example of Ṭūfī's faithfulness to the original text, or the phrase may have been added later by the copyist.[67] In either case, as mentioned earlier, Ṭūfī's general attitude towards ʿAlī and other companions of the Prophet does not depart from the Sunnī tradition. For

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[60] See M. Zayd, *al-Maṣlaḥa fī al-tashrīʿ al-islāmī wa-Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī*, Cairo, 1964, pp. 78–88; Heinrichs, "al-Ṭūfī", p. 588; Heinrichs, "Naǧm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī on the Incorrect Reading of the *Fātiḥa*", p. 147.

[61] See Ṭūfī, *Darʾ al-qawl al-qabīḥ bi-al-taḥsīn wa-al-taqbīḥ*, ed. A.M. Shihadeh, Riyadh, 2005, p. 55 and p. 190.

[62] Ṭūfī, *Darʾ*, p. 105.

[63] See the editors' introductions to *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa*, vol. I, pp. 91–96; and to *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī kashf shubah al-naṣrāniyya*, ed. S.b.M. al-Qarnī, Riyadh, 1999, vol. I, pp. 89–103; and *Ṣaʿqa*, pp. 119–134.

[64] See Ṭūfī, *Darʾ*, pp. 70, 77, 163, 190, 191.

[65] Ibid., p. 190; see also ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. F. Sayyid, Tunis, 1974, p. 214.

[66] Ṭūfī, *Darʾ*, p. 345.

[67] The same applies to the use of this title in his *Ṣaʿqa*, pp. 257, 451.

him, the people who should be followed are: the Prophet, his rightly guided successors (*al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn*), and his other companions,[68] for 'the successors (*al-khulafā'*) followed the Sunna' of the Prophet.[69]

Very often in his commentary on the Qur'an, Ṭūfī impartially presents Shīʿī views and interpretations of certain Qur'anic verses accompanied by those of Sunnī exegesis. In these instances he does not include any criticism nor does he offer any comments.[70] This appears to be the common pattern throughout his commentary. In general, he presents the different and often opposing views of various schools of thought with no expression of his own position whatsoever. Yet there are a number of occasions where he explicitly criticises the Shīʿī method of reasoning[71] and regards their views to be theologically unfounded.[72] He declares, for example, the Shīʿī analogy of the twelve *imāms* to the twelve Israelite leaders (*nuqabā'*) mentioned in the Qur'an (Q 5:12) as inappropriate. For him, in fact, the twelve Israelite leaders resemble the representatives of the Medinan Muslims (*Anṣār*, Helpers) at the pact with the Prophet in 'Aqaba.[73] He also refutes the Shīʿī argument for 'Alī's Imamate, founded on the verse: 'Your true allies (*waliyyukum*) are only God, His Messenger and those who believe' (Q 5:55). According to Ṭūfī, the Shīʿī interpretation is based on far-fetched reasoning and is incompatible with the context of the verse, since the preceding and subsequent verses are about friendship and guardianship, and not leadership. At the end of his account Ṭūfī concludes that the Shīʿī use of the verse is nothing but 'a type of specious argument (*ḍarb min al-shubha*).'[74] The term *shubha* used here specifically indicates the opponent's 'erroneous argument', and as such clearly reveals Ṭūfī's understanding of the Imamate.

On a number of occasions, mention of the Shīʿīs is accompanied by denigratory remarks such as 'may God eliminate them' (*abʿadahum Allāh*),[75] 'may God curse them' (*laʿanahum Allāh*),[76] 'may God dishonour them' (*akhzāhum*

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[68] Ṭūfī, *Dar'*, p. 346.

[69] Ibid., p. 191.

[70] Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. I, pp. 386–392, 405–407; vol. II, pp. 15–20, 30–31, 233–234, 275–278, 284, 406–407; vol. III, pp. 100–105, 228, 318–320.

[71] In a number of places he finds the Sunnī interpretations of particular verses sounder and better than the Shīʿī ones (see ibid., vol. II, pp. 313–314; vol. III, pp. 59–61, 190).

[72] For example, he finds their analogy between Moses' relationship with Aaron and Muḥammad's relationship with 'Alī to be incorrect (see ibid., vol. III, pp. 14–15).

[73] Ibid., vol. II, p. 105.

[74] Ibid., vol. II, pp. 119–124. He calls the Shīʿī argument *shubha* in his *Intiṣārāt* as well (vol. II, pp. 739–740).

[75] Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 284; vol. III, p. 60.

[76] Ibid., vol. III, pp. 82, 95, 190, 258, 335, 353, 354, 365, 411.

Allāh),[77] and 'may God keep them away from His mercy' (*abʿadahum Allāh min raḥmatih*).[78] However these phrases are present in some manuscripts of the text, while lacking in some others, implying their insertion by the copyists, rather than originating from the author himself.[79]

Analysing Ṭūfī's treatment of Shīʿī theology, one may observe that his writings reveal an absence of Shīʿī sympathies. On the contrary, there emerges an apparent criticism and sometimes even severe reproach in his remarks, which challenges the claim of Ṭūfī's allegiance to Shīʿī tradition. As observed above, a thorough analysis of biographical accounts narrating the aforementioned incident between Ṭūfī and the chief judge shows the involvement of other factors, such as professional rivalry and personal disagreements, rather than theological convictions. Furthermore, the impartial language which Ṭūfī often employs when discussing various, in his view, deviant opinions, as well as his openness to self-criticism, may serve as significant elements for consideration in the context of this allegation.

Ṭūfī's Approach to Taṣawwuf*,* Kalām *and Philosophy*

Ṭūfī's attitude towards Sufism is another aspect of his biography that requires consideration. He was known for his austerity and renunciation of wordly concerns. One of his biographers portrayed him as wearing 'a garment of ascetics',[80] and another source described him as a person who 'was moderate in his clothes and actions' and who 'showed little heed to the

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[77] Ibid., vol. III, p. 128.

[78] Ibid., vol. III, p. 372.

[79] The editor of the *Ishārāt* mentions four extant manuscripts (see the editor's introduction to the *Ishārāt*, vol. I, pp. 163–164), although his edition seems to be primarily based on only two of them: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, tafsīr 687 (identified as '*mīm*'), copied in 757/1356, and the second manuscript of Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, microfilm no. 20561 (identified as '*lām*'), copied in 875/1470–1471. It is this latter manuscript which does not contain these reproaching phrases. I have also checked two other manuscripts of the *Ishārāt* preserved at Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, Murad Buhari 150 (copied in 1088/1677) and Hekimoğlu 9 (undated). While the former contains these derogatory phrases, the latter does not.

[80] This is quoted by Ibn Rajab (*Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 369) from Ibn Maktūm's (Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAqīl b. Maktūm al-Qaysī al-Ḥanafī, d. 749/1348) *al-Jamʿ al-mutanāt fī akhbār al-lughawiyyīn wa-al-nuḥāt* (for details of this work, see C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, Leiden, 1949, vol. II, pp. 134–135 and *Supplement*, Leiden, 1938, vol. II, p. 137). The same quotation from Ibn Maktūm's work is given by Ibn Ḥajar in his *Durar*, vol. II, p. 156. See also Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī al-Makkī, *Taʾrīkh 'ulamā' Baghdād al-musammā Muntakhab al-Mukhtār* [*sic*. of Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Salāmī], ed. ʿA. al-ʿAzzāwī, Beirut, 2000, p. 48.

world.'[81] Additionally, in one of his works Ṭūfī uses the phrase 'some jurisprudents from among our companions, the *Jīlānīs* (*baʿḍ fuqahāʾ aṣḥābinā al-Jīlāniyyīn*)',[82] which led Wolfhart P. Heinrichs 'to identify him as a Qādirī',[83] although as Ayman Shihadeh points out, 'the Jaylānīs referred to here are not the followers of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī, but the Ḥanbalīs of Gaylan, among whom certain juristic views were current.'[84] Among Ṭūfī's teachers there appear to be two Ḥanbalī scholars who were associated with Sufism and asceticism, one of whom was also known to be a member of the Suhrawardiyya order.[85] Facts such as these indicate, in one way or another, Ṭūfī's connections with Sufi tradition, although we cannot clearly determine his membership of any particular *ṭarīqa*.

One is reminded that the Ḥanbalī school, identified by Henri Laoust as 'a movement of profound diversity',[86] while generally perceived to be hostile to speculative theology (*kalām*) and to esoteric Sufism, did not develop in complete isolation. In fact, a great number of Ḥanbalī scholars were amongst the *mutakallimūn* and Sufis.[87] The founder of the school, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), and many other Ḥanbalīs chose asceticism and the renunciation of worldly pleasures as a way of life. Ibn Rajab, himself a Ḥanbalī, identifies in his biographical dictionary about ninety-five Ḥanbalīs as *zāhid* and *ṣūfī*, which amounts to almost one fifth of the total 552 biographical entries.[88] Some of the eminent Sufis, such as ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 481/1089), Ibn ʿAqīl (d. 513/1119), ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166), the founder of the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*, and his student Ibn Qudāma (d. 620/1223), were also prominent Ḥanbalīs. Even Ibn Taymiyya

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[81] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 154. Similarly, Dhahabī describes him as being 'pious, calm, modest and ascetic' (Dhahabī, *Dhayl*, 154).

[82] Ṭūfī, *ʿAlam*, p. 53.

[83] Heinrichs, "al-Ṭūfī", p. 589.

[84] A. Shihadeh, "Three Apologetic Stances in Al-Ṭūfī: Theological Cognitivism, Noncognitivism, and a Proof of Prophecy from Scriptural Contradiction", *JQS*, 8/2 (2006), p. 19, fn. 2.

[85] Abū ʿAbdallāh Rashīd al-Dīn Ibn Abī al-Qāsim al-Baghdādī (d. 707/1307) a Ḥanbalī jurist, Qurʾan reciter (*muqriʾ*), and *ḥadīth* scholar, is reported to be a Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order. Ṭūfī studied *ḥadīth* with him (see Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 366; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, pp. 154, 157; Fāsī, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 48). His other teacher, who was described as an ascetic, is Abū al-Fidāʾ Majd al-Dīn al-Ḥarrānī al-Dimashqī (d. 729/1329), a Ḥanbalī jurist, who was praised by Ṭūfī for his piety and righteousness and was described as a knowledgeable scholar in jurisprudence, *ḥadīth*, legal methodology, the science of inheritance (*farāʾiḍ*) and algebra (see Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 367; ʿUlaymī, *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 5).

[86] H. Laoust, "Ḥanābila", *EI*^{2}, vol. III, p. 160.

[87] Ibid., p. 158.

[88] Koca, *İslam Hukuk Tarihinde Selefî Söylem*, p. 207. See Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. I, pp. 45, 50, 68, 86, 93, 104, 106; vol. II, pp. 5, 40, 44, 52, 62, 77, 277, 280, 284.

himself, the fierce opponent of a number of Sufi practices, as indicated by recent scholarship, turns out to be a member of a Sufi order.[89] The studies of Henri Laoust, George Makdisi, and several others have shown that Sufism had a clear impact upon Ḥanbalism and that many members of the Ḥanbalī school incorporated Sufi ideas into their works. This has challenged the notion of Ḥanbalism hitherto present in Western scholarship, which had often presented this school as being in opposition to Sufism.[90]

Late medieval Egyptian society, in Jonathan P. Berkey's words, was marked by the rapprochement between 'Ṣūfism and the juristic culture of the higher '*ulamā*''. This is demonstrated by 'the inclusion of a jurisprudence-based curriculum in the program of Ṣūfī convents, and a corresponding introduction of formal Ṣūfī practice into the institutional life of the *madrasas*.'[91] It was in this academic setting that Ṭūfī actively participated during his teaching post in Cairo. Holding multiple identities, as a Sufi-oriented scholar of legal theory, man of letters and theologian, Ṭūfī represents the academic and religious profile of medieval Cairene society, which was also influenced by Sufism on a popular level through sermons and public celebrations of various sorts.[92]

In his commentary on the Qur'an, *al-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya*, Ṭūfī gives space to the different interpretations of various schools of thought and disciplines of study, including examples from Sufi exegesis, although Sufi references do not appear as frequently as the Muʿtazilī and Shīʿī commentaries or *fiqh* readings. Sometimes he introduces the Sufi interpretation of a particular

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[89] G. Makdisi in his "Ibn Taimīya: A Ṣūfi of the Qādiriya Order", *AJAS*, 1 (1973), pp. 118–129 describes Ibn Taymiyya as 'no less a Ṣūfī than Ghazzālī. He happens, by the way, to have the formal credentials of Ṣufism not yet found for Ghazzālī' (p. 119). Makdisi establishes Ibn Taymiyya's affiliation to the Qādiriyya order on the basis of *silsilas*, i.e. chains of Sufi initiations (p. 124). Examining Ibn Taymiyya's commentary on a well-known Sufi work of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, *Futūḥ al-Ghayb*, Makdisi concludes that 'Ibn Taimīya's Ṣūfism is a moderate Ṣūfism which opposed anti-nomianism' (p. 128). Although the authenticity of these *silsilas* has been questioned, Ibn Taymiyya's commentary on Jīlānī's work contains many proofs for Ibn Taymiyya's openness to Sufi teachings and terminology. See T.F. Michel, "Ibn Taymiyya's *Sharḥ* on the *Futūḥ al-Ghayb* of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī", *HI*, 4/2 (1981), pp. 3–12.

[90] Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Takī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya* and his article "Ibn Taymiyya", pp. 951–955; G. Makdisi, "The Hanbali School and Sufism", *Humaniora Islamica*, The Hague, 1974, vol. II, pp. 61–72. See also J. Voll, "The Non-Wahhābī Ḥanbalīs of Eighteenth Century Syria", *DI*, 49/2 (1972), pp. 277–291; J.N. Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam*, Albany, 1979.

[91] Berkey, "Culture and society during the late Middle Ages", p. 405.

[92] On the impact of Sufism on the popular culture of Cairo, see B. Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 9–22.

verse without any comment of his own,[93] following the descriptive method which he often employs in his commentary. At times, such interpretations are accompanied by quotations from the Sufis whom he personally met in his life.[94] On various occasions, however, he criticises certain individuals who identify themselves as Sufis due to their excessive actions[95] and severely reproaches a specific group among them, the *Ittiḥādiyya*, against whom he apparently wrote a refutation, *al-Bāhir fī aḥkām al-ẓāhir wa-al-bāṭin*.[96] On the one hand, Sufism as a spiritual path and means of purification of the soul is endorsed in Ṭūfī's writings, whilst on the other, a number of Sufi ideas and practices are considered to be instances of aberration, and are therefore condemned.

Not only is Ṭūfī well acquainted with Sufi thinking, he also employs Sufi terminology when interpreting various Qur'anic verses. *Al-ʿilm al-ladunnī*, which he defines as 'divinely inspired knowledge about hidden truths', when preceded with training in speculative sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-naẓariyya*), is stronger than the inspiration which reaches the soul that had not been previously equipped with these qualities. It is precisely for this reason that he believes Khiḍr was made the teacher of Moses. His understanding of the Qur'anic story of Khiḍr and Moses, as an ideal model for the relationship between the spiritual master and disciple, illustrates Ṭūfī's attempt to incorporate mystical interpretation into his commentary on the Qur'an. He interprets the relevant verses (Q 18:65–82) as codes and principles of etiquette, which instruct the master and his disciples at various stages of the spiritual path.[97] Besides referring to Sufi personalities and quoting from them,[98] Ṭūfī also employs various Sufi ideas and notions when articulating his own views. For instance, at one point he goes so far as to say that 'the world is none other than the acts of God, may He be praised, thus in reality there is no being but God, the attributes of His essence, and His acts.'[99] All of these elements indicate his deep knowledge of Sufi literature, as well as his personal acquaintance with the followers of this path.

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[93] See Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 184.

[94] Ibid., vol. III, pp. 278–280.

[95] Ibid., vol. II, pp. 362–363 and 402–403.

[96] Ibid., vol. II, p. 190.

[97] Ibid., vol. II, pp. 428–431. Nevertheless, he sternly criticises one, whom he calls 'some ignorant Sufi,' who, relying on this Qur'anic story of Moses and Khiḍr, has claimed that a saint (*walī*) is superior to a prophet (*nabī*). See Ṭūfī, *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa*, vol. II, p. 37.

[98] For Ṭūfī's quotation from an early Muslim mystic, Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī, see ibid., vol. II, p. 18.

[99] Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. I, p. 311.

It is also worth noting the way in which Ṭūfī, a follower of the Ḥanbalī tradition, establishes his relationship with speculative theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*). One of his lost works, *Dafʿ* (*or Rafʿ*) *al-malām ʿan ahl al-manṭiq wa-al-kalām*,[100] appears to be in defence of logic and speculative theology, a fact that distinguishes him from a number of other Ḥanbalīs who seem to favour neither *ʿilm al-kalām* nor logic. On this point, Ibn Qudāma's treatise against dialectics[101] and Ibn Taymiyya's well-known refutation of logic[102] come to mind. In order to have a clearer picture of Ṭūfī's approach to *kalām*, one should also bear in mind that his scholarship is not entirely isolated from any critique of this discipline. He regards the study of theology to be a communal duty (*farḍ al-kifāya*), a view which prompted him to write his theological commentary on the Qur'an. In this, Ṭūfī aims to establish all the fundamental principles (*uṣūl*) of religion on the Qur'an and Sunna, a method which he introduces as the sound way of utilising reason as practised since the beginning of Islam. Yet, in his words, this practice was abandoned by later scholars who preferred pure rationality, i.e. philosophy, in matters of doctrine. Ṭūfī finds the additional topics discussed by the dialecticians and philosophers (such as celestial spheres, elements, souls, etc.) to be problematic. Therefore, he distinguishes two kinds of *uṣūl al-dīn*. The first constitutes the study of the doctrinal principles originating from scripture and supported by rational proofs—the category of *farḍ kifāya* (communal duty); while the second consists of the examination of pure rational predicaments of philosophy and *kalām*—the category that is open to criticism, for reason (*ʿaql*) cannot reach the divine truths on its own. In this framework, *kalām* is praised when manifested in the first form, whilst in the second it is reprehensible.[103]

It is precisely this commendable type of *kalām* that is intended by Ṭūfī when he suggests that the rank of *mutakallimūn* (theologians) is analogous to that of Abraham, who in the Qur'an is honoured by the divine words: 'We raise unto degrees of wisdom whom We will' (Q 6:83). In Ṭūfī's view, this verse also refers to the *mutakallim*'s high rank before God.[104] His admiration

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[100] Ṭūfī refers to this work in his *Ishārāt*, vol. III, p. 305.

[101] *Taḥrīm al-naẓar fī kutub ahl al-kalām*, ed. and tr. by G. Makdisi in *Ibn Qudāma's Censure of Speculative Theology: edition and translation of Ibn Qudāma's Taḥrīm al-naẓar fī kutub ahl al-kalām*, London, 1962.

[102] *Kitāb al-radd ʿalā al-manṭiqiyyīn*, ed. ʿA.-Ṣ al-Kutubī, Bombay, 1949. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's abridgment of Ibn Taymiyya's refutation was translated into English and analysed by Wael B. Hallaq in *Ibn Taymiyya against the Greek Logicians* (Oxford, 1993).

[103] Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. I, pp. 206–209.

[104] Ibid., vol. II, p. 180.

reaches its apex when he calls the theologians 'the students of Abraham.' He deems their way of reasoning, such as the arguments of *ḥudūth al-ʿālam* (temporal origination of the world) and *qidam al-Ṣāniʿ* (infinite pre-existence of the Creator) to have derived from Abraham's method of 'searching for the true God' (Q 6:75–79).[105] According to Ṭūfī, by offering Abraham's example as a model, the Qur'an (Q 16:121) demonstrates that the path of *naẓar* (speculative reasoning) and *istidlāl* (argumentation) is the *ṣirāṭ mustaqīm* (straight path).[106] Moreover, *kalām*, having such high status, is the first part of true wisdom that essentially consists of three components: *uṣūl al-dīn*, *fiqh* and *akhlāq*. These are represented respectively by theologians, jurists and mystics.[107] In this respect, *kalām* becomes, in Ṭūfī's view, a prerequisite for spiritual training. The soul needs to be equipped with speculative sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-naẓariyya*) first, in order to receive the divine manifestation (*ʿiyān*) and the intuitive knowledge of God (*maʿrifa*).[108]

When it comes to philosophy, Ṭūfī does not seem to show any traces of zealous opposition, although he does criticise philosophers for a number of views they hold. Philosophical wisdom consisting of logic, metaphysics, physics and mathematics should be a secondary endeavour, Ṭūfī argues. One should involve oneself with it only after being equipped with the aforementioned 'first wisdom' (*al-ḥikma al-ūlā*) and religious sciences.[109] For him, philosophy is not a matter of concern in itself, but the way in which it is used may be subject to condemnation and criticism. Satan's analogy, as mentioned in the Qur'anic verse, 'I am better than him [i.e. Adam]; You created me from fire, while him You did create from mud' (Q 7:12), is condemned for it led Satan astray. However, Ṭūfī concludes, had Satan used philosophy in the right way, it would have led him to obedience and submission.[110] As with regard to dialectics, so too with philosophy, Ṭūfī holds that each of these disciplines can merit praise or deserve censure, depending on the ways they are employed. They are capable of directing their practitioners to the Abrahamic path praised by the Qur'an or lead them to eternal damnation akin to that of Satan. As observed in Ṭūfī's exegetical study of the Bible, reason is put in the service of scriptures, for in his view, ultimately it is

105 Ibid., vol. II, p. 178.
106 Ibid., vol. II, p. 385.
107 Ibid., vol. I, pp. 362–363.
108 Ibid., vol. II, p. 385.
109 Ibid., vol. I, p. 363.
110 Ibid., vol. II, p. 207.

rational principles that constitute the common premises accepted by followers of the three Abrahamic faith traditions, Muslims, Christians and Jews.[111]

Ṭūfī's Understanding of Maṣlaḥa

In Islamic law, Ṭūfī is well known for his radical views on the legal principle of *al-maṣlaḥa al-mursala* (public interest or human welfare), which he explicates when commenting on the *ḥadīth*, 'There should be neither harming nor reciprocating harm' (*lā ḍarara wa-lā ḍirāra*), recorded in his commentary on Nawawī's *Arbaʿīn*.[112] Ṭūfī argues for the priority of *naṣṣ* (authoritative texts: Qurʾan and Sunna) and *ijmāʿ* (consensus) in the realm of *ʿibādāt* (acts of worship) and *muqaddarāt* (fixed ordinances), whilst giving precedence to *maṣlaḥa* in the field of *muʿāmalāt* (civil transactions). This understanding of *maṣlaḥa*, according to Ṭūfī, is endorsed by the aforementioned *ḥadīth*. Many studies have already explored Ṭūfī's notion of public interest.[113] Getting into details would also go beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that as a result of his unconventional view, Ṭūfī is highly praised and often quoted by modern reformists who regard *maṣlaḥa* as the basis for dynamism and humanism in Islamic jurisprudence. Rashīd Riḍā, for instance, not only endorsed Ṭūfī's view, but also published the original

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111 See Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. II, p. 745.

112 Ṭūfī, *Kitāb al-taʿyīn fī sharḥ al-arbaʿīn*, ed. A.Ḥ.M. ʿUthmān, Beirut-Mecca, 1998. The relevant text was published separately with annotations by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī, "Risāla fī al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala", *Majmūʿrasāʾil fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, Beirut, 1906, pp. 37–70. It was republished by M.R. Riḍā, "Adillat al-sharʿ wa-taqdīm al-maṣlaḥa fī al-muʿāmalāt ʿalā al-naṣṣ", *al-Manār*, 9 (1906), pp. 745–770 and was critically edited and analysed by M. Zayd in his *al-Maṣlaḥa fī al-tashrīʿ al-islāmī wa-Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī*. The latter was republished by Khallāf in his *Maṣādir*, pp. 105–144. Another recent edition is *Risāla fī riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa*, ed. A. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Sāyiḥ, Cairo, 1993.

113 These include ʿA.M.Ḥ. al-ʿĀmirī, *Aṭ-Ṭūfī's refutation of traditional Muslim juristic sources of law and his view on the priority of regard for human welfare as the highest legal source or principle*, PhD dissertation, University of California, 1982 which also offers a translation of Ṭūfī's text into English (pp. 139–204); N.H. Lubis, *Aṭ-Ṭūfī's Concept of Maṣlaḥa: A Study in Islamic Legal Theory*, MA thesis, McGill University, 1995; M. Koca, "İslâm Hukukunda Maslahat-ı Mürsele ve Necmeddin et-Tûfî'nin Bu Konudaki Görüşlerinin Değerlendirilmesi", *İLAM Araştırma Dergisi*, 1/1 (1996), pp. 93–122. See also F. Opwis, *Maṣlaḥa and the Purpose of the Law: Islamic Discourse on the Legal Change from the 4th/10th to 8th/14th Century*, Leiden, 2010, pp. 200–246, and the analysis of Khallāf, *Maṣādir*, pp. 96–101; M.M. Shalabī, *Taʿlīl al-aḥkām: ʿarḍ wa-taḥlīl li-ṭarīqat al-taʿlīl wa-taṭawwurātihā fī ʿuṣūr al-ijtihād wa-al-taqlīd*, Beirut, 1981, pp. 295–306; A. Şener, *İslam Hukukunun Kaynaklarından Kıyas, İstihsan ve İstislah*, Ankara, 1981, pp. 151–155; M. Erdoğan, *İslâm Hukukunda Ahkamın Değişmesi*, Istanbul, 1990, pp. 97–102.

text in support of his own position.[114] While Ṭūfī is identified by modernists as 'one of the greatest men in the world'[115] due to his theory on *maṣlaḥa*, he is disapproved of by others[116] and even severely criticised[117] for the same reason.

A number of studies in the field have pointed out that many Ḥanbalī scholars of law, relying primarily on Ibn Ḥanbal's legal methodology, have regarded *maṣlaḥa* as one of the sources of law. However, even those who have accepted *maṣlaḥa* as a source of legislation have not considered it to be an independent source in its own right, but rather one of the categories of analogy (*qiyās*).[118] It is precisely because of his atypical approach to *maṣlaḥa* that Ṭūfī is termed by contemporary authors such as Rudi Paret as an independent student of law (*mujtahid*), despite his identification with Ḥanbalism.[119] In his conclusion that safeguarding *maṣlaḥa* should be given preference over the textual sources of law in certain circumstances and areas, Ṭūfī represents an unusual voice not only among his fellow Ḥanbalīs but also amongst the jurists of other schools of law. Apart from his commentary on the above-mentioned *ḥadīth*, nowhere else is Ṭūfī noted to further elaborate on his understanding of *maṣlaḥa*. Lacking a detailed explication, Ṭūfī's theory has led scholars such as Wael B. Hallaq to conclude that

> By the standards of Ṭūfī's predecessors, contemporaries and successors his theory was, epistemologically, inferior to the average theoretical discourse. And this may be another reason for the oblivion into which it sank for centuries, until it was rejuvenated again in the twentieth century, when *maṣlaḥa* became a main axis around which legal reform revolves.[120]

A similar observation is made by Felicitas Opwis who states that 'even among contemporary jurists who uphold the validity of using unattested

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[114] M.H. Kerr, *Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal Theories of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā*, Berkeley, 1966, pp. 55–56, 81–83, 97–102, 158, 207.

[115] Qāsimī, "Risāla fī al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala", p. 38. For further praise of Ṭūfī, see İ.H. İzmirli, *İlm-i Hilaf*, Istanbul, 1912, pp. 100–105; Seyyid Bey, *Usul-i Fıkıh Dersleri*, Istanbul, 1919, pp. 292–295.

[116] According to M.A. al-Zarqā, Ṭūfī's extreme understanding of *maṣlaḥa* would lead to nullification of the *Sharīʿa* and chaos in Islamic law (*al-Fiqh al-islāmī fī thawbihi al-jadīd: al-madkhal al-fiqhī al-ʿāmm*, Damascus, 1967, vol. I, p. 117). For further critiques, see also M. Abū Zahra, *Mālik: ḥayātuhu wa-ʿaṣruhu, ārāʾuhu wa-fiqhuhu*, Cairo, 1952, pp. 311, 329–334; Abū Zahra, *Ibn Ḥanbal*, pp. 316–326; S.R. al-Būṭī, *Ḍawābiṭ al-maṣlaḥa fī al-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Beirut, 1982, pp. 202–215.

[117] Such as Kawtharī's critique in his *Maqālāt*, pp. 119–121, 331–336.

[118] Such as Zarqā, *al-Fiqh al-Islāmī*, vol. I, pp. 116–117; Khallāf, *Maṣādir*, p. 89; Abū Zahra, *Ibn Ḥanbal*, pp. 315–316.

[119] R. Paret, "Istiḥsān and Istiṣlāḥ", *EI*^{2}, vol. IV, p. 258.

[120] W.B. Hallaq, *A History of Islamic Legal Theories: An Introduction to Sunni uṣūl al-fiqh*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 152–153.

maṣlaḥas in the law-finding process, al-Ṭūfī's position is not necessarily endorsed.' It is because of the ambiguity of Ṭūfī's statement and the lack of formal criteria determining its application in practice, Opwis concludes, that his interpretation of *maṣlaḥa* 'has not found the unanimous acceptance he has hoped for.'[121]

Ṭūfī's Role in Muslim-Christian Relations

Even though Ṭūfī appears to be a controversial figure, he was also a man of his time, and his work clearly bears the marks of that age. Certainly, none of his works emerged in an ideological vacuum, as evidenced by his familiarity with the intellectual currents of his time. During the years Ṭūfī spent in Syria, Egypt, Hijaz and Palestine, where he later died, these lands were under the control of the Mamluks, the sultanate well known for its role in setting Muslim lands free from both the Mongol invaders and the Crusaders or rather the Franks (*al-Faranj* or *al-Ifranj*), as the term Crusade or Crusader never appears in pre-modern Arabic writing.[122] Ṭūfī's involvement with polemics and refutations clearly reflects how the interreligious climate was shaped by the turbulent circumstances of socio-political life in post-Crusade Egypt, where he wrote both his commentary on the Bible (*Ta'līq*) and his apology for Islam (*Intiṣārāt*). The Egypt of his time was ruled by the Mamluk Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (693–741/1293–1341) who brought the country back to its former security and prosperity.[123] The period of Ṭūfī's sojourn there, although the region was no longer directly threatened by the Crusaders, coincided with the aftermath of the last Crusades in the wider region. The final expulsion of the Franks from the Syro-Palestinian coast, initiated by the Mamluk Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars (658–676/1260–1277), was completed by

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121 Opwis, *Maṣlaḥa and the Purpose of the Law*, p. 245.

122 B. Lewis, "Egypt and Syria", *The Cambridge History of Islam. Volume I: The Central Islamic Lands*, eds. P.M. Holt et al., Cambridge, 1970, p. 197; W.Z. Haddad, "The Crusaders Through Muslim Eyes", *MW*, 73 (1983), p. 236. As F. Gabrieli observes, the concept of the Crusades, as an historical phenomenon in itself, is alien to Muslim historiography (F. Gabrieli, "The Arabic Historiography of the Crusades", *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. B. Lewis and P.M. Holt, London, 1962, p. 98). For a short comparative analysis of Christian and Muslim perceptions of the Crusades, see W.M. Watt, "Perceptions of the Crusades", *Yād-nāma. In Memoria di Alessandro Bausani*, eds. B.S. Amoretti and L. Rostagno, Studi Orientali, Università di Roma "La Sapienza", Rome, 1991, vol. I, pp. 513–524.

123 Lewis, "Egypt and Syria", p. 218; M.M. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans, 1291–1517", *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. Setton, Madison, 1975, vol. III, pp. 487–488; Northrup, "The Baḥrī Mamlūk sultanate", p. 284.

al-Ashraf Khalīl (689–693/1290–1293), whose capture of Acre in 1291 marked the end of Latin dominance in the region, with the exception of Cyprus.[124] The memories of warfare must have been still alive during Ṭūfī's residence in these lands. Similarly, the traces of conflict with another formidable enemy, the Mongols, who were seen as allies of the Christians,[125] were still visible. When Ṭūfī entered Damascus, only a few years had passed since the Mongols' devastation of the city in 699/1300, which left its many madrasas and mosques in ashes and its population slain.[126] It was only after the Mamluks' victorious encounter with the Mongols in 1313, followed by the peace treaty of 1322, that Egypt entered a period of relative peace, internal stability and prosperity.[127]

The wide net of commercial relations with Europe was another source of convergence between the members of different religious communities. As early as the Fatimid period, important trading relations were established with many Italian city-states in Europe; while under Ayyubid rule, French and Catalan merchants seem to have joined the Italians. The destruction of Frankish dominion in Syria and Palestine under the Mamluks did not hold back the growth of commercial relations with southern European states.[128] Having lived in the two important trade centres of his time, Damascus and Cairo, Ṭūfī may have had direct access to these contacts. Yet the biographical data available to us does not provide any information on this point. In gen-

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[124] See P.M. Holt, "Mamlūks", *EI*^{2}, vol. VI, pp. 321–323; Lewis, "Egypt and Syria", pp. 215–218; M.M. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293", *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. Setton, Madison, 1969, vol. II, pp. 748–754; C. Tyerman, *The Crusades: A Very Short Introduction*, New York, 2005, p. 62; Northrup, "The Baḥrī Mamlūk sultanate", pp. 276–277.

[125] There are a number of historical examples of Christian influence on various Mongol rulers. For instance, the commander of the Mongol army, the Turk Kitbugha Noyan, was a Nestorian Christian, and the Mongol forces contained Georgian and Armenian contingents. See C.F. Bosworth, "The 'Protected Peoples' (Christians and Jews) in Medieval Egypt and Syria", *BJRL*, 62 (1979), p. 28. The Mongol ruler Hülegü (1256–1265), a grandson of Genghis Khan, was married to Doquz Hatun, a Nestorian Christian and during his sack of Baghdad in 656/1258 only the houses of Christians were spared (J.A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Ḵẖāns", *The Cambridge History of Iran. Volume V: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J.A. Boyle, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 348, 354–355; F. Niewöhner, *Veritas sive Varietas: Lessings Toleranzparabel und das Buch Von den drei Betrügern*, Heidelberg, 1988, p. 222). Not to mention the Mongol embassies to the West between 1285 and 1290, led by the Nestorian Christians, with the intention of organising a joint attack on Muslims. Apparently, in 1287 relations between the two parties culminated in the participation of the leader of the Mongol embassy in Mass led by the Pope in St. Peter's (R.W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge MA, 1962, p. 65).

[126] Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, p. 13.

[127] Northrup, "The Baḥrī Mamlūk sultanate", pp. 253, 261–262.

[128] Lewis, "Egypt and Syria", pp. 191, 206, 219.

eral, historical sources have proven that this was a dynamic time of intellectual exchange and a productive period for Muslim-Christian polemics and apologetics throughout the West and the East. It was in this socio-political milieu that Ṭūfī authored his writings on Christianity.

Relations between Muslim and Christian communities at the level of everyday life are also worth noting, and Ṭūfī's adventurous life illuminates the nature of these interactions. There is a remarkable piece of information about Ṭūfī's time in Upper Egypt available to us, although it is lacking in detail. All of the biographical sources mention that after he had been imprisoned and banned from teaching in Cairo, he spent a period of time (from 711/1311–1312 to 714/1315) in Qūṣ,[129] then a predominantly Christian, more specifically Coptic, town in Upper Egypt,[130] and according to some authors he even took up residence with a certain Christian.[131] This information, though sketchy, reflects the complex nature of religious interactions in the lands where Muslims and Christians lived side by side.

Unfortunately, we do not possess a detailed picture of Ṭūfī's life and interactions with the local Christian community in Qūṣ. Nevertheless, his references to his encounters and discussions with various Christian individuals[132] reveal that he was in frequent contact with them. In one of his writings he talks about a work written by a certain Abū al-Faraj al-Iskandarī, a Jewish convert to Christianity, which accused the Jews of altering the Torah and listed examples of textual alteration (*taḥrīf tabdīl*).[133] According to the information provided by Ṭūfī, he came across this book in the possession of 'a certain Christian *ḥakīm* (physician, philosopher or wise man) in Qūṣ', someone called Abū al-Bashā'ir b. Faraj Allāh.[134] This short note clearly illustrates

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[129] Ṣafadī reports that Ṭūfī lived there for several years (*A'yān*, vol. II, p. 446). On the city of Qūṣ and its history, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. IV/1, 201; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-āthār*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, London, 2000, vol. I, pp. 640–642; J-C. Garcin, "Qūṣ", *CE*, vol. VII, pp. 2043–2046; J-C. Garcin, "Ḳūṣ", *EI²*, vol. V, pp. 514–515.

[130] Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 367, 369. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 156; 'Ulaymī, *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 7; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 40. Fāsī asserts that Ṭūfī moved first to another city in Upper Egypt called Būṣayr and went on to Qūṣ only after his pilgrimage. Also according to him, after the death of the chief judge, Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ḥārithī, Ṭūfī took charge of Qūṣ for a short period of time (Fāsī, *Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' Baghdād*, p. 49).

[131] 'Upon his arrival [at the city] he took residence with some Christian' (Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, vol. II, p. 446; see also Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, pp. 154–155). This is repeated by Brockelmann who mentions that Ṭūfī 'lived in a house of a Christian' when he moved to Qūṣ (*GAL*, vol. II, p. 132).

[132] See Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 136.

[133] Ṭūfī does not give any further details about the contents of this polemical work.

[134] Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. III, p. 97.

his close relationship with the local Christians of Qūṣ. The fact that he even had access to the private book collection of a Christian indicates the extent of his active engagement with local Christian intellectuals.[135] It also demonstrates that as a polemicist, Ṭūfī's knowledge was not limited to Muslim anti-Christian literature only, but that he was familiar with Christian polemical writings against Islam and even those against Judaism.

It would be helpful to finish this section with an amusing personal anecdote related by Ṭūfī himself. The story concerns his dream about Jesus, which occurred in 708/1308, that is, before his residence amongst the Christians of Qūṣ. The Jesus of his dream is described as a man of ruddy complexion; his height in just proportion;[136] wearing a thick, black garment of cotton and carrying a staff in his hand. After praying towards the *qibla* (direction) of Muslims, Jesus draws himself near to Ṭūfī and asks him how many messengers God has sent in total. Falling into confusion, Ṭūfī wonders how a prophet, who should be more knowledgeable than others, could ask him such a question and then replies with the Qur'anic verse (40:78), 'Verily We sent messengers before thee, among them those of whom We have told you, and some of whom We have not told you.' Upon hearing Ṭūfī's answer, Jesus laughs, throwing Ṭūfī into doubt: was it Ṭūfī's lack of knowledge or his keen search for the truth that made Jesus laugh? Ṭūfī goes on to report that, affected by this dream, he looked for its interpretation and discovered that a vision of Christ in a dream was a sign of eminence in the field of medicine. Inspired by this dream, Ṭūfī went on to study Ibn Sīnā's (d. 428/1037) *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (The Canon of Medicine), but did not continue for long.[137] This interpretation of the dream might have disappointed Ṭūfī as it did not

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[135] Another Christian author that Ṭūfī refers to is a certain Yaqṭīnūs [or Yuqṭīnūs], the Wise. Without providing any further information about this figure, Ṭūfī quotes his answer to his disciples regarding the wisdom behind the Incarnation. Apart from calling it a 'fairy tale' (*khurāfa*), Ṭūfī does not discuss his statement in any detail (Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, § 116; *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 462). Other references to non-identified Christian sources are found in Ṭūfī's comments on Jeremiah 7:17–19, Daniel 2:37–44 and Isaiah 21:6–7 wherein he quotes from 'commentators' who are left anonymous (Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, §§ 396, 420, and 428). Ṭūfī also mentions a certain Ibn al-Amthal (or Ibn al-Ashal), archbishop or metropolitan (*maṭrān*) of Homs (Ḥimṣ), who apparently wrote a work on the Trinity, the Incarnation and Jesus' divinity, entitled *Taqrīr al-thālūth* (Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 423, 445; vol. II, pp. 686, 694).

[136] Ṭūfī's description of Jesus parallels various prophetic reports quoted by Ṭabarī, which describe Jesus as 'a ruddy man of medium height' (Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān*, ed. Ṣ.J. al-'Aṭṭār, Beirut, 2001, vol. XV, pp. 8–9 and 19).

[137] Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. III, pp. 208–209 and *Ḥallāl al-'uqad fī bayān aḥkām al-mu'taqad* (or *Qudwat al-muhtadīn ilā maqāṣid al-dīn*), MS, Berlin: Staatsbibliothek, Landberg, no. 752, f. 21a.

seem to bring the promised results. Yet the dream clearly had a remarkable impact on him, as he narrated it many years after his vision.[138] The figure of Jesus, who prays facing the Muslim *qibla*, also indicates Ṭūfī's perception of Jesus and the extent to which the Qur'an shaped his understanding of this prophet and his mission. This anecdote further demonstrates that his dream had much to do with the events which occupied his waking hours, and suggests that his personal and spiritual life was not isolated from his social life.

In general, Ṭūfī's approach to Christians and Christianity is aligned to mainstream interpretations of Qur'anic teachings. His views on religious diversity are grounded in verses such as: 'If your Lord had willed, He verily would have made mankind one nation, yet they cease not differing' (Q 11:118). He understands such diversity to be intrinsic to human nature, for 'human beings differ regarding their religions just as they differ regarding their temperaments and bodies.' As a consequence of this human reality, members of each religion look down upon and criticise religions other than their own, claiming themselves to be the exclusive possessors of the truth. Even the tradition of polemical writings against other religions is perceived by Ṭūfī to be a manifestation of this human condition.[139] Such are the opening remarks of his *Critical Commentary* on the Bible, indicating the extent of his openness to phenomenological thinking in the study of religion, as well as alluding to the polemical agenda behind his own involvement in the theology of the religious 'other'.

The present section, covering various aspects of Ṭūfī's life, reveals that, as indicated by Wolfhart P. Heinrichs, 'within the parameters of his time, he was a free-thinker'.[140] His originality has been underlined by a number of authors both in the pre-modern and modern periods.[141] Thus far, we have seen how, on the one hand, his creativeness sets him apart from his fellow Ḥanbalīs, whilst on the other, it challenges some conventional generalisations regarding the Ḥanbalī school of thought. It is also remarkable to observe the way his life and work reflect the complexities of medieval

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138 First in the year 711/1311 (*Ḥallāl*) and then in 716/1316 (*Ishārāt*).

139 Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 2.

140 Heinrichs, "Naǧm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī on the Incorrect Reading of the *Fātiḥa*", p. 147.

141 One example, amongst many others, is the latest owner of the MS codex containing four of Ṭūfī's works, the Ottoman statesman Walī al-Dīn Jār Allāh (d. 1151/1738), who praises Ṭūfī by saying that in his writings he found unusual thoughts which he had not come across in any other work (Şehid Ali Paşa MS, 2315, f. 1a. See also Heinrichs's introduction to *ʿAlam*, p. 14 in German and his "Naǧm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī on the Incorrect Reading of the *Fātiḥa*", p. 159).

Middle Eastern society, providing examples of coexistence and conflict, dialogue and polemic, tolerance and prejudice. Now, let us proceed to Part II, which provides a historical, methodological and philological analysis of Ṭūfī's *Critical Commentary* on the Bible.

CHAPTER TWO

ṬŪFĪ'S CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE AND ITS CONTEXT

After a detailed presentation of Ṭūfī's life and work in the previous section, the main focus of Part II will be on the formation and *Sitz im Leben* of his critical commentary on the Christian scriptures. An examination of the historical context will pave the way for the presentation of the original text, its translation and analysis. Shedding light on late 13th and early 14th century interactions between Muslim and Christian theologians, it will offer a deeper understanding of the intellectual milieu experienced by Ṭūfī and will ultimately illustrate how his interests in Christianity did not develop in a cultural vacuum.

The Interreligious Milieu of the Late 13th and Early 14th Centuries

The 13th and 14th centuries emerge as a fruitful time for intellectual exchanges and theological interactions between Christians and Muslims. Although this was not a new phenomenon—rather, it was a centuries-old theological tradition—this period proved to be a rich and flourishing era for theological treatises reflecting upon the religious 'other'. Since their earliest encounters, both Muslims and Christians have taken interest in exploring each other's faith and scriptures with an intention to vindicate their own beliefs, and to question the claims of the other. As a result, a literary genre of apologetics and polemics emerged on both sides. It comes as no surprise that Ṭūfī and his contemporaries were inspired by earlier authors and their writings, for by then the exploration of the other's faith had become an integral facet of theological endeavour.[1]

[1] This is illustrated by David Thomas in his meticulous study of Muslim views on Christianity as represented in four theological treatises from the 4th/10th century. See his *Christian Doctrines in Islamic Theology*, Leiden, 2008, pp. 1–18.

A number of *fatwās*, pamphlets, and theological treatises originating from the Muslims of the period reveal their enthusiasm for and interest in polemical literature. Very often these works were penned in response to questions or criticisms posed by the Christians. This is what prompted, for instance, Abū al-Baqā' Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jaʿfarī (d. 668/1270) of Egypt to write his polemics.[2] Similarly, a Cordoban scholar known only as 'al-Imām al-Qurṭubī' (late 13th cent.) wrote his *al-Iʿlām* as a refutation of a certain Christian treatise.[3] The *Risāla ilā baʿḍ aṣdiqā' al-muslimīn* (The letter of Paul of Antioch, the Melkite Bishop of Sidon),[4] written some time between the mid-11th and the early 13th centuries, for instance, provoked many Muslim responses, including *al-Ajwiba al-fākhira ʿan al-as'ila al-fājira* by the famous Mālikī jurist from Cairo, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāfī (d. 684/1285).[5] When an anonymous Christian scholar in Cyprus revised Paul's letter in the early 14th century, he sent the new version to two prominent Muslim scholars in Damascus, Muḥammad b. Abū Ṭālib al-Dimashqī

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[2] *Takhjīl man ḥarrafa al-Tawrāt wa-al-Injīl*, ed. M.ʿA.-R. Qadaḥ, Riyadh, 1998. He also summarised this work in his *Kitāb al-ʿashr al-masā'il* (ed. and tr. into Latin by F. Triebs in *Liber decem quaestionum contra Christianos*, Bonn, 1897) and *al-Radd ʿalā al-naṣārā* (ed. M.M. Ḥasanayn, Cairo, 1988). There is another later abridgment by Abū al-Faḍl al-Mālikī al-Masʿūdī or al-Suʿūdī (ca. 10th/16th cent.), entitled *al-Muntakhab al-jalīl min Takhjīl man ḥarrafa al-Injīl*, which has been published several times. It was first edited and translated into Latin by F.J. van den Ham in his *Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum adversus Christianos. Textum Arabicum e Codice Leidensi cum Varr. Lectt.* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1877), later on printed in Cairo (1904). There are two new editions available today: ed. B.Z.I. ʿAwaḍ, Cairo, 1993 and eds. R.Ṣ. al-Badrī and M. al-Dhahabī, Cairo, 1997.

[3] *Al-Iʿlām bi-mā fī dīn al-naṣārā min al-fasād wa-al-awhām wa-iẓhār maḥāsin dīn al-Islām wa-ithbāt nubuwwat nabiyyinā Muḥammad ʿalayhi al-ṣalāt wa-al-salām*, ed. A.Ḥ. al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1980. This is a refutation of *Tathlīth al-waḥdāniyya* of an anonymous Christian author from Toledo. For more on this work, see R. Caspar et al., "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien IV", *Islamochristiana*, 4 (1978), pp. 252–253, no. 31.12; J.M. Gaudeul, *Encounters & Clashes: Islam and Christianity in History*, Rome, 2000, vol. I, pp. 184–186; T.E. Burman, "*"Tathlîth al-waḥdânîya*" and the Twelfth-Century Andalusian-Christian Approach to Islam", *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, ed. J.V. Tolan, New York, 1996, pp. 109–128; P. Devillard, *Introduction au livre d'al-Qurṭubī: al-Iʿlām*, PhD dissertation, Aix en Provence, 1970. Some scholars have identified the author with the famous Qur'an exegete, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1273), and the jurist, Abū Jaʿfar b. Naṣr al-Rawadī al-Qurṭubī (T.E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050–1200*, Leiden, 1994, p. 71, fn. 118). The work is important as it also contains portions of the first Christian Arabic apologetic against Islam written by a western Christian, Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī (d. 889), 'the Goth' (ibid., pp. 14 and 35).

[4] Edited and translated into French by P. Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche, évêque melkite de Sidon* (*xiiᵉ s.*), Beirut, 1964, pp. 59–83 (Arabic) and 169–187 (French).

[5] Ed. B.Z. ʿAwaḍ, Qairo, 1987.

(d. 727/1327) and Ibn Taymiyya. The former responded in his *Jawāb risālat ahl jazīrat al-Qubruṣ*[6] and the latter in his *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ*.[7]

Ibn Taymiyya emerges as one of the eminent Muslim figures who interacted with Christians in this period. In addition to his above-mentioned refutation, he wrote a number of other works on Christianity,[8] such as *Takhjīl ahl al-Injīl*,[9] *Kitāb al-ṣārim al-maslūl ʿalā shātim al-Rasūl*,[10] *al-Risāla al-qubruṣiyya*,[11] *Masʾalat al-kanāʾis*,[12] *Iqtiḍāʾ al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm mukhālafat aṣḥāb al-jaḥīm*,[13] and many other short responses and *fatwās*.[14] He not only wrote theological treatises, but also actively participated in discussions relating to the status of Christians living in the midst of Muslims. When the Mamluk ruler al-Nāṣir Muḥammad summoned eminent scholars and jurists

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[6] Edited and translated into English by R. Ebied and D. Thomas (eds.), *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades: the Letter from the People of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī's Response*, Leiden, 2005. This volume also includes the *Letter from the People of Cyprus* accompanied with the text of Paul of Antioch's letter, as published by Paul Khoury in parallel columns.

[7] Ed. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Naṣīr et al., Riyadh, 1994. It was translated in part by T. Michel in his *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyya's Al-Jawab Al-Sahih*, Delmar, New York, 1984.

[8] For a general outline of Ibn Taymiyya's writings on Christianity, see Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, pp. 68–86 and Jon Hoover, "Ibn Taymiyya", *CMR*, vol. IV, pp. 824–878.

[9] It was written with the intention of establishing Muḥammad's prophethood against Christian criticisms. There have been discussions on whether the *Takhjīl* was a separate work or part of the *Jawāb*, for the text of the former appears to be identical to the last part of the latter. T. Michel, who has thoroughly studied the subject, suggests that the *Takhjīl* is a separate and earlier work of Ibn Taymiyya. When the *Jawāb* was subsequently written, the earlier work was attached to it, as they were both refuting attacks on Islam (see Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, pp. 370–388).

[10] Published in Hyderabad, 1904. This work of Ibn Taymiyya is usually associated with the affair of a certain Christian who was accused of insulting the Prophet.

[11] Edited and translated into French by J.R. Michot in *Lettre à un roi croisé* (*ar-Risālat al-Qubruṣiyya*)*: Traduction de l'arabe, introduction, notes et lexique*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1995. This is Ibn Taymiyya's letter to the Franks in Cyprus requesting good treatment for the Muslim prisoners held on the island.

[12] On the defence of strict measures taken against Christians by the Mamluk Sultanate. It was published in *Majmūʿ fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad b. Taymiyya*, Beirut, 1997, vol. XXVIII, pp. 632–646.

[13] Ed. M.Ḥ. al-Fiqī, Cairo, 1950. It was translated into English by M.U. Memon in his *Ibn Taimīya's Struggle against Popular Religion. With an Annotated Translation of his Kitāb iqtiḍāʾ aṣ-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm mukhālafat aṣḥāb al-jaḥīm*, The Hague, 1976. In this work, Ibn Taymiyya denounces and refutes Muslim celebrations of, or participation in, non-Muslim (mostly Christian) festivals.

[14] E.g. "Taḥrīm mushārakat ahl al-kitāb fī aʿyādihim", *Majmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa-al-masāʾil*, ed. M.R. Riḍā, Beirut, 1992, vol. I, pp. 230–232; see also his response to various issues related to the *ahl al-kitāb* in *Majmūʿ fatāwā*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 647–663.

of Egypt and Syria in 709/1309 for a council of state in Cairo, Ibn Taymiyya emerged as the main figure speaking out against relaxing discriminatory measures towards Christians.[15] We do not possess any evidence as to whether Ṭūfī was included in this gathering or not, but considering his relationship with Ibn Taymiyya, there is no doubt that he was informed of the ongoing discourse, especially since by this point he had already authored his works on Christianity. Another prominent Ḥanbalī theologian tackling the question of the religious 'other' was Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350).[16]

There are other notable contemporaries of Ṭūfī who are also known to have written on Christianity. One of them is the famous poet, Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Būṣīrī (d. 695/1296), born in Upper Egypt, who is well known for his poem in praise of the Prophet, *Qaṣīdat al-burda*. His polemical work on the *ahl al-kitāb* entitled *al-Makhraj wa-al-mardūd ʿalā al-naṣārā wa-al-yahūd*[17] is noteworthy as it combines verse with prose. He also wrote various other satirical poems about the Jews and Christians.[18] At the time when Ṭūfī was busy composing his *Taʿlīq*, Ghāzī Ibn al-Wāsiṭī (d. 712/1312), a civil servant who held bureaucratic posts in Aleppo, Cairo and Damascus, was also actively engaged in penning his response to the *dhimmīs*.[19] In this treatise, Ibn al-Wāsiṭī refers to the same Christian polemic that ultimately prompted Ṭūfī to compile his writings on Christianity and Christian scriptures. Figures such as ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Durayhim (d. 762/1360),[20]

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[15] D.P. Little, "Coptic Converts to Islam During the Baḥrī Mamluk Period", *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, eds. M. Gervers and R.J. Bikhazi, Toronto, 1990, p. 265. See Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. XIV, pp. 43–44.

[16] *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā fī ajwibat al-yahūd wa-al-naṣārā*, ed. M. ʿAlī Abū al-ʿAbbās, Cairo, 1990. A short analysis of the contents, structure and the objective of the work is provided by J. Hoover, "The Apologetic and Pastoral Intentions of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Polemic against Jews and Christians", *MW*, 100 (2010), pp. 476–489. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya also penned a work on the treatment of *dhimmīs* entitled *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, ed. Ṭ. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Saʿd, Beirut, 1995.

[17] Published in *Dīwān al-Būṣīrī*, ed. M.S. Kīlānī, Cairo, 1973, pp. 175–233. On the life and work of Būṣīrī, see M. Kaya, "Bûsîrî, Muhammed b. Saîd", *DİA*, vol. VI, pp. 468–470. See also Caspar, "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien IV", p. 254, no. 31.18.

[18] Būṣīrī, *Dīwān*, pp. 129, 168 and 237.

[19] *Kitāb radd ʿalā ahl al-dhimma wa-man tabiʿahum* was published and translated by R. Gottheil, "An Answer to the Dhimmis", *JAOS*, 41 (1921), pp. 383–457. On Ibn al-Wāsiṭī see A. Mallett, "Ghāzī al-Wāsiṭī", *CMR*, vol. IV, pp. 627–629. I am grateful to Gregor Schwarb and David Thomas for bringing Ibn al-Wāsiṭī's work to my attention.

[20] *Manhaj al-ṣawāb fī qubḥ istiktāb ahl al-kitāb*, ed. S. Kasrawī, Beirut, 2002. Some information on the work is provided by D. Richards in "The Coptic Bureaucracy under the Mamlūks", *Colloque International sur l'Histoire du Caire 27 Mars–5 Avril 1969*, Cairo, 1972, pp. 375–377.

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Naqqāsh (d. 763/1361)[21] and Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Isnawī (d. 772/1370)[22] are among many others who wrote polemical pamphlets against the Mamluk employment of Copts in the government.[23] When it comes to Ṭūfī, however, what concerned him most was the theological position of the Christians and their challenge to Islam, rather than their social status or the financial position they occupied in Mamluk society.

Both the 13th century, regarded as 'the golden age of Copto-Arabic literature'[24] that marked 'a literary renaissance in Egypt',[25] and the 14th century were periods rich with polemics and apologetics written by the Copts. Awlād al-ʿAssāl, an eminent Coptic family from Cairo, is well-known for its contribution to Christian literature.[26] Among them, al-Ṣafī Abū al-Faḍā'il Mājid Ibn al-ʿAssal's (d. ca. 1260) apologetics are worthy of note: *Fuṣūl mukhtaṣara fī al-tathlīth wa-al-ittiḥād* (On the Trinity and the Incarnation),[27] *Jawāb al-Nāshi'* (Response to al-Nāshi' al-Akbar), *Jawāb Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (Response to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the Incarnation), *al-Ṣaḥā'iḥ fī jawāb al-naṣā'iḥ* (Response to ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī),[28] *Nahj al-sabīl fī takhjīl*

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[21] *Al-Madhamma fī isti'māl ahl al-dhimma*, ed. S. Kasrawī, Beirut, 2002.

[22] The work is entitled, *al-Kalimāt al-muhimma fī mubāsharat ahl al-dhimma*, and edited by M. Perlmann, "Aṣnawī's Tract against Christian Officials", *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, eds. S. Löwinger et al., Jerusalem, 1958, vol. II, pp. 172–208. For a thorough analysis of this pamphlet, see Perlmann's earlier article: "Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire", *BSOAS*, 10/4 (1942), pp. 843–861.

[23] Another earlier example (ca. 12th century) is the *fatwā* from a certain Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mālikī, entitled *Isti'māl ahl al-dhimma*, and published by R. Gottheil, "A Fetwa on the Appointment of Dhimmis to office", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Verwandte Gebiete*, 26 (1912), pp. 203–214. Other similar texts stemming from the same period are found in M. Belin, "Fetoua relative a la condition des Zimmis, et particulièrement des chrétiens, en pays musulmans, depuis l'établissement de l'islamisme, jusqu'au milieu du VIII[e] siècle de l'hégire", *JA*, 18 (1851), pp. 417–516 and 19 (1852), pp. 97–140.

[24] A.S. Atiya, "Copto-Arabic Literature", *CE*, vol. V, p. 1464; Cl. Cahen, "Ayyūbids", *EI*[2], vol. I, p. 803. For more on Christian literary output in Copto-Arabic, see S.K. Samir, "Arabic Sources for Early Egyptian Christianity", *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, eds. B.A. Pearson and J.E. Goehring, Philadelphia, 1986, pp. 82–97.

[25] Scandar, "Coptic Christianity", p. 255.

[26] On Awlād al-ʿAssāl's contribution to the Coptic literary heritage, see A.S. Atiya, "Awlād al-ʿAssāl", *CE*, vol. I, pp. 309–311; MJB/SHG, "Al-ʿAssāl family, *Awlād al-ʿAssāl*", *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*, eds. K. Parry et al., Oxford, 1999, p. 11; A. Wadī', *Dirāsa 'an al-Mu'taman ibn al-ʿAssāl wa-kitābuh "Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn" wa-taḥqīquh* (in "Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae" 5), Cairo-Jerusalem, 1997, pp. 75–176.

[27] Edited by S.K. Samir in "Brefs chapitres sur la Trinité et l'Incarnation", *PO*, 42/3, no. 192 (1985), pp. 617–761.

[28] S.K. Samir, "La résponse d'al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl à la réfutation des chrétiens de ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī", *Pd'O*, 11 (1983), pp. 281–328.

muḥarrifī al-Injīl (Response to Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jaʿfarī),[29] *Jawāb al-Dimyāṭī* (Response to Abū al-Manṣur Ibn Fatḥ al-Dimyāṭī), an apology for the Gospel[30] and many other treatises.[31] Another learned member of the ʿAssāl family is Ṣafī's brother, al-Asʿad Abū al-Faraj Hibat Allāh Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. before 1259), who is best known for his eclectic translation of the Gospels into Arabic which will be subsequently mentioned. Yet the most important literary figure with respect to our topic is the third brother, al-Muʾtaman Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. after 1270), who is credited by Ghāzī Ibn al-Wāsiṭī with the Christian anti-Muslim polemic against which Ṭūfī wrote his refutation.

As a scholar who spent his life at three important centres of the medieval Muslim world—Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo—Ṭūfī enjoyed broad access to the learning cultures of his time. He had first-hand knowledge of polemical literature. Among the authors mentioned by Ṭūfī are Ibn Jazla (d. 493/1100), a formerly Christian doctor who wrote his refutation of Christianity, *Iḥām al-Naṣārā*, after his conversion to Islam,[32] Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), Ibn ʿAwf al-Zuhrī al-Iskandarī (d. 581/1185)[33] and the above-mentioned Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jaʿfarī (d. 668/1270),[34] all of whom are credited with critical writings on the Gospels.[35] Similarly, Ṭūfī also refers to *al-Shifāʾ* by Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149), *al-Wafā bi-faḍāʾil al-muṣṭafā* by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), *Dalāil al-nubuwwa* by Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066) and *Khayr al-bishar bi-khayr al-bashar* by Ibn Ẓafar (d. ca. 567/1172),[36] all of which include sections exploring Biblical testimonia regarding Muḥammad and his mission.

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[29] See G. Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literature II*, Studi e Testi: 133, Vatican, 1947, p. 389.

[30] S.K. Samir, "L'Apologie de l'Evangile par Ibn al-ʿAssâl", *al-Manārah* (Jounieh), 24 (1983), pp. 275–286; 25 (1984), pp. 497–508; 26 (1985), pp. 407–420; 29 (1988), pp. 73–86.

[31] On al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl's life and work, see S.K. Samir, "Al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl", *CE*, vol. VII, pp. 2075–2079 and Wadi Awad, "Al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl", *CMR*, vol. IV, pp. 538–551. See also Graf, *Geschichte II*, pp. 388–403.

[32] Ṭūfī, Intiṣārāt, vol. I, p. 331. On Ibn Jazla and his work, see D. Thomas, "Ibn Jazla", *CMR*, vol. III, pp. 152–154.

[33] Abū al-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl b. Makkī Ibn ʿAwf al-Zuhrī al-Iskandarī was an important Mālikī jurist from Alexandria. He studied under the famous Andalusian scholar Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 1126) who was also known for his polemical writings. Ibn ʿAwf's refutation, *al-Radd ʿalā al-mutanaṣṣir* (Refutation of the Convert to Christianity), written against a certain polemic against Islam, *al-Fāḍiḥ* (Exposing Disgrace), does not seem to have survived. For more information on Ibn ʿAwf and his work, see L. Demiri and D. Thomas, "Ibn ʿAwf", *CMR*, (forthcoming).

[34] Ṭūfī names him as Taqī al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ al-Khaṭīb al-Qūṣī.

[35] The last three figures are mentioned by Ṭūfī in his *Ishārāt*, (vol. II, p. 68).

[36] Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. II, p. 571.

In addition to these important authors who are openly acknowledged by Ṭūfī, we are also able to identify a number of parallel lines of thinking between Ṭūfī and various other scholars among his predessessors as well as his contemporaries. In his understanding of the Biblical prophecies concerning Muḥammad, Ṭūfī seems to be familiar with the views of Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. 240/855)[37] and those of Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889)[38] whose lost text, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, is partially preserved in Ibn al-Jawzī's work mentioned by Ṭūfī.[39] Similarly, in his interpretation of the Holy Spirit variously as Gabriel, the Qur'an and Christ, Ṭūfī appears to be influenced by Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869),[40] while in his comparison between the creation of Jesus and Eve, Ṭūfī follows in the footsteps not only of Jāḥiẓ, but also those of Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) and many other theologians.[41] In his argument against the crucifixion[42] as well as his allegation regarding the distortion of the Christian creed,[43] Ṭūfī's approach bears semblance to ʿAbd al-Jabbār's (d. 415/1025) treatment of the same question. When it comes to Jesus' miraculous birth, the theological explanation offered by Ṭūfī conforms strongly to Ghazzālī's (d. 505/1111) theory of 'immediate' (*sabab qarīb*) and 'ultimate' (*sabab baʿīd*) causes.[44] Similarly, Ṭūfī's interpretation of the Biblical terms 'Father' and 'Son' in relation to the attribute of 'mercy' has its parallel in Ghazzālī's reading of these titles.[45] Likewise are their comments on the name *mukhalliṣ* (saviour) when used in reference to Jesus.[46]

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[37] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 313, 428.

[38] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 313.

[39] Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Wafā bi-aḥwāl al-muṣṭafā*, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Cairo, 1966, vol. I, pp. 62–73. Ibn Qutayba's list of Biblical predictions is translated into English by C. Adang in her *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: from Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm*, Leiden, 1996, pp. 267–277. Among many others, Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb* (vol. IV, pp. 418–419; vol. V, pp. 199–200; 209), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Hidāyat*, (p. 75) and Ibn Ḥazm's *al-Uṣūl wa-al-furūʿ* (Beirut, 1984; see C. Adang, "Some Hitherto Neglected Biblical Material in the Work of Ibn Ḥazm", *Al-Masāq*, 5/1992, pp. 17–28), also contain fragments from Ibn Qutayba's lost work.

[40] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 13.

[41] See ibid., § 13.

[42] See ibid., § 150.

[43] See ibid., § 189.

[44] See ibid., § 13. There is an ongoing debate on the authorship of the famous polemic, *al-Radd al-jamīl li-ilāhiyyat ʿĪsā bi-ṣarīḥ al-Injīl*, attributed to Abū Ḥāmid Ghazzālī. For the various arguments favouring and contesting this attribution, one may consult the recent study by Maha El-Kaisy Friemuth, "*Al-Radd Al-Jamīl*: Al-Ghazālī's or Pseudo-Ghazālī's?", *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, ed. D. Thomas, Leiden: Brill, 2007, pp. 275–294. See also her entry on "Al-Ghazālī" in *CMR*, vol. III, pp. 363–369.

[45] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 19.

[46] See ibid., § 27. For other examples of parallels between Ṭūfī's thinking and that of

Ṭūfī also shows striking resemblances with a number of his contemporaries, especially the above-mentioned Qarāfī,[47] Būṣīrī[48] and Qurṭubī.[49] In various discussions, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī and later on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya appear to share Ṭūfī's manner of reasoning.[50] Since all three wrote their responses after the *Taʿlīq*,[51] one may read these similarities as evidence of Ṭūfī's influence upon them or as an indication that they shared common sources of information and interacted within similar circles of the learning elite. Such instances of parallels between Ṭūfī's arguments and those of other major figures in the field are thoroughly analysed and documented in the footnotes to the present translation of the *Taʿliq*.

Ṭūfī's Interest in Christianity and Christian Scriptures

Living in a multi-religious and cosmopolitan society where Muslim-Christian interactions were part of everyday life, Ṭūfī's interest in the Christian faith and scriptures comes as no surprise. Following the path of many earlier Muslim scholars who wrote on Christianity, some of whom have been mentioned above, Ṭūfī carefully studied the Bible in order to respond to his Christian counterparts. However, he took a step further by composing a book that was specifically intended to serve as a commentary on the Bible in which he offered his own readings from a Muslim perspective: *al-Taʿlīq ʿalā al-Anājīl al-arbaʿa wa-al-taʿlīq ʿalā al-Tawrāh wa-ʿalā ghayrihā min kutub al-anbiyāʾ* (Critical Commentary on the Four Gospels, Torah and other Books of the Prophets). Written with polemical intentions, this work contains Ṭūfī's critical comments and annotations on the Bible. From the New Testament it

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Ghazzālī, see their metaphorical interpretation of the divine indwelling, *ḥulūl* (§ 295), their comparison between Jesus' miracles and those of Moses (§ 14), and their argument against Jesus' divine filiation (§ 36).

[47] In his argument against Jesus' sonship (ibid., § 71) and justification for the study of the Bible (§ 319). For other parallels between Ṭūfī and Qarāfī, see ibid., §§ 11, 14, 17, 151, 189, 198 and 375.

[48] See ibid., §§ 198, 277, 313 and 375.

[49] See ibid., § 13.

[50] For instance, see Ṭūfī's comparison between Jesus and Eve and his triad of Adam, Eve and Jesus (ibid., § 13), his metaphorical interpretation of the 'Son of God' (§ 19) and the Holy Spirit (§ 59), his comparison between the Gospels and the Sunna (§ 181), his differentiation between *erroneous interpretation* and *textual alteration* of the Scriptures (§ 189), Jesus' prophecies regarding Muḥammad (§§ 277, 313, 316 and 318), his comparison between Jesus' miracles and those of other prophets (§ 14) and numerous other topics (§§ 17, 44, 189 and 453).

[51] As for Ibn Taymiyya, it is specifically his *Jawāb* that I have in mind here.

covers the four Gospels, while from the Old Testament the focus is on parts of Genesis, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Jonah, Habakkuk and Malachi.

Why Did Ṭūfī Write His Critical Commentary on the Bible?

As he says himself, Ṭūfī was prompted to write his commentary because of a certain Christian refutation of Islam that was in wide circulation at the time. According to the Şehid Ali Paşa manuscript, this work was entitled *al-Sayf al-murhaf fī al-radd ʿalā al-Muṣḥaf* (The Whetted Sword in Refutation of the Scripture). Before writing a response to this Christian anti-Islamic polemic, that is his apology for Islam, *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī kashf shubah al-naṣrāniyya* (Islamic Defences in Uncovering Specious Christian Arguments), Ṭūfī first wanted to reveal 'the deficiencies of Christianity', a task that would materialise in his commentary on the Christian scriptures, the *Taʿlīq*.

The identity of the author of the *Sayf*, who was unknown to Ṭūfī and was mentioned by him only as 'a certain Christian scholar',[52] seems to have been deliberately kept hidden. According to Ṭūfī's assertion, the author remained anonymous among Muslims, although through time the work itself became known and turned into a subject of heated criticism.[53] Ṭūfī does not give any specific information as to when this Christian refutation was written either. Looking at Ṭūfī's citations of the text, one may notice that the latest authority quoted by the anonymous author appears to be Maimonides (d. 601/1204),[54] indicating that the work must have been written some time during the 13th century.[55] This dating is further confirmed by the aforementioned contemporary of Ṭūfī, Ghāzī Ibn al-Wāsiṭī, who attributes the *Sayf* to al-Muʾtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. after 1270). Ibn al-Wāsiṭī's few references to the contents of the work match those mentioned in Ṭūfī's text.[56] According

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[52] Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 52. See also § 3 and *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 227.

[53] Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. II, pp. 613–614.

[54] Ibid., vol. I, p. 265.

[55] Shihadeh in his recent article on Ṭūfī has come to the same conclusion ("Three Apologetic Stances in Ṭūfī", p. 2). See also the editor's note in his introduction to *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, p. 165).

[56] These references primarily consist of the Christian author's critique of various Qur'anic stories of the earlier prophets which he finds to differ from those mentioned in the Bible. One such case is the author's allegation that the naming of Mary as 'sister of Aaron' (Q 19:28) indicates the Qur'an's confusion between Mary the mother of Jesus and Miriam the sister of

to Ibn al-Wāsiṭī however, Mu'taman later denied his authorship and claimed to have destroyed the book. Apparently, he did so to evade the death threat against him in the period of civil unrest that took place amidst the Muslim and Christian populace of Damascus in 658/1260, in the aftermath of the Mongol sacking of the city and their pro-Christian policies in the region.[57] It is unclear whether Ibn al-Wāsiṭī's Mu'taman Ibn al-ʿAssāl is the very Mu'taman of the prominent Coptic ʿAssāl family, whom Ibn al-Wāsiṭī identifies as a *mustawfī* (financial controller) of Damascus in the days of the last Ayyubid ruler, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (r. 648–658/1250–1260),[58] a detail that seems to be unverified by other sources.

Taking into account Mu'taman Ibn al-ʿAssāl's frequent visits to Damascus and the considerable time he spent there, which coincided with the above-mentioned period,[59] Ibn al-Wāsiṭī's allegation may not be unfounded. Moreover, one of the authorities that the writer of the *Sayf* relies upon, Maimonides, also emerges as an important source of reference in Mu'taman's

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Moses and Aaron (*Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 300–301). Another example is the Christian author's claim that the name of Jesus among the Jews was *Yashūʿ* and that no such name as *ʿĪsā* was used by them or known to them. Ṭūfī does not make any mention of this argument, yet his explanation about the etymology of *ʿĪsā*, which suggests that the Arabs have Arabicised the Syriac *Yasūʿ* by inverting its letters and turning its *wāw* (i.e. the ū) into a *yā'* (i.e. ī) and its *yā'* (i.e. the y) into an *alif* (i.e. the ā), which thus became *ʿĪsā*, is found both in his *Taʿlīq* (§ 6) and *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, p. 304). Another example mentioned by both Ghāzī Ibn al-Wāsiṭī and Ṭūfī is the Christian author's rejection of the Qur'anic story of Solomon (*Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 419).

[57] Regarding the social upheaval in Damascus in the year 658/1260 after the troops of Hülegü left the city, see N. Elisséeff, "Damascus", *Historic Cities of the Islamic World*, C.E. Bosworth (ed.), Leiden, 2007, p. 116; R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260*, Albany, NY, 1977, p. 359. As R. Stephen Humphreys writes: 'For two days Damascus was torn by rioting and looting in a pogrom that the Muslims directed against the Christians and (to a lesser extent) the Jews of the city.' Humphreys further comments that this conflict might have been trigerred by the fact that 'the Christians of Damascus had taken full advantage of the first time in 600 years that one of their coreligionists had held power. At the time of Kitbugha's triumphal entry in Rabiʿ I/March, the Umayyad Mosque had been made into a church, in the presence of Hetoum of Armenian Cilicia and Bohemond of Antioch, and the holy precincts had been desecrated by wine and music. Now the Muslims could take their revenge. They began by burning to the ground the church of St. Mary (located in the northeast quarter between the Bab Tuma and the Bab al-Sharqi), and then they set off in a rampage of uncontrolled pillaging directed against Christians' private homes. Many churches were damaged and some Christians were murdered by the mob. On the next day it was the turn of the Jews: they suffered less, however, for although many of their shops were set afire, the great synagogue was left unharmed. Muslims who were known to have collaborated with the Mongols, whether local citizens or outsiders who had come in the conquerors' train, were put to death' (ibid., p. 359).

[58] Gottheil, "An Answer to the Dhimmis", pp. 408–410 (Arabic) and pp. 447–449 (English).

[59] Wadīʿ, *Dirāsa*, pp. 131–145.

famous theological work, *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn wa-masmūʿ maḥṣūl al-yaqīn*.[60] Muʾtaman's possible authorship of the *Sayf* is further supported by its use of Islamic sources. In the passages quoted by Ṭūfī, not only does the unnamed Christian author refer to the Qurʾan and *ḥādīth* when constructing his arguments against Islam, but he also cites the writings of Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037),[61] Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111),[62] Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144),[63] Ibn ʿAṭiyya (d. 541/1147),[64] Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191)[65] and Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198).[66] Due to his frequent references to Muslim philosophers, as well as Aristotle,[67] Ṭūfī reproaches him for taking sides sometimes with philosophy and yet at other times with religious authority,[68] and designates him as a perplexed man who is neither a faithful Christian, nor a proper philosopher.[69] Considering Muʾtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl's acquaintance with Islamic philosophy and his interest in the works of Fārābī,[70] Ibn Sīnā[71] and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī[72] in particular, it may not be far-fetched to consider him as the author of the *Sayf*, in line with Ibn al-Wāsiṭī's assertion. Even so, as pointed out by Gregor Schwarb, a clearer identification can be established by a comparative study between Ṭūfī's quotations from the *Sayf* and other polemical treatises by Coptic Christians of the period. The author's reference to *Dalālat al-ḥaʾirīn* (Guide for the Perplexed) by Maimonides implies that he was a learned Christian of Coptic circles, since as Schwarb writes, 'the reception of Maimonides in Christian Arabic literature was essentially confined to Copto-Arabic literature'.[73]

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[60] See al-Muʾtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl, *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn wa-masmūʿ maḥṣūl al-yaqīn* (in "Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae" 6a–b and 7a–b), ed. A. Wadīʿ, Cairo-Jerusalem, 1998–1999, 11:70–77 (vol. 6a, pp. 269–271); 22:22–27 (vol. 7a, pp. 53–54).

[61] Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 497.

[62] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 239, 259, 262.

[63] Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 454, 467.

[64] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 295, 343, 360, 393, 411, 420, 424, 435, 438, 493; vol. II, p. 518.

[65] Ibid., vol. I, p. 344.

[66] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 238, 259.

[67] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 237, 238, 240, 244, 259, 265, 268, 442, 471, 487; vol. II, pp. 697.

[68] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 371–372, 424, 448–449, 481; vol. II, p. 631.

[69] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 372–373.

[70] See Muʾtaman, *Majmūʿ* 7:34–51 (vol. 6a, pp. 155–159).

[71] Ibid., 3:72–104 (vol. 6a, pp. 86–94); 5:4–9 (vol. 6a, pp. 115–116); 8:73 (vol. 6a, p. 180); 17:21, 24 (vol. 6a, pp. 358, 359).

[72] Ibid., 2:121–125 (vol. 6a, pp. 68–69); 4:35–78 (vol. 6a, pp. 102–111); 5:10–29 (vol. 6a, pp. 116–120); 5:51–57 (vol. 6a, pp. 124–125); 6:69–88 (vol. 6a, pp. 140–144); 17:7–11 (vol. 6a, pp. 354–355); 18:15 (vol. 6a, p. 377); 54:76–81 (vol. 7a, pp. 319–320); 62:3–14 (vol. 7a, pp. 423–426).

[73] G. Schwarb, "The Reception of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic Literature", *Proceedings of the 12th Conference of the Society of Judaeo-Arabic Studies*, ed. Y. Tobi, Haifa University Press (forthcoming).

This Christian polemic apparently did not survive to modern times, although one may easily reconstruct the text relying on Ṭūfī's numerous quotations in the *Intiṣārāt* and a few references in the *Taʿlīq*. Ṭūfī informs us that he had a chance to see this anti-Islamic polemic and thoroughly examine its allegations with an intention to furnish counter arguments in refutation of it.[74] Therefore, a short account of its contents will provide us with a clearer picture of Ṭūfī's engagement with the Christian scriptures as well as his selective approach to the Biblical material he examines. According to Ṭūfī's description, the *Sayf* was written with an intention to refute Islam and challenge the prophethood of Muḥammad. He further tells us that this Christian work opens with Jesus' warning of false prophets (Matthew 7:15–16), used by its author as an argument against Muḥammad's prophetic mission.[75] With its long discussion on the nature of prophethood, the book sets out to show that Muḥammad does not fit the description of a prophet.[76] He is described by the anonymous author as someone who is devoid of prophetic attributes, such as truthfulness (*ṣidq*), purity (*ṭahāra*) and miracles (*iʿjāz*), and whose religion is compatible neither with what he calls 'natural religion' (*al-dīn al-ṭabīʿī*), nor the revealed laws of previous prophets.[77] The entire structure of the treatise seems to be built on this argument which is then elaborated in detail.

Regarding the quality of 'truthfulness', the Christian author brings forth instances mainly related to the Qur'anic tales of the prophets which, in his view, contradict those of the Bible, such as the stories of Mary,[78] Zachariah,[79] Joseph[80] and Moses.[81] Other discussions included within this category consist of the author's critique of the Qur'anic denial of the crucifixion,[82] his rejection of the Muslim view that Muḥammad was prophesied in the Bible,[83] his contention that various *ḥadīths* describe God in an anthropomorphic way,[84] a short discourse on whether the *miʿrāj* (ascension) of the Prophet was physical or spiritual[85] and various other topics. In relation to prophetic

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[74] Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 227–228.
[75] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 244–252; see also *Taʿlīq*, § 52.
[76] *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 252–266 and 285–287.
[77] Ibid., vol. II, p. 710.
[78] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 300–301.
[79] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 305–306; *Taʿlīq*, §§ 218–220 and 491.
[80] *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 312–324; *Taʿlīq*, §§ 217, 550, 555–556, 561–564, 580–581 and 586–587.
[81] *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 325–326; *Taʿlīq*, §§ 517 and 540.
[82] *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 343–344 and 350–354.
[83] Ibid, vol. I, p. 375.
[84] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 439–441; vol. II, pp. 701–706.
[85] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 495–496.

purity, the Christian polemicist examines a number of *ḥadīths* referring to the Prophet's virility, polygamous life and his marriage to Zaynab bint Jaḥsh.[86] With regard to miracles, he claims that Muḥammad performed no miracle[87] and argues against the Muslim notion of the Qur'an's inimitability.[88] As for the need for the prophetic message to match what is good (*ḥusn*) and perfect (*kamāl*) in righteousness, decency and justice and to be compatible with natural laws and the laws of previous prophets, the Christian author focuses on the permissibility of polygamy in Islam, which he finds to be problematic, since as he asserts, nature requires monogamous life. Sex is also a shameful act, in his opinion, and sexual desire should be repressed. Similarly, he criticises the permissibility of divorce in Islam, since it contradicts Jesus' teaching.[89] Turning back to where he began, the author of the *Sayf* concludes with a rejection of the prophethood of Muḥammad, categorising him amongst the false prophets of whom Christ warned his followers in Matthew 7:15–16.[90]

In the *Intiṣārāt* Ṭūfī thoroughly examines the arguments of the *Sayf* and responds to its allegations. Similarly, his *Taʿlīq* bears traces of various questions raised by the author of the *Sayf*, even though Ṭūfī's interest there is for the most part in Christian theology. His selection of Old Testament passages in particular is very often related to the Christian polemicist's critique of the Qur'anic stories of the prophets. Ultimately, as Ṭūfī admits himself, it was this polemical treatise that motivated him to write his critical commentary on the Bible. In the opening of the *Taʿlīq* Ṭūfī illustrates his motivations for writing a commentary on the Christian scriptures with the following words:

> I have noticed that a certain Christian has compiled a book in which he attacks the religion of Islam and by which he impugns the prophethood of Muḥammad, peace be upon him. This fills with doubt the weak in faith, who lack the ability to draw distinctions. Therefore, I have resolved to refute him and to direct against him the proofs that will undermine his words. But I have decided to precede this refutation with a discourse on the four Gospels, in order, thereby, to cause damage to their opinions and to expand upon my subject matter.[91]

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[86] Ibid., vol. II, pp. 526–530.
[87] Ibid., vol. II, pp. 535–585; *Taʿlīq*, §§ 78–79, 132–133.
[88] *Intiṣārāt*, vol. II, pp. 585–618.
[89] Ibid., vol. II, pp. 619, 622–673.
[90] Ibid., vol. II, pp. 720–721.
[91] Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 3.

Ṭūfī is determined that his exegetical work 'will without doubt firmly demolish their religion, exposing therein everything that is disgraceful and shameful, whether it be contradiction, absurdity, corruption or defectiveness. Nevertheless, to demolish what is already demolished is like playing a game, and to obtain what is already obtained brings about fatigue.' He further remarks, citing a known proverb, 'What divorce is there for divorced women!' Yet Ṭūfī firmly believes that specious arguments and deceptions should be uncovered under all circumstances. Therefore, he hopes that after examining his commentary, every intelligent and honest person, 'striving for the truth and seeking truthfulness, will turn away from the Christian faith to the primordial monotheistic faith, *al-milla al-ḥanīfiyya* (i.e. Islam), realising that what he used to hold true is actually unbelief and error, and that up until that moment of his life he was a forsaken and erring person.'[92]

Composed specifically as a commentary, the *Taʿlīq* is intended to serve as a guidebook for Muslims who may be exposed to the Christian critique of Islam. Ṭufī may well have intended to make his voice heard amongst his Christian counterparts, yet his target audience for the *Critical Commentary* appears to be primarily his fellow Muslims. Above all he is determined to protect the weak amongst the Muslims from what he refers to as erroneous Christian teachings and to shield them from Christian theological attacks on Islam.[93] His main aim is to show that Christian teachings such as the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, crucifixion and others, are not even supported by Christian scriptures. The Biblical passages employed by the Christian theologians as references to these doctrines are, in his understanding, either misinterpreted or forged and inserted into the text by later generations.

The Thematic Structure of the Taʿlīq

The text of the *Taʿlīq* opens with an untitled introduction in which three crucial themes, comprising the backbone of the work, are presented and methodically examined. The first theme concerns the Muslim notion of the *Injīl*, the scripture believed to have been divinely revealed to Jesus. It underlines that the canonical Gospels correspond to biographies of the Prophet, the *sịyar* and *maghāzī* literature in Islam, and not the Qurʾan. They are chronicles compiled by Jesus' disciples and followers, and therefore do

[92] Ibid., § 3.
[93] Ibid., § 25.

not represent the actual words of God or His prophet.[94] The second theme relates to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and its refutation by rational and scriptural arguments,[95] while the third theme addresses the Incarnation, the divinity of Jesus, and the justification of these beliefs in Christian theology through recourse to Jesus' miraculous conception, his miracles and the Biblical use of the titles 'Father' and 'Son'. Ṭūfī's analysis evolves primarily from his metaphorical reading of the Biblical material, suggesting that the Christian scriptures indicate Jesus' servanthood and prophethood rather than his divinity or divine sonship.[96] After its prologue, the *Taʿlīq* consists of Ṭūfī's comments on the four Canonical Gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, followed by his interpretation of selected passages from the Old Testament: the Books of Isaiah, Hosea, Jonah, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and Genesis respectively.

In his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, Ṭūfī's attention is first drawn to the use of the 'Son of God' and other honorific titles, such as *Immanuel* (God is with us), in reference to Jesus, which in Ṭūfī's reading simply imply Jesus' merit before God.[97] Further, the intended meaning of Jesus' words 'Father' and 'Son' is 'lordship and servanthood, not fatherhood or sonship.'[98] Whatever miracles Christ performed he did so 'only by the power of his unwavering belief and by his faith,' demonstrating that he was 'a servant, who is subject to his Lord, and not a god nor his son.'[99] This chapter also includes a long discussion of Matthew 19:3–9 regarding Jesus' prohibition of divorce, which Ṭūfī identifies as a fabrication against Jesus.[100] Ṭūfī's criticism here is explicitly addressed against the anonymous Christian author of the *Sayf* who apparently challenged the permissibility of divorce in Islam.[101] Other instances in which the *Taʿlīq* rejects the Christian polemicist's arguments consist of Ṭūfī's defence of Muḥammad's prophethood with reference to the miracles he performed,[102] and Ṭūfī's rigorous refutation of the crucifixion of Jesus.[103]

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94 Ibid., §§ 5–7.
95 Ibid., §§ 8–11.
96 Ibid., §§ 12–20.
97 Ibid., § 57.
98 Ibid., § 63.
99 Ibid., § 99.
100 Ibid., §§ 104–108.
101 See Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. II, pp. 619, 622–673.
102 Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 132–143.
103 Ibid., §§ 146–160.

Ṭūfī's commentary on the Gospel of Mark begins with an emphasis on Jesus' prophetic mission,[104] followed by a detailed examination of the evangelist's report on sins being forgiven by Jesus (Mark 2:5–12), interpreted within the context of Jesus' prophethood.[105] The titles 'the Lord of the Sabbath'[106] and 'the Lord'[107] are also understood within the same framework, and therefore the verses on the unity of God (Mark 12:28–29) are deemed to be incompatible with the Trinitarian notion of God.[108] Yet the most important component of Ṭūfī's commentary on the Gospel of Mark is his reflection upon the inconsistencies between the canonical Gospels, which he takes to be a sign of 'scriptural corruption' and an obstacle to the creation of any meaningful theology.[109] What he finally aims to prove in this section is the authenticity of Islam *vis-à-vis* other faith traditions, Christianity in particular. In Ṭūfī's understanding, there is a direct link between the truth of a religion and the originality of its scriptures. Islam, he concludes, is unique in its perfect preservation of the scripture, while both Judaism and Christianity have failed in this regard.[110]

As in his study of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, so too in his examination of the Gospel of Luke Ṭūfī is determined to establish Christ's humanity through the use of the Christian scriptures. The honorific name given to Jesus in the Gospel of Luke, 'the Son of the Highest' (Luke 1:32), is interpreted by Ṭūfī as a sign of Jesus' servanthood.[111] Designating Joseph, Mary's fiancé, as Jesus' parent (Luke 2:27) despite him not being his biological father, demonstrates for Ṭūfī, the importance of and the need for a metaphorical interpretation of 'the Son of God'.[112] Ṭūfī's commentary on the Gospel of Luke also includes a number of instances in which he refutes the Christian polemicist's allegation that the Qur'anic accounts of the prophets Joseph[113] and Zechariah[114] contradict the Biblical narrative. He contends that in fact there is no incompatibility between Qur'anic and Biblical stories, if they are interpreted properly. What the Gospels contain is usually a detailed exposition

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104 As prohesied by John the Baptist (Mark 1:2–3). See ibid., §§ 163–164.
105 Ibid., §§ 167–169.
106 Ibid., §§ 170–171.
107 Ibid., § 185.
108 Ibid., § 187.
109 Ibid., §§ 181, 183, 189–198.
110 On this point, see the story of Hülegü, which Ṭūfī accounts in §§ 201–204.
111 Ibid., § 211.
112 Ibid., § 216.
113 Ibid., § 217. See also Ṭūfī's comments in §§ 550, 555–556, 561–564, 580–581 and 586–587.
114 Ibid., §§ 218–220. See also Ṭūfī's comments on the Book of Genesis in § 491.

of what the Qur'an provides in a summary form. If such additions are correct, then they are acceptable, although Muslims are required neither to adduce the canonical Gospels as an argument nor to regard them as a particularly reliable source of information due to their internal inconsistencies, Ṭūfī concludes.[115] This argument emerges frequently throughout the *Taʿlīq*, whenever a similar Christian charge against the Qur'an is raised. In general, Ṭūfī's attitude is shaped by an attempt to harmonise these allegedly conflicting narratives within the two scriptures and then underline the fact that the Bible is not binding to the followers of Islam. Should contradictions arise, then preference must be given to the Qur'an, rather than the Gospels or the Torah, for the final word and authority belongs to the Qur'an. Inconsistancies between the Gospel of Luke and other Gospels are an indication of their inauthenticity, claims Ṭūfī.[116] The remainder of his treatment of the Gospel of Luke addresses the Christian doctrine of the divinity of Jesus, which in his opinion cannot be justified by this Gospel (e.g. Luke 2:46–47; 7:12–16; 9:18–21), since it on the contrary implies Jesus' humanity and prophethood.[117] Ultimately, the Christian scriptures attest, for Ṭūfī, the discontinuity between the teachings of the Christians and the religion of Christ and his disciples.[118]

When commenting on the Gospel of John, and particularly its prologue, Ṭūfī's attention is drawn to proving the impossibility of the Incarnation. The primary argument employed in this context is that the 'Word of God' is one of the attributes of God and is therefore pre-existent. Relying on the Qur'anic verse, 'His command, when He wills a thing, is only that He says to it: Be! and it is' (Q 36:82), Ṭūfī considers Christ to be the product of God's creative power. He is named the *Word* because he was brought into being by the divine word *Be* and 'he was more worthy of this appellation than anyone else, because the effect of the (divine) power was more evident in him due to his being born from no human (father).'[119] Rejecting the notion of incarnation on the grounds of its being absurd, Ṭūfī reaches the conclusion that 'whoever admits that the Word may become incarnate by turning into a human being, should also admit that it could become incarnate by turning into an inanimate thing or into an animal,' the result of which is that 'the animals and inanimate things would come to be gods or sons of

115 Ibid., § 220.
116 Ibid., §§ 238–241.
117 Ibid., §§ 222–227, 231, 236–237.
118 Ibid., § 248.
119 Ibid., § 252.

gods, because they are brought into existence by the Word of God.'[120] As for God's dwelling in Christ (John 14:8–11), Ṭūfī maintains it should be interpreted figuratively, implying the divine power that Christ was supported with while performing miracles.[121] Hence, his miracles (John 6:26–29) are indication of his prophethood and not his divinity, for he performed those extraordinary acts only by divine support.[122] In addition to 'Word of God', the 'Lamb of God' (John 1:29, 36) is also understood by Ṭūfī within the context of Jesus' miraculous birth and his creation by divine power.[123] In this part of the *Taʿlīq*, Ṭūfī also refers to Muḥammad's prophethood, comparing him to Jesus. Just as Jesus' coming was predicted by Moses (John 5:45–46), similarly Muḥammad's mission was foretold by Jesus. Therefore, the Christians are compelled, in his opinion, to either accept them both as truthful prophets or deny them both. Obedience to Jesus necessitates belief in Muḥammad,[124] for Jesus' words about the Paraclete (John 16:13–14) are clear evidence of Jesus' annunciation of Muḥammad's coming as God's emissary. Whoever believes in Christ's truthfulness is therefore bound to acknowledge Muḥammad's mission, concludes Ṭūfī.[125] After completing his commentary on the Gospel of John with a short discussion on the authenticity of Muḥammad's prophethood,[126] Ṭūfī commences his commentary on selected passages from the Books of Isaiah, Hosea, Jonah, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and Genesis respectively.

Commenting on the Book of Isaiah, particularly the verses that designate God's creation as His 'children', 'sons' and 'daughters' (Isaiah 1:2, 4; 43:5–7; 45:9–12), Ṭūfī reflects on the allegorical meaning of this relationship, which in his view proves that Christ is neither divine nor the son of the Divine.[127] Passages read by Christians as a prophecy about Christ's crucifixion (Isaiah 53:4–9) are interpreted by Ṭūfī as a prediction of Jesus' suffering and torture on the gibbet, not his death. Christ was set free by angels, Ṭūfī maintains, while someone else, upon whom Christ's likeness was cast, was crucified in his stead, a widely accepted view among Muslim scholars.[128] Regarding

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120 Ibid., § 253.
121 Ibid., § 295. He discusses further the impossibility of the Incarnation extensively in §§ 296–311.
122 Ibid., § 283.
123 Ibid., § 259.
124 Ibid., § 277.
125 Ibid., § 313.
126 Ibid., §§ 327–330.
127 Ibid., §§ 331, 338–339, 342–343.
128 See ibid., §§ 352–357.

Isaiah's reference to 'a rider on a donkey and a rider on a camel' (Isaiah 21:7), Ṭūfī follows the prevalent Muslim interpretation that the first attests to Jesus and the second to Muḥammad.[129]

Ṭūfī's commentary on the Book of Hosea is focused on Israel being referred to as the 'Son of God' (Hosea 11:1), which is taken as another scriptural proof that this title means servanthood, not divinity.[130] Similarly, a number of other passages (e.g. Hosea 11:9) demonstrate, for Ṭūfī, that divinity is incompatible with humanity and that the two cannot be united.[131] When commenting on the Book of Jonah, his intention is to prove that the Qur'anic and Biblical versions of Jonah's story do not stand in contradiction to one another.[132] As for the prophecy mentioned in the Book of Habakkuk (3:2–6), it is interpreted as a prediction of Muḥammad and his prophetic mission.[133] Ṭūfī's comments on the Books of Malachi (1:6)[134] and Jeremiah (2:27)[135] also suggest an allegorical reading of fatherhood and sonship in relation to God and His creation. This is followed by a discussion of Muḥammad's prophethood being foretold in Jeremiah 9:25–26.[136]

Examining a number of verses from the Book of Ezekiel, Ṭūfī is interested in furnishing textual evidence for the existence of harmony between Muḥammad's teachings and those of the previous prophets. He is compelled to refute the Christian author of the *Sayf* who criticised the Prophet for disagreeing with the revealed law of earlier times.[137] A further discussion in this section of the *Taʿlīq* revolves around the impossibility of the Incarnation,[138] followed by a refutation directed against the Christians for having abandoned the practice of circumcision.[139] There follows Ṭūfī's commentary on the Book of Daniel, in which the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon (chapter 2), is interpreted as a Biblical prediction of Muḥammad.[140] Another argument emerging in this part of the book relates to the verses Daniel 9:21–26, taken by Ṭūfī to indicate Christ's humanity and

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129 Ibid., §§ 428–429.
130 Ibid., § 363.
131 Ibid., § 365.
132 Ibid., § 369.
133 Ibid., §§ 371, 373–390.
134 Ibid., § 392.
135 Ibid., § 394.
136 Ibid., § 401.
137 Ibid., § 412.
138 Ibid., § 414.
139 Ibid., §§ 416–418. A similar criticism is also found in his comments on the Book of Isaiah (§ 345) and Genesis (§§ 498–499).
140 Ibid., §§ 420–421.

prophethood, not his divinity. Neither can these texts be utilised as scriptural evidence for the crucifixion of Christ, in his view, for they refer merely to the striking which Christ underwent, not his death on the cross.[141]

The last Biblical book commented on in the *Taʿlīq* is Genesis. The majority of the passages Ṭūfī examines in this part relate to the Biblical stories of the prophets, which are subsequently compared with the narratives of the Qur'an and the Sunna. Beginning with the creation of the world and the story of Adam and Eve,[142] Ṭūfī's attention is then focused on the stories of Noah,[143] Abraham,[144] Lot,[145] Abraham's sacrifice of his son,[146] Jacob[147] and Joseph.[148] In most instances Ṭūfī's reasoning for his choice in the selection of verses is unclear, although occasionally he does explicitly reveal his objective to challenge the Christian polemicist's allegations.

Regardless of whether he makes any mention of his adversary's argument or not, Ṭūfī's overarching concern is clearly to refute the claim that Muḥammad's teachings are in disagreement with those of the earlier prophets. The examples he brings forth in this regard are mainly stories of the prophets shared by both the Qur'an and the Bible. If there is any disagreement between the Muslim and Christian scriptures, Ṭūfī explains it by his argument that the latter has not been preserved intact. Therefore, for instance, by referring to the Biblical statement that man was created in the image of God (Genesis 1:26–28), Ṭūfī demonstrates how this report is in accord with what the Sunna reports in this regard.[149] However, the Biblical description of God's resting on the seventh day (Genesis 2:2–3) is in contradiction with the Qur'an's words 'nothing of weariness touched Us' (Q 50:38), for as Ṭūfī argues, 'fatigue and rest are among the things that overcome physical bodies, while the Maker is far above that.'[150] As for the Biblical portrayal of Eden (Genesis 2:8–14), this is partly in agreement with the Islamic description of the Garden, and partly in disagreement, concludes Ṭūfī, examining the two versions in detail.[151] Adam's naming of the creation (Genesis 2:19) is in

141 Ibid., §§ 423–426.
142 Ibid., §§ 430–461.
143 Ibid., §§ 464–487.
144 Ibid., §§ 488–506, 511–539.
145 Ibid., §§ 506–510.
146 Ibid., §§ 518–530.
147 Ibid., §§ 540–567, 593–599.
148 Ibid., §§ 559–592.
149 Ibid., § 431.
150 Ibid., § 436.
151 Ibid., § 438.

conformity with the Qur'an (Q 2:31),[152] just as the Biblical account of the creation of Eve from Adam's rib (Genesis 2:22–23) is in accordance with what is found in the Sunna.[153] However, the story of God walking in the Garden (Genesis 3:8–11) is challenged by Ṭūfī for endorsing an anthropomorphic understanding of God.[154] The story of Lot sleeping with his two daughters (Genesis 19:30–38) is a lie against God's infallible prophets, Ṭūfī comments.[155] Likewise the story of Judah commiting adultery with his daughter-in-law (Genesis 38:12–26) is refuted, for it is a disgrace to attribute such a reprehensible act to a prophet.[156] In Ṭūfī's view, instances such as these are subsequent interpolations that do not belong to the original text of these scriptures; and it is these later textual falsifications which explain any divergence between the Bible and the Islamic canon.

Another important component of Ṭūfī's commentary on Genesis is his effort to provide the readers with Biblical predictions of Muḥammad's mission. The annunciation Hagar received about Ishmael and the multiplicity of his offspring (Genesis 16:10–12) is read by Ṭūfī as an example of this kind of prophecy.[157] Similarly, the divine promise given to Abraham and his progeny (Genesis 17:8),[158] particularly the mention of His blessings upon Ishmael and his offspring (Genesis 17:20), is taken by Ṭūfī as a reference to Muḥammad and his followers.[159]

The Biblical story of Abraham's prostration 'before the people of the land' (Genesis 23:7, 12) is furnished by Ṭūfī as a counter argument against the anonymous Christian author of the *Sayf* who criticised the Qur'anic story of Joseph's parents prostrating themselves before him (Q 12:100). In his response, Ṭūfī describes the act of prostration out of thankfulness to the benefactor as part of Abrahamic tradition.[160] Similarly, the Biblical story of Isaac and his close relationship with his wife Rebekah (Genesis 26:7–10) challenges the Christian polemicist's criticism of the Prophet's marital life,

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[152] Ibid., § 440.
[153] Ibid., § 442.
[154] Ibid., § 453.
[155] Ibid., § 510.
[156] Ibid., §§ 569–571.
[157] Ibid., § 495.
[158] Ibid., § 497.
[159] Ibid., §§ 500–503.
[160] Ibid., § 535. Similarly, when Jacob encountered his brother Esau, he prostrated himself onto the ground before him seven times, alongside everyone who was with him (Genesis 33:3–7). For Ṭūfī, this is a refutation of the argument of the Christian who disapproved of the Qur'anic story of Jacob's prostration before Joseph (ibid., § 550).

Ṭūfī maintains.[161] Taking into account the Biblical stories of Abraham and Isaac, who both declared their wives as their sisters when faced with danger, Ṭūfī argues that the Biblical account of Jacob and the Qur'anic narrative of Moses can be reconciled—it is plausible that each of them offered his employment as a bridal dowry. This explanation emerges as Ṭūfī's response to the Christian polemicist's impugning of the veracity of the Qur'an on the grounds that this occurred only to Jacob, for the Torah and the Qur'an contain different accounts about Moses (Q 28:27).[162] Ṭūfī's commentary on the Book of Genesis closes with the story of Jacob's burial near Abraham's grave (Genesis 49:29–31 and 50:2–5), cited by the Christian author as an argument against the truthfulness of Muḥammad's words: 'A prophet is not to be buried except where he dies.' Examining the *ḥadīth* thoroughly, Ṭūfī offers a manifold response to his adversary's claim.[163]

As seen in this brief exposition, Ṭūfī's commentary on the Old Testament comprises three major thematic components: (1) refutation of the Incarnation, the divinity of Jesus and his crucixion through the use of Biblical material; (2) comparison between Qur'anic and Biblical accounts of the prophets with an intention of demonstrating the existence of conformity and harmony between the two scriptures; and (3) presentation of Biblical testimonies on the authenticity of Muḥammad's prophetic mission. When it comes to the Gospels, however, Ṭūfī's attention is focused mainly on his critique of Christian theology, with only occasional interest in the second and third elements that dominate his discourse on the Old Testament. An indepth analysis of the contents, elaborating this description of the thematic structure of the *Taʿlīq*, is provided in the notes to the translation.

When Did Ṭūfī Write the Taʿlīq*?*

There is no exact date given for when Ṭūfī wrote the *Taʿlīq*. However, in the opening part of the work,[164] he states explicitly that he decided to write his refutation of Christianity before his apology for Islam, i.e. the *Taʿlīq* predates the *Intiṣārāt*. This is substantiated by a number of references to the former in the latter.[165] We know that the *Intiṣārāt* was written between 12 Shawwāl and 7 Dhū al-Qaʿda 707 (ca. 4–29 April 1308) at the Ṣāliḥiyya Madrasa in

161 Ibid., §539.
162 Ibid., §540.
163 Ibid., §§599–606.
164 Ibid., §3.
165 Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 232, 246, 248–249, 289, 294, 306, 313, 328, 350, 352, 382, 384, 499.

Cairo.[166] Consequently, the penning of the *Taʿlīq* must have occurred before this time. There is, moreover, an internal reference which establishes an approximate date. At one point Ṭūfī refers to 'the law of Muḥammad,' as being 'seven hundred and seven years old.'[167] Relying on this comment we may conclude that Ṭūfī wrote the *Taʿlīq* some time in 707/1308, shortly before the compilation of the *Intiṣārāt*.

The Significance of the Title, Taʿlīq

The word *taʿlīq* or *taʿlīqa* literally means a marginal note, annotation or gloss. According to Franz Rosenthal's definition, the term 'in scholarly activity refers to the "appending upon (*ʿalā*)" a text or the "deriving from (*ʾan*)" an author and then to the resulting notes, glosses, comments, excerpts and appendices.'[168] The term *taʿlīq* has been used as a descriptive title for many works expanded by the addition of comments and annotations, indicating a venture which was undertaken by others, not the original author himself.[169]

In general, the use of *taʿlīq* in Ṭūfī's writings primarily stands for 'study' or 'work'. On various occasions he refers to a number of his writings using this term. For instance, he mentions the *Intiṣārāt*,[170] *Ishārāt*,[171] *Nihāyat al-sūl*,[172] and *Mawāʾid al-ḥays*[173] with the words *hādhā al-taʿlīq* (the present study or work). He also uses the same term in reference to his *al-Bāhir fī aḥkām al-ẓāhir wa-al-bāṭin*.[174] Similarly, he informs us about several *taʿālīq* (works) he wrote on his 'discussions with Christians',[175] presumably meaning the *Taʿlīq* and *Intiṣārāt*. However, it seems that his choice of the term *taʿlīq* for the title of his Biblical commentary has a more specific meaning. As Ṭūfī's method in this exegetical work consists of citing Biblical verses and then offering his own comments on them, it is preferable in this context to understand *taʿlīq* in its literal sense (i.e. comment or annotation), rather than translat-

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166 The *Intiṣārāt* was subsequently revised by Ṭūfī with minor corrections and additions, and the revision was completed on 10 Shawwāl 708 (ca. 23 March 1309). See ibid., vol. I, p. 167; vol. II, pp. 758–759.

167 Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 328.

168 F. Rosenthal, "Taʿlīḳ", *EI*[2], vol. X, p. 165.

169 Ibid., p. 165.

170 Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 232.

171 Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. I, pp. 209, 232, 312; vol. III, p. 261.

172 See the MS in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Uṣūl Taymūr 179, p. 14.

173 Ṭūfī, *Mawāʾid*, p. 266.

174 Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 190.

175 Ibid., vol. II, p. 78.

ing it simply as 'work' or 'study'. Moreover, since Ṭūfī's main purpose in this book is to refute Christian interpretations and criticise various aspects of Christianity and its doctrines, it would be more appropriate to classify it as a 'critical commentary', rather than rendering it simply a 'commentary'. It is also significant that Ṭūfī preferred to call his commentary a *ta'līq* rather than a *tafsīr*, the latter being a term related specifically to Qur'anic commentaries. One is inclined to think that even by the title of his work the reader is given a hint about Ṭūfī's critical approach to the Bible and the polemical scrutiny he employs in his Islamicised exegesis of the Christian scriptures.

Undoubtedly, Ṭūfī's work is marked by a polemical agenda, which is nothing new in medieval Muslim theological literature on Christianity. Yet it remains remarkably important and original, as it is written in the literary style of scriptural commentary. It demonstrates how a Muslim theologian engages with the Biblical text and the way in which he reads and understands it. What does the Bible say to a Muslim reader? What role do the Christian scriptures play in the Muslim understanding of Christianity? All these questions come into play in this early 14th century commentary. Although the aim of composing such a work was primarily polemical, the author displays a high regard for the scriptures. At one point, for example, when referring to Genesis 16:12, he does not hesitate to define it as *al-waḥy al-ilāhī*, 'the divine revelation',[176] the term more commonly used in reference to the Qur'an.

Ṭūfī's Exegetical Method

With this extraordinary work, Ṭūfī emerges as the first Muslim theologian to have produced a commentary on the scriptures of each tradition, Muslim and Christian. In both his commentaries, Ṭūfī's exegetical undertaking is focused on his doctrinal readings of the scriptures. His Qur'anic commentary, *al-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya ilā al-mabāḥith al-uṣūliyya*, completed in the year 716/1316,[177] just a few months before his death, is established on the premises of *uṣūl al-dīn* (doctrinal theology) and *uṣūl al-fiqh* (legal theory).[178] Theological discourse is his predominant interest, though occasionally he also offers legal remarks and mystical reflections on various Qur'anic verses. Similarly, Ṭūfī's main interest in his Biblical commentary lies in doctrinal matters,

176 Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, § 495.
177 See Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, 256.
178 Ibid., vol. I, p. 209.

especially those aspects of the Christian faith which he deems to be irreconcilable with the Islamic teaching of strict monotheism. Accordingly, he carefully examines Biblical verses understood by Christian theologians as testifying to the truthfulness of the Christian doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the divinity of Jesus and his crucifixion. Passages implying strict monotheism and alluding to the humanity of Jesus also appear among his favourite subjects of discussion.

In his *Tafsīr*, Ṭūfī takes each *sūra* of the Qur'an in turn, employing a verse-by-verse model. Moving from one verse to another on a thematic basis, he treats only selected verses, primarily those with theological implications and occasionally those containing rulings relating to legal theory. Regarding the classical structure of the two exegetical methods, *al-tafsīr bi-al-riwāya* or *al-tafsīr bi-al-ma'thūr* (interpretation based on transmitted sources) and *al-tafsīr bi-al-dirāya* or *al-tafsīr bi-al-ra'y* (interpretation based on individual reasoning), Ṭūfī's activity can be regarded as an example of the latter, although the line between the two modes of interpretation is not firmly drawn. The same arrangement is to be found in his *Ta'līq*, where the commentary begins with the Gospel of Matthew, proceeds to the other Gospels and then moves to the books of the Old Testament: Isaiah, Hosea, Jonah, Habakkuk, Malachi, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and Genesis, each of which is addressed on a verse-by-verse or passage-by-passage basis. Since Ṭūfī's major purpose is to reflect on the topics of dogmatic theology, he does not cover the entire Bible in his commentary. Again, the selection of the verses is made on thematic grounds, as described previously in the present study.

In his Qur'an commentary, Ṭūfī's objective is to present the views of different traditions and schools of thought within Islam (e.g. Mu'tazilī, Shī'ī, Ash'arī, etc.) and offer examples of their distinctive reading and exegesis of the Qur'an. From time to time, Ṭūfī's attention is extended to cover Jewish and Christian views as well. This feature of his *Tafsīr* stands in contrast to his Bible commentary, which shows no interest in theological divergences among the Christians. The Christianity Ṭūfī has in mind is somewhat homogeneous. He does not engage in the examination of different Christologies, as represented by the established Christian denominations of his time. In other words, the classical Muslim depiction of the Christian faith as a tripartite community, comprised of the Melkites, Jacobites and Nestorians, is absent in his work. Unlike some earlier Muslim works on Christianity, such as those of Bāqillānī, Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār or Ghazzālī, which exhaustively examine diverse Christological views, no subtle variations among different Church traditions seem to have attracted Ṭūfī's attention. His intention

is to refute doctrines, such as the Trinity and the Incarnation, which are commonly represented by the local Christian groups of his age, without embarking on a thorough analysis of theological divergences among them. The problem for him is the Trinity or the Incarnation *per se*, regardless of how they are elucidated in detail theologically. This parallels the Christian anti-Muslim polemic at which he targeted his response. Just as the anonymous Christian author of the *Sayf* does not make any distinction between different Muslim schools of thought, similarly, Ṭūfī directs his attack against fundamental principles of Christian faith, rather than their specific interpretations.

Offering intra-textual readings is one of the methods shared by both Ṭūfī's Qur'an and Bible commentaries. As he utilises Qur'anic verses from one particular *sūra* to interpret verses in other *sūras*, similarly he uses the text of one particular Biblical book to illuminate verses within other books. One such example is to be found in Ṭūfī's commentary on Jesus' words mentioned in Matthew 10:32–33, 'Whoever acknowledges me before people, I shall acknowledge him before **my Father**. And whoever denies me, I shall deny him before my Father.' Ṭūfī says:

> What is meant here, however, is: 'before **my God and my Lord**', as indicated both by what has already been presented in more than one place [in this book] and by (Christ's) relating his **disciples** to the '**Father**',[179] in addition to the fact that he himself explicitly clarified the intended meaning in the Gospel of Luke (12:8–9), saying: 'Whoever acknowledges me before people, the Son of Man shall also acknowledge him before the **angels of God**. And whoever denies me, he [i.e. the Son of Man] shall deny him before the angels of God.' Consequently, this confirms that the meaning of his words, 'before **my Father**,' is '(before) **the angels of my Father**'; and the meaning of '**my Father**' is '**my Lord**'. As verified by the [above-mentioned] statement [in the Gospel of Luke], this must be understood as: 'I shall acknowledge him before the angels of my Lord.'[180]

In this passage, Ṭūfī quotes two verses from the Gospel of Matthew and interprets them in the light of another verse from the Gospel of Luke to highlight, firstly, the addition of the phrase in Luke, 'the angels of God', and secondly, the substitution of 'my Father' with 'God' and 'Lord.' Ṭūfī's conclusion is that the title 'Father' does not allude to Jesus' divine filiation, since the same name is applied to his disciples. In Ṭūfī's eyes, therefore, 'my Father,' should mean nothing other than 'my Lord.' His statement that 'in all

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[179] As in the expression 'your Father'.
[180] Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 61.

Scriptures, the words of God, Glorified is He, clarify one another'[181] comprises the clearest justification for Ṭūfī's intra-textual method employed in both his *Tafsīr* of the Qur'an and his *Taʿlīq* of the Bible.

Another recurrent practice in Ṭūfī's exegetical work consists of utilising the Qur'an as a proof-text in expounding Biblical reports. When criticising the Christians for taking the title 'Immanuel' (God is with us), in its literal sense, the metaphorical interpretation offered by Ṭūfī is directly related to the Qur'anic verses on the omnipresence of God. In Ṭūfī's understanding, Christ, being one of the signs (*āya*) of God and one of His messengers (*rasūl*) through whom He manifested miracles and who proclaimed His message, is called 'Immanuel', meaning that 'His messenger, His decree, His command, and His prohibition is with you.' Ṭūfī reproaches the Christians for decontextualising this title by reading it literally, after which he justifies his allegorical interpretation by referring to two examples from Qur'anic exegesis that in his view represent an ideal method for scriptural study. The first relates to the Qur'anic verse 'surely God is with us' (Q 9:40), which Muslims read figuratively, meaning that 'God is their Helper and Protector'. Secondly, they take the divine words: 'He is with you wheresoever you may be' (Q 57:4) as an allusion to God's omnipresence by His knowledge.[182] Therefore, according to Ṭūfī, the Biblical title 'Immanuel' refers exclusively to God, and can be only metaphorically applied to Jesus, since he was a representative of God, sent with the mission to remind people of God. Even when used as an allusion to God, however, the intention is not strictly speaking literal, for it is not a physical presence that is meant, but rather God's omnipresence by His knowledge, guidance and protection. This case shows how very often Qur'anic and Biblical verses are intertwined in Ṭūfī's exegetical work.

As well as the Qur'an, Ṭūfī also utilises *ḥadīth* in his study of the Christian scriptures. When interpreting John the Baptist's words in reference to Christ, 'Truly, he shall come after me, yet he was before me' (John 1:30), Ṭūfī does not take the passage literally. These words do not signify Christ's actual existence before John, in his view, but rather refer to 'his virtual presence in God's pre-existent knowledge and the glad tidings of the earlier prophets.' Ṭūfī's reading is established on the *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet says: 'I was a prophet while Adam was between water and clay.'[183] The meaning derived

181 Ibid., § 69.
182 Ibid., § 28.
183 Ibid., § 257.

from this prophetic report is used to explicate the implied meaning of the Gospel verse. With this interpretation Ṭūfī seems to follow Ghazzālī, who also understands Jesus' statement, 'before Abraham was, I am' (John 8:58), in the light of the *ḥadīth* just mentioned.[184] Since the words of Muḥammad do not imply that he was a pre-eternal deity, both Ghazzālī and Ṭūfī reach the conclusion that those of Jesus should not be taken as a sign of his divinity either.

Ṭūfī also uses both Biblical and extra-Biblical material in his exegetical work. In this respect, he differs from some of his well-known contemporaries. The *Taʿlīq* often refers to the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* literature, the tales of the prophets, particularly Wathīma b. Mūsā al-Fārisī's (d. 237/851) *Kitāb al-mubtadaʾ wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*,[185] and quotes without hesitation from ʿAbdallāh b. Salām (d. 43/663–664), Kaʿb al-Aḥbār (d. ca. 32–35/652–653) and Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728 or 114/732), all of whom are known for bringing *isrāʾīliyyāt* into the corpus of Islamic religious literature. All three are highly esteemed by Ṭūfī and designated as 'the scholars of the People of the Book, the people of earlier knowledge [i.e. revelation], who were acquainted with its subtleties and splendours.'[186] Ṭūfī's willingness to rely upon their reports and employ them in his exegesis distinguishes him from Ibn Taymiyya, who is known to have relentlessly criticised the use of *isrāʾīliyyāt*, considering them unreliable. His severe criticism is directed not only at figures such as Wahb b. Munabbih and Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, but also at a number of early Muslim historians such as Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767), Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) and Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). In Ibn Taymiyya's view, the material derived from Jewish sources on the Biblical prophets should neither be accepted as true nor taken into consideration unless it is confirmed by authentic Muslim reports. The *ahl al-kitāb* accounts that are neither verified nor rejected by Islamic sources should neither be confirmed nor declared as false. Yet most of them bring no benefit in matters of religion in any case, he asserts.[187]

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184 Ghazzālī, *Radd*, pp. 54–55.

185 Detailed information about this early author and his work is provided in the present edition of the *Taʿlīq*, see p. 161, fn. 45.

186 Ibid., §148.

187 Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa-al-masāʾil*, ed. M.R. Riḍā, Beirut, 2001, vol. III, p. 383. On Ibn Taymiyya's treatment of *isrāʾīliyyāt*, see R. Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets in the Qurʾan and Muslim Literature*, tr. M. Robertson, Richmond, Surrey, 2002, pp. 170–172; R. Tottoli, "Origin and Use of the Term *Isrāʾīliyyāt* in Muslim Literature", *Arabica*, 46 (1999), pp. 201–202; J.D. McAuliffe, "Assesing the *Isrāʾīliyyāt*: An exegetical conundrum", *Story-telling in the Framework of Non-fictional Arabic Literature*, ed. S. Leder, Wiesbaden, 1998, pp. 349–352.

Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), another student of Ibn Taymiyya and Ṭūfī's late contemporary, demonstrates a comparable attitude. He deems some of the *isrā'īliyyāt* to be in conformity with Islamic sacred texts, but identifies most of it as erroneous and false. He maintains that there is no need to relate those narratives which are already attested by Islamic teachings. Neither is it permissible to relate those others which are in contradiction. Only the third category, the material which is neither confirmed nor rejected, can be transmitted in his opinion. Yet, they should not be regarded as authoritative in any way.[188] Reflecting on the story of Abraham's sacrifice, for example, Ibn Kathīr is determined to assert that it was Ishmael who was subject to God's command, dismissing the view that it was Isaac on the grounds that it relies on narratives of the *ahl al-kitāb*. All the reports in favour of Isaac are regarded by Ibn Kathīr as inauthentic in terms of transmission, for they originate in legends and stories of the earlier scriptures as related by Kaʿb al-Aḥbār. They are nothing but *isrā'īliyyāt* and therefore should have no implications for religion, since the Qur'an is sufficient proof, Ibn Kathīr concludes.[189]

Ṭūfī, on the contrary, mentions the opinion that Isaac was the intended sacrifice in an objective manner without ruling it out merely because of its Jewish origin. He prefers the view suggesting that Ishmael was the intended sacrifice, yet he is not critical of the opposing view in terms of its Biblical origin. Ṭūfī's comment that Kaʿb al-Aḥbār must have either narrated it from the Torah or was influenced by the Torah[190] is not accompanied by any trace of reproach and is far removed from the rigorous disapproval of Ibn Kathīr. Ṭūfī does not criticise Kaʿb for taking the Torah as his primary source. In contrast, he acknowledges this view as part of Muslim tradition, informing his readers that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is one of the early authorities to whom both interpretations have been attributed.[191] Yet Ṭūfī favours the opinion

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188 Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. I, pp. 28–29, 37; vol. II, pp. 103–105.

189 Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, pp. 14–19; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. I, pp. 148–151. On Ibn Kathīr's treatment of *isrā'īliyyāt*, see Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets*, pp. 172–175; Tottoli, "Origin and Use of the Term *Isrā'īliyyāt*", pp. 202–206; McAuliffe, "Assesing the *Isrā'īliyyāt*", pp. 360–361.

190 Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 524.

191 Ibid., § 519. Ṭūfī further informs us that the Qur'anic evidence presented by those who opt for Isaac is the verse 38:45–46, in which Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are specifically mentioned as those who were purified by a pure quality, which was interpreted by some as being purified by different tests they were afflicted with: Abraham with fire, Isaac with sacrifice, and Jacob with separation from Joseph. Ṭūfī, however, suggests that the above-mentioned verse does not necessarily imply this meaning. In his opinion, the Qur'anic verse 21:85, in which the prophets Ishmael, Idrīs and Dhū al-Kifl are praised for their patience, is a clearer basis on which to deduce that it was Ishmael who was the intended sacrifice, for patience is the key attribute that the intended sacrifice is described with in the Qur'anic story of the sacrifice

that the intended sacrifice was Ishmael, reading the relevant Qur'anic verses as clear allusions to Ishmael (Q 37:101–112).[192] He finds this interpretation to be supported by the majority of the Muslim scholars and more appropriate to the meaning of the Biblical verses ('your only son' as in Genesis 22:2, 12 and 16).[193] Ultimately, it is not Ṭūfī's conclusion regarding which of the two opinions is preferable over the other that is most significant, but rather his willingness to recognise the opposing view as part of Islamic tradition, his inclusive attitude towards the lore of *isrā'iliyyāt* and his readiness to utilise this abundant material in his exegesis.

One of the points in which Ṭūfī's *Ta'līq* significantly departs from his *Tafsīr* is to be found in his critique of the Biblical text. He diligently reads and comments on the Bible, yet he does not shy away from expressing serious doubts with regard to its authenticity. In interreligious discourse, both Muslims and Christians have adopted the use of one another's scripture in forming their theological assessments of the 'other'. As Christians offered a Christianised reading of the Qur'an, likewise Muslims proposed an Islamicised interpretation of the Bible. The Christian attempt to vindicate Jesus' divinity through the use of the Qur'an[194] and the Muslim effort to prove the authenticity of

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(Q 37:102): 'God willing, you shall find me of the patient ones' (ibid., § 528). On the question of Abraham's sacrifice in Muslim exegetical tradition, see R. Firestone, "Abraham's Son as the Intended Sacrifice (*al-Dhabīḥ*, Qur'ān 37:99–113): Issues in Qur'ānic Exegesis", *JSS*, 34/1 (1989), pp. 95–131; R. Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands: The Evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis*, Albany, NY, 1990.

[192] Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, §§ 519–523.

[193] Ibid., §§ 524–525. Ṭūfī examines thoroughly the Qur'anic description of the intended sacrifice as 'a clement boy' (Q 37:101), which he interprets as a reference to Ishmael and his descendant Muḥammad, rather than Isaac and his descendant Moses. Comparing the character of Muḥammad to that of Moses, Ṭūfī suggests that Muḥammad is more deserving of this name than Moses and that the traces of clemency are more visible among the children of Ishmael than they are among the children of Isaac. Therefore, the intended sacrifice should be Ishmael, concludes Ṭūfī (ibid., §§ 520–523).

[194] S.H. Griffith points out that Arab Christian apologists and polemicists 'have both polemicized against the Islamic scripture, and have used it, sometimes alongside the Christian Bible, to testify to the truth of Christian doctrines'. On the one hand, they held the Qur'an to be a flawed scripture, yet on the other, they quoted from it in order to defend Christianity (Griffith, "The Qur'ān in Arab Christian Texts: the Development of an Apologetical Argument: Abū Qurrah in the *Maǧlis* of al-Ma'mūn", *Pd'O*, 24 (1999), pp. 232, 204–205). In M.N. Swanson's words, they went so far as to adopt the use of the Qur'an as a major strategy in their enterprise of appropriating the texts for apologetic purposes 'without the slightest attention to Qur'anic context, let alone to communal consensus of interpretation.' This was sometimes articulated in such a way that Qur'anic refutation of Christian belief was presented as an affirmation of that belief (M.N. Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting: Approaches to the Qur'ān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies", *MW*, 88 (1998), pp. 303, 304–305). Not only was the Muslim scripture used as a proof-text, but the vocabulary and terminology of Christian Ara-

Muḥammad's prophethood with Biblical testimonia[195] are the best examples of such an endeavour. Yet the Christian and Muslim perceptions of the Qur'an and the Bible have fundamentally differed from one another. Considering the words of the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I, which identify Muḥammad as an upright person 'who walked in the path of the prophets',[196] Sidney Griffith aptly comments that 'even the friendlist of Christian apologists who lived in the world of Islam in the early Islamic period stopped short of accepting Muḥammad as a prophet in any canonical sense, and of accepting the Qur'ān as a canonical book of divine revelation.'[197] As for the Muslims, they accepted Jesus as the prophet of God, but categorically denied his divinity. In Muslim opinion, both the Gospel and the Torah were subjected to human intervention and change (*taḥrīf*), and therefore do not share the uniquely authoritative status of the Qur'an. Yet in their unadulterated forms these scriptures, like the Qur'an, originated from one and the same divine source. The Muslim reading of the Bible, therefore, had two ends in view: firstly, to refute what was seen as incompatible with Islam, or in other words, to point out the *muḥarraf* (altered) parts of the Biblical text,

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bic apologetic literature was also influenced by those of the Qur'an, as evidenced by many Qur'anic allusions and resonances (See S.K. Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity (*c.* 750)", *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period* (*750–1258*), ed. S.K. Samir and J.S. Nielsen, Leiden 1994, p. 109; S.H. Griffith, "Answering the Call of the Minaret: Christian Apologetics in the World of Islam", *Redefining Christian Identity: Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam*, ed. J.J. Van Ginkel et al., Leuven, 2005, p. 105). According to what D. Bertaina contends, the development of these writings 'found its primary impulse not in the Arabic Bible, but in an increasingly thorough evaluation of the Qur'an' (D. Bertaina, "The Development of Testimony Collections in Early Christian Apologetics with Islam", *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, ed. D. Thomas, Leiden, 2007, p. 173).

195 A section consisting of Biblical verses regarded as predictions of Muḥammad's coming was always an important part of the genre called *dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, *bashā'ir al-nubuwwa*, or *a'lām al-nubuwwa* (proofs, glad tidings or signs of prophethood) which aimed to prove the authenticity of Muḥammad's prophetic mission. Genesis, Isaiah, the Psalms and John's Gospel are among the most quoted Biblical books in this regard. Verses containing any words derived from the root *ḥ-m-d*, place names that could be related to Mecca and its surroundings, and Jesus' promised Paraclete are all viewed as attesting to the Prophet of Islam and his mission. For a detailed study of various examples of Biblical exegesis among the Muslims in the context of *testimonia*, see H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism*, Princeton, 1992, pp. 83–110. The classification provided by Lazarus-Yafeh includes five thematic groups: (1) the desert motif and comfort verses; (2) the conquering army; (3) Muslim prayer and pilgrimage; (4) messianic verses; and (5) epithets and descriptions of Muḥammad. See also Adang, *Muslim Writers*, pp. 139–162; 264–266.

196 A. Mingana, "The Apology of Timothy the Patriarch before the Caliph Mahdî", *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. II, Cambridge 1928, pp. 61–62.

197 Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*, p. 105.

and secondly to explore the unmodified divine truths preserved therein. As in Ṭūfī's work, these objectives materialised in both the Muslim critique of Christian theology and in Muslim interpretations of the Bible.

Discourse on how a Muslim should read the Bible developed within the context of *taḥrīf*, although the connotation of the term varied from one theologian to another. Some preferred to render *taḥrīf* as misinterpretation of the divine word in particular, while others placed emphasis on textual falsification. In his attitude towards the Christian scriptures, like many other Muslim authors, Ṭūfī principally relied on the *ḥadīth* which instructs the members of the Muslim community neither to accept nor reject the sayings of the People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb*), but rather to follow the Qur'anic call to universal prophethood: to believe in *all* that is revealed by God (Q 29:46).[198] This prophetic report is understood, on the one hand, as forbidding Muslims from confirming what the *ahl al-kitāb* narrate lest they accept as true what was distorted, while on the other hand, forbidding them from disbelieving the Jews and the Christians lest they deny the true revelation which has been preserved intact. Accordingly, for Ṭūfī, the Jewish and Christian scriptures were not subject to alteration in their totality, but rather in partial forms. Only those parts that were considered to be detrimental to Jewish and Christian teachings were affected by subsequent change and alteration.[199]

What does Ṭūfī actually mean by *taḥrīf* and how does he define it? In his writings Ṭūfī differentiates between, as he terms it, *taḥrīf tabdīl* (textual alteration) and *taḥrīf ta'wīl* (erroneous interpretation). He underlines that there are two diverse positions among the Muslim scholars, some of whom take *taḥrīf* to mean 'textual distortion', whilst others define it as 'misinterpretation'. Ṭūfī, however, prefers a synthesis of the two opinions, holding some parts of the Biblical text to be subject to falsification and yet considering some others to be misinterpreted.[200] He substantiates his position with the Qur'anic verses 5:41 (*min baʿḍ mawāḍiʿih*), changing words 'from their places' and 5:13 (*ʿan mawāḍiʿih*), taking words 'out of their context'; the former referring to textual alteration (*tabdīl*) and the latter to misinterpretation (*ta'wīl*), in his view.[201] In this harmonised categorisation, he seems to have

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198 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Shahādāt" 30, "Tafsīr sūrat al-Baqara" 11, "al-Iʿtiṣām bi-al-kitāb" 26, "al-Tawḥīd" 51; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "ʿIlm" 2; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 4/136.

199 Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 350. The same *ḥadīth* is also cited and commented on in his *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, pp. 231–232; vol. II, p. 751) and *Ḥallāl* (f. 18b).

200 Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. I, p. 278; vol. II, p. 107.

201 Ibid., vol. II, p. 108.

embraced a position similar to that of his teacher Ibn Taymiyya who, relying on the Qur'anic verses 4:46 ('who change words from their context') and 3:78 ('who distort the Book with their tongues'), also held that *taḥrīf* implied two distinct phenomena, that is, 'tampering with revelation and distorting through false interpretation',[202] as designated in his words: *taḥrīf al-lafẓ* and *taḥrīf al-maʿnā*[203] respectively.

Both meanings of *taḥrīf*—the textual corruption of the Bible and the misinterpretation of the text—are embodied in Ṭūfī's method of metaphorical interpretation which, as one can easily observe, he employs extensively in his *Critical Commentary*. His approach is also very much dependent upon the context and the subject of discussion. So, for instance, when dealing with the theme of Biblical prophecies regarding the coming of Muḥammad and his prophetic mission, the type of *taḥrīf* he is concerned with is predominantly the second category, what he defines as the interpretative deviations of the *ahl al-kitāb*. Yet when discussing Christian doctrines, such as the Trinity or the Incarnation, it is the first form of *taḥrīf*, the textual alteration, to which he refers, though only when all his efforts in interpreting the relevant verses in harmony with Islamic teachings fail. What Ṭūfī often underlines is that the act of change (*tabdīl*) is a subsequent phenomenon which occurred as a result of: (1) wilfulness and fanaticism, (2) transmission by meaning, (3) faulty translations, and (4) incorrect interpretations.[204] In Ṭūfī's scheme, the first and the last fall into the category of intentional alterations, while the second and the third are accidental and do not necessarily imply a deliberate modification. Therefore, we may conclude that his idea of textual corruption (*taḥrīf*) is related to two different historical processes: (1) intentional distortion and (2) accidental deviation caused by the transmission of the text and its translation. Yet the Torah, the Gospel and other prophetic books in their purely original forms are understood to have been divinely inspired, true revelations of God.

After this presentation of Ṭūfī's interest in the Christian scriptures, the sources he relied upon, the themes covered in his exegetical work and the methods he employed, we may now turn our attention to the Arabic Gospels Ṭūfī used in his critical commentary.

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[202] Memon, *Ibn Taimīya's Struggle*, p. 95.

[203] For a detailed analysis of Ibn Taymiyya's assessment of *taḥrīf*, see Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, pp. 112–120.

[204] Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 189; see also § 350.

The Arabic Gospels Read by Ṭūfī

In the introduction to his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, Ṭūfī speaks of the 'authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and accurate (*maḍbūṭ*) copy' he saw, read and quoted from.[205] The question therefore arises, which version of the Arabic Gospels did Ṭūfī cite from in his *Taʿlīq*? The two qualities of 'authenticity' and 'accuracy' attributed to the copy of Mathew's Gospel refer to its approval and widespread use among the Arabic-speaking Christian communities of Egypt and its surroundings. In other words, Ṭūfī assures the reader that his references to the Gospel belong to the version that was widely used and recognised as authentic by the local Christians of his time. With this statement, he also implies that his source is canonical, rather than an apocryphal text neither acknowledged nor read by the Church.

Studies have shown that Arabic translations of the Gospels originated from a number of languages, such as Greek, Syriac and Coptic.[206] But which specific translation was in circulation in Ṭūfī's time? In order to explore this question further, it is necessary briefly to look at the historical development of the Arabic Gospels between their first appearance and the early 14th century. With regard to their origins, Ignazio Guidi, in his pioneering work, raised the question of whether Arabic Gospels existed in the pre-Islamic era.[207] Although a number of scholars have subsequently argued for the existence of Arabic Gospels prior to Islam,[208] the majority hold that it was only after the emergence of Islam that the need for translation into Arabic was really felt.[209] This, in Sidney H. Griffith's words, is the result of 'the fact

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[205] Ibid., §§ 8 and 21.

[206] Ignazio Guidi classifies the Arabic Gospels into five categories, a classification which is also accepted by the "Indjīl" entry of the *EI*^{2} , with the addition of a sixth category: (1) Texts translated directly from the Greek; (2) Texts translated from or corrected according to the Syriac (Peshitta); (3) Texts translated from the Bohairic Coptic or modified according to it; (4) Texts of eclectic recensions; (5) Texts in rhymed prose and other more particular literary forms; and (6) Arabic versions of Western origin. See I. Guidi, "Le traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e in etiopico", *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, ser. IV, 4 (1888), pp. 5–6; C. de Vaux and [G.C. Anawati], "Inḏjīl", *EI*^{2}, vol. III, p. 1205.

[207] Guidi, "Le traduzioni degli Evangelii", p. 7.

[208] Among the proponents of this theory are L. Cheikho, A. Baumstark, C. Peters and I. Shahid. See L. Cheikho, "Nusakh ʿarabiyya qadīma fī al-sharq", *Al-Machriq*, 4/3 (1901), pp. 97–109; I. Shahîd, *The Martyrs of Najrân: New Documents* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 49), Brussels, 1971, pp. 242–250; I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, Washington DC, 1984, pp. 435–443; I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, Washington DC, 1989, pp. 422–429. A thorough analysis of this theory and the arguments of its opponents is found in S.H. Griffith's article "The Gospel in Arabic: An Inquiry into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century", *OC*, 69 (1985), pp. 153–159.

[209] See F.C. Burkitt, "Arabic Versions", *A Dictionary of the Bible Dealing with its Language,*

that in the world of Islam, from the dawn of the eighth century onward, Arabic, the *lingua sacra* of Islam, had also become the *lingua franca* of the burgeoning Islamic commonwealth.'[210] This position is further corroborated by the extant Christian writings in Arabic, the dates of which do not extend earlier than the 8th century. There are various historical records in reference to some earlier fragments of Arabic translations,[211] but none of these early translations have survived. Relying on the preserved material, many scholars in the field have agreed that the earliest translations were made in the late 8th century, after the rise of Islam.[212] The manuscripts of Christian Arabic literature originating in the monasteries of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai and Mar Sābā near Jerusalem are believed to be the earliest surviving

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Literature, and Contents Including the Biblical Theology, ed. J. Hastings, Edinburgh, 1898, vol. I, p. 136; R.H. Kilgour, "Arabic Versions of the Bible", *MW*, 6 (1916), p. 383; J.F. Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch in the Church of Egypt: A Study from Eighteen Arabic and Copto-Arabic MSS (IX–XVII century) in the National Library at Paris, the Vatican and Bodleian Libraries and the British Museum*, PhD dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1921, p. 14.

[210] Griffith, "The Qur'ān in Arab Christian Texts", p. 214.

[211] An example is a passage (John 15:23–16:1) quoted by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767) in his biography of the Prophet, which is thought to be a fragment of an early translation. Similarly, Wahb b. Munabbih's (d. 110/728 or 114/732) allusions to the Gospel have raised the question of earlier possible sources. Another case is based on a Christian report that a Gospel translation was made in the mid-seventh century by the Jacobite Patriarch John, on the instructions of a Muslim official called ʿAmr b. Saʿd. Yet another historical source refers to the existence of an early Arabic translation by Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Salām, a scholar at the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170/786–193/809). According to Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, besides the Torah and other books of the prophets, Ibn Salām also translated the Gospels into Arabic. See B. Dodge (ed. and tr.), *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, New York-London, 1970, vol. I, p. 42. Likewise other sources maintain that Waraqa b. Nawfal, the Christian cousin of Khadīja, the wife of the Prophet Muḥammad, translated or copied passages of the Gospel into Arabic. For detailed information and analysis of these early examples, see Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic", pp. 135–153; de Vaux, "Inḏjīl", pp. 1205–1206; B.M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament. Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 258–259. Additionally, there are other references to the existence of an early Arabic version of the Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate by John, Bishop of Seville, in the 8th century. See Kilgour, "Arabic Versions of the Bible", p. 384; I.H. Hall, "The Arabic Bible of Drs. Eli Smith and Cornelius V.A. Dan Dyck", *JAOS*, 11 (1882–1885), p. 277; H.S. Gehman, "The Arabic Bible in Spain", *Speculum*, 1/2 (1926), p. 220; Metzger, *The Early Versions*, p. 259.

[212] Guidi, "Le traduzioni degli Evangelii", p. 7; Kilgour, "Arabic Versions of the Bible", p. 384; S.H. Griffith, "Gospel", *EQ*, vol. I, pp. 342–343; "The Gospel in Arabic", p. 128. This remains an ongoing discussion, as demonstrated in a recent study by Hikmat Kashouh. After a thorough textual and linguistic examination of more than 200 Arabic Gospel manuscripts, Kashouh suggests that the Gospels could have been first translated into Arabic in either the 6th or early 7th century (*The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: The Manuscripts and Their Families* (in "Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung" 42), Berlin, 2011, p. 326.

examples.[213] Even a 13th century attempt to find an Arabic translation from the pre-Islamic era seems to have been futile, according to one of the prominent Arabic translators of the Gospels, As'ad Ibn al-'Assāl, whose work will be discussed in the following paragraphs.[214]

As to the history of the Arabic Gospels in Egypt in particular, we know that the Coptic language continued to be used in the administration of the government even after the Muslim conquest in the 7th century. After 85/705, when Arabic became the official language of the administration, however, it gradually replaced Coptic in daily life and in the 10th century it entered Christian literature.[215] Coptic liturgical books began to include Arabic translations beside the Coptic texts and the knowledge of Coptic came to be limited to the monasteries of Upper Egypt.[216] It is during this period of language transition that the use of Arabic Gospel translations became a reality in Egypt. As Sidney Griffith writes, 'Arabic quickly became the principal language of the Copts, and they went on to produce more texts in Arabic than all the other Christian communities in the caliphate put together.'[217] When it comes to the Gospels, Egypt is especially known for

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213 For a detailed presentation of the earliest preserved scriptural texts, see Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic", pp. 131–135; A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament. Manuscript Studies*, Stockholm, 1954, pp. 288–289; Metzger, *The Early Versions*, pp. 261–263; J. Valentine, "Les évangéliaires arabes de la bibliothèque du Monastère Ste-Catherine (Mont Sinaï): essai de classification d'après l'étude d'un chapitre (*Matth*. 28). Traducteurs, réviseurs, types textuels", *LM*, 116 (2003), pp. 415–477.

214 Ibn al-'Assāl mentions that he failed to find any text of the Gospels in Arabic dated to before the Hijra. See his introduction to his eclectic Gospel translation as preserved in the British Library manuscript (D.B. MacDonald, "Ibn al-'Assāl's Arabic Version of the Gospels", *Homenaje á D. Francisco Codera en su Jubilación del Profesorado*, ed. E. Saavedra, Zaragoza, 1904, p. 378 in Arabic and p. 386 in English).

215 Atiya, "Literature, Copto-Arabic", p. 1460; see also Rhode, *The Arabic Versions*, p. 22. The use of the Arabic language became such a widespread phenomenon throughout Egypt that already in the 10th century Sāwīrus (Severus) Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 987), the Coptic bishop of Ashmūnayn (Hermopolis), complains in his work that the greater part of its inhabitants were unable to understand either Greek or Coptic, an important factor which prompted him to write his work in Arabic. See G.C. Anawati, "The Christian Communities in Egypt in the Middle Ages", *Conversion and Continuity*, p. 244; Samir, "Arabic Sources for Early Egyptian Christianity", p. 83. On the life and work of Ibn al-Muqaffa', see S.H. Griffith, "The *Kitāb Miṣbāḥ al-'Aql* of Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa': A Profile of the Christian Creed in Arabic in Tenth Century Egypt", *ME*, 2/1 (1996), pp. 15–42.

216 O.F.A. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt: Ancient and Modern*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1977, p. 159. For the language shift from Coptic to Arabic, see L.S.B. MacCoull's two articles "Three Cultures under Arab Rule: The Fate of Coptic", *BSAC*, 27 (1985), pp. 61–70 and "The Strange Death of Coptic Culture", *CCR*, 10/2 (1989), pp. 35–45.

217 Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*, p. 65.

eclectic recensions, one of which was produced by the prominent Coptic literary figure mentioned earlier, Asʿad Ibn al-ʿAssāl,[218] in 650/1253. Ibn al-ʿAssāl created his own version of the Arabic Gospels using available Arabic translations from the Coptic, Syriac and Greek languages. This translation is believed to have failed to compete with the *Alexandrian Vulgate*,[219] an earlier eclectic translation which, as we will see below, is closely related to Ṭūfī's work.

The *Alexandrian Vulgate*, also known as the *Egyptian Vulgate*, is believed to date back to the 10th or even 9th century.[220] It was so widely disseminated, copied and read among the Arabic-speaking Christians that even the Muslim readership made use of this version, Ghazzālī being one of the earliest examples.[221] As an eclectic recension, the *Alexandrian Vulgate* has for a long time been described as a translation of the Gospels from Coptic into Arabic, in which numerous passages absent from the ancient Coptic version, but present in the Syriac or Greek texts of the Middle Ages, were inserted in marginal notes.[222] However, the history of this text appears to be more complex than this. In his meticulous study of 99 manuscripts of the *Alexandrian*

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[218] As Guidi informs us, one of the manuscripts (the Vatican MS) attributes this translation wrongly to his brother al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl (Guidi, "Le traduzioni degli Evangelii", p. 22).

[219] More information on Ibn al-ʿAssāl's recension is provided by Guidi, "Le traduzioni degli Evangelii", pp. 19–22, 31; Burkitt, "Arabic Versions", pp. 136–137; Kilgour, "Arabic Versions of the Bible", p. 386; Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, p. 295; and Metzger, *The Early Versions*, p. 254. Ibn al-ʿAssāl's introduction to his translation is published and translated into English accompanied with a thorough discussion by MacDonald in his "Ibn al-ʿAssāl's Arabic Version of the Gospels", pp. 375–392. A detailed analysis of this translation and its extant manuscripts is found in S.K. Samir, "La version Arabe des Évangiles d'al-Asʿad Ibn al-ʿAssāl", *Pd'O*, 19 (1994), pp. 444–445. On the life and work of Asʿad Ibn al-ʿAssāl, see A.S. Atiya, "Al-Asʿad Abū al-Faraj Hibat Allāh Ibn al-ʿAssāl", *CE*, vol. I, pp. 282–283.

[220] Although G. Graf asserted that the earliest evidence for the *Alexandrian Vulgate*'s existence was found in the quotations of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, by his comparative study of the Biblical texts H. Kashouh argues that this claim is incorrect, since according to him, Graf wrongly based his argument on an Arabic Biblical quotation 'which he thought to be of the same textual type as this version.' Yet Kashouh is in agreement that this translation was in existence in the 10th century, suggesting the 9th and 10th centuries as possible dates for its production (G. Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur I*, Studi e Testi: 118, Vatican, 1944, p. 157; Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels*, pp. 205–206 and 257).

[221] His quotations from the New Testament correspond to the text of the *Alexandrian Vulgate*. See R. Chidiac, *Réfutation excellente de la divinité de Jésus-Christ d'après les Évangiles*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études: Sciences Religieuses, vol. LIV, Paris, 1939, pp. 71–77.

[222] See Guidi, "Le traduzioni degli Evangelii", pp. 22–25; Burkitt, "Arabic Versions", vol. I, p. 137; Kilgour, "Arabic Versions of the Bible", p. 386; Graf, *Geschichte I*, pp. 155–161; Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, pp. 294–295; Metzger, *The Early Versions*, pp. 264–265; Valentine, "Les évangéliaires arabes", pp. 470–475.

Vulgate, Hikmat Kashouh has come to the conclusion that there is no evidence that this version was originally translated from Coptic. In his view, it is more likely that the text was translated from Syriac and Greek, or from Syriac and subsequently corrected against the Greek. He further suggests that some of the extant manuscripts of this version, especially the bilingual Coptic-Arabic ones were influenced by the Coptic Bohairic version, while a number of others were influenced by Ibn al-ʿAssāl's version, the eclectic translation mentioned above.[223]

Whatever its primary origin may be, the *Alexandrian Vulgate* took into account the Gospels in Coptic, Syriac and Greek. There are several printed editions of the *Alexandrian Vulgate*,[224] but the only one containing the marginal notes is Paul de Lagarde's edition of the Vienna manuscript (Or. 1544),[225] the text of which will be compared with Ṭūfī's Biblical quotations below. The use of the *Alexandrian Vulgate* was apparently not confined to Coptic Christianity in Egypt. It also served as the basis for subsequent Gospel translations into Ethiopic,[226] and was also widely used in Syriac circles.[227] As attested by the abundant number of extant manuscripts, by the end of the 13th century the *Alexandrian Vulgate* seems to have superseded all other Arabic translations and served as a standard Arabic version of the Gospels.[228]

So here lies the answer to the question of which Gospel version Ṭūfī used. We have noted earlier that Ṭūfī defines his source as 'an authentic and accurate copy.' After a comparative analysis of the texts of the *Alexandrian Vulgate* and the Gospel quotations of Ṭūfī, a direct link between the two can undoubtedly be established. Through word-by-word citations it becomes clear that Ṭūfī's source of reference was none other than a copy of the *Alexandrian Vulgate*. Even in cases where Ṭūfī summarises or paraphrases Gospel verses, the words, phrases and the structure of the sentences he offers are in correspondence to those of the *Alexandrian Vulgate*.

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223 Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels*, p. 329. For his critique of Guidi's theory that the *Alexandrian Vulgate* was initially translated from Coptic Bohairic, and further analysis of the subject, see ibid., pp. 253–257.

224 It was first published in Rome in 1591. Then comes T. Erpenio's edition in 1616, followed by the Roman publication of 1703 and that of London in 1829 (Guidi, "Le traduzioni degli Evangelii", p. 24 and pp. 31–32).

225 P. de Lagarde, *Die Vier Evangelien Arabisch aus der Wiener Handschrift Herausgegeben*, Leipzig, 1864.

226 Guidi, "Le traduzioni degli Evangelii", pp. 34–35.

227 Apparently, many of the Karshūnī manuscripts contain the text of the *Alexandrian Vulgate*. See Graf, *Geschichte I*, p. 158; Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, p. 295.

228 Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels*, p. 206.

Amongst the clearest indications of this parallel between the *Alexandrian Vulgate* and the Gospel references of Ṭūfī's text is his citation of a short biography of Matthew, given at the beginning of his critical commentary on this Gospel.[229] An extended version of the same passage is present in the introduction to the Gospel of Matthew in the *Alexandrian Vulgate* as published by Lagarde.[230] The two passages are as follows:

Ta'līq:	*Alexandrian Vulgate*:
انجيل متى الذى كان يسمى لاوى	**بشارة** متى **المصطفى** الذى كان يسمّى لاوى [...]
وهو من سبط ايشاخر من مدينة الناصرة	وهو من سبط ايساخر من مدينة الناصرة
واسم ابيه دوقو واسم امه كاروثياس	واسم ابيه دوقو واسم امه كاروتياس [...]
وكتب بداية **هذا الانجيل** بفلسطين **وكله**	وكتب بداية **هذه البشارة** بفلسطين **وكلها**
فى الهند عبرانيا	في الهند عبرانيا
في السنة الاولى من ملك اقلوديوس	في السنة الاولى من ملك اقلوديوس
وهى التاسعة من **صعود المسيح صلوات الله عليه**	وهى **السنة** التاسعة **للصعود المقدس**
ومات متى شهيدا رجما بمدينة بشبرى	**وكانت شهادته** بمدينة بشبرى رجما [...]
ودفن فى ارطاجنة قيسارية	ودفن فى ارطاجنة قيسارية [...]

The agreement between the two passages is apparent. In both the syntax and content, they are almost identical, apart from a few minor divergences. While the *Alexandrian Vulgate* uses the word *al-Bishāra* (the glad tidings) for the Gospel, Ṭūfī prefers the Qur'anic term of *al-Injīl*, an Arabic transliteration of the Greek *Evangelion*.[231] Similarly, while in the former it is *al-ṣu'ūd al-muqaddas* (the holy ascension), the latter has it as *ṣu'ūd al-Masīḥ* (the ascension of Christ). The epithet *al-muṣṭafā* (the chosen one) for the evangelist Matthew is omitted in Ṭūfī's text, while the mention of Christ is followed by the addition of *ṣalawāt Allāh 'alayh* (blessings of God be upon him), the standard Muslim eulogy for the prophets, which must have been added by Ṭūfī himself. Finally, the word *sana* (year) is dropped from Ṭūfī's text, which could be an omission either on his part or that of the copyist.

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229 Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, § 21.

230 Lagarde, *Die Vier Evangelien Arabisch*, p. iv. I have not included the parts which are not mentioned in the *Ta'līq*.

231 A. Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda, 1938, pp. 71–72.

Here is another example (John 14:15–17), in which the only difference between the two texts is the word *thābit* (present), which is missing in the text of the *Ta'līq*:

Ta'līq:[233]	*Alexandrian Vulgate*:[232]
ان كنتم تحبونى فاحفظوا وصاياى	ان كنتم تحبونني فاحفظوا وصاياى
وانا اطلب من الاب فيعطيكم فارقليط اخر	وانا اطلب من الاب فيعطيكم فارقليط اخر
ليثبت معكم الى الابد	ليثبت معكم الى الابد
روح الحق الذى لن يطيق العالم ان يقبلوه	روح الحق الذى لن يطق العالم ان يقبلوه
لانهم لم يروه ولم يعرفوه وانتم تعرفونه	لانهم لم يروه ولم يعرفوه وانتم تعرفونه
لانه مقيم عندكم وهو فيكم	لانه مقيم عندكم وهو **ثابت** فيكم

As these examples show, Ṭūfī often quotes *verbatim* from the Gospels, yet at other times he transmits the text much more freely, using synonymous words, dropping some parts of it, and even summarising it. Here is an example, a quotation from Luke 1:18–20:

Ta'līq:[235]	*Alexandrian Vulgate*:[234]
قال زكريا للملك كيف اعلم هذا	**فقال** زكريا للملك كيف اعلم هذا
وانا شيخ و**أمه** قد طعنت فى ايامها	وانا شيخ و**امراتى** قد طعنت فى ايامها
فقال الملك انا جبريل الواقف قدام الله	**فاجاب** الملك **وقال له** انا جبريل الواقف قدام الله
ارسلت اكلمك بهذا وابشرك	ارسلت اكلمك بهذا وابشرك
ومن الان تكون صامتا لا **تقدر** تتكلم	ومن الان تكون صامتا لا **تستطيع** تتكلم
الى اليوم الذى يكون هذا	الى اليوم الذى يكون هذا
لانك لم تؤمن بكلامى الذى يتم فى اوانه	لانك لم تومن بكلامى الذى يتم فى اوانه

Here Ṭūfī begins with *qāla* (he said) instead of *fa-qāla* (and he said); changes *imra'atī* (my wife) into *ummihi* (his mother); shortens *fa-ajāba al-malak*

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232 Lagarde, *Die Vier Evangelien Arabisch*, p. 133.
233 Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, § 314.
234 Lagarde, *Die Vier Evangelien Arabisch*, p. 67.
235 Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, § 218.

wa-qāla lahu (and the angel responded saying to him) as simply *fa-qāla al-malak* (the angel said); and prefers *lā taqdiru* (you are not able) as a synonym for *lā tastaṭīʿu* (you are not capable). We should bear in mind that such differences may—to a greater or lesser extent—also be the result of variant readings among different copies of the *Alexandrian Vulgate*, since not all the extant manuscripts are uniform.[236]

Occasionally, Ṭufī changes the sequence of the verses, as observed in the case of Matthew 23:8–10. In Ṭūfī's quotation, verse 10 precedes verse 9:

Alexandrian Vulgate:[237]	*Taʿlīq*:[238]
فلا تدعوا لكم معلما على الارض	**لا** تدعوا لكم معلما على الارض
فان معلمكم واحد هو المسيح وانتم **جميعا** اخوة	فان معلمكم واحد هو المسيح وانتم **جميع** اخوة
ولا تدعوا لكم ابا على الارض	ولا تدعوا لكم مدبرا على الارض
فان اباكم واحد هو الذى فى السموات	فان مدبركم واحد هو المسيح
ولا تدعوا لكم مدبرا على الارض	ولا تدعوا لكم ابا على الارض
فان واحد هو مدبركم المسيح	فان اباكم واحد هو الذى فى السماوات

Among the cases where the Biblical text quoted in the *Taʿlīq* departs from that of the *Alexandrian Vulgate* is Matthew 17:25–26. The word *nabiyyīn* (prophets) is used in the former, while *banīn* (sons) is found in the latter. Ṭūfī points out that the word in question 'has a form in the Gospel fluctuating between *nabbiyyīn* (prophets), the plural of *nabī* (prophet), and *banīn* (sons), the plural of *ibn* (son)'.[239] It is unclear whether he means the differences among the Gospel copies or the interchangeable use of the two words in the Gospel in general. Since his interests lie in the theological implications of the word, he does not delve into further details on these variations. Given the fact that he interprets 'son' (*ibn*) as an honorary title for 'prophet' (*nabī*), one is inclined to think that this explanation may refer to the interchangeable metaphorical meaning of the two titles, and not necessarily to the variation in the script, although the latter cannot be discounted either.

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236 For a thorough analysis of the variants of this version, see Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels*, pp. 214–237.

237 Lagarde, *Die Vier Evangelien Arabisch*, p. 31.

238 Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 122.

239 Ibid., § 101.

The points discussed above leave us in no doubt that the Arabic version of the Gospels Ṭūfī read and quoted from was none other than the *Alexandrian Vulgate*, a translation in wide circulation among the Christians of Egypt at the time.

CONCLUSION

> From the age of Adam to the time of Jesus, each of the prophets kneaded the dough of religion in a different fashion, but it was to Muhammad, upon whom be peace, that the glowing oven full of the fire of love belonged. When the dough [...] was handed to him [...] the bread of religion was baked to perfection in the twenty-three years of his prophethood. [...] Then he brought it forth from the oven of love and hung over the door of his shop a proclamation saying, "I have been sent to the red and the black".
>
> Najm al-Dīn Rāzī Dāya[1]

This passage offers a vivid description of Islamic prophetology, which has served as a defining criterion for Muslim perceptions of the 'other'. In Ṭūfī's words, Muḥammad is the first (*awwal*) and the last (*ākhir*). He is the one arriving last (*mu'akhkhar*), yet taking precedence (*muqaddam*) over all other messengers of God.[2] Muslim theology affirms that Muḥammad's prophethood was predetermined even before Adam's creation,[3] and as the seal of the prophets (*khātam al-nabiyyīn*) his mission was accomplished by his coming towards the end of time, bringing together the past and the future through the everlasting message of the Qur'an. Accordingly, the Prophet and the Qur'an have played crucial roles in Muslim notions of selfhood and their understanding of other faith traditions.[4] This reality resounds through the writings of many medieval Muslim theologians, amongst whom Ṭūfī emerges as a notable figure.

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[1] H. Algar (tr.), *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return* (*Merṣād al-ʿebād men al-mabdā' elā'l-maʿād*). *A Sufi Compendium by Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, known as Dāya*, Delmar, New York, 1982, p. 168.

[2] Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 1.

[3] The Prophet reportedly said in a *ḥadīth*: 'I was a prophet while Adam was between water and clay.' Jesus' pre-existence, as affirmed in the Gospels, is interpreted by Ṭūfī in the light of this *ḥadīth*. In Ṭūfī's understanding, it is not Jesus' actual existence that is implied in the Gospels, but rather his virtual presence in God's pre-existent knowledge and the glad tidings of the earlier prophets (ibid., § 257).

[4] The same applies to Christian self-perception and understanding of the 'other'. Among the historical examples of mutual influence are the debates on the createdness of the Qur'an (*khalq al-Qur'ān*) articulated in Islamic theology, on the one hand, and the iconoclastic

Muslim-Christian discourse has primarily involved those aspects of Christianity that are deemed to be incompatible with Islam and its teachings. These are for the most part matters of dogmatic theology, followed by a number of secondary issues related to worship and religious practice. The Christian doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the divinity of Jesus and his crucifixion are amongst the main targets of numerous medieval Muslim writings on Christianity. Endorsed by the teachings of the Qur'an, the traditional pattern of religious dialogue with Christians traces its origin back to the early days of the Muslim community in Medina and their encounter with the Christian delegation from Najrān (Northern Yemen) in 9/630.[5] One may regard this earliest theological engagement as an instructive precedent for subsequent Muslim-Christian dialogue throughout the centuries. In this historical event, on the one hand, theological differences were placed under thorough scrutiny and criticised by the Muslims, whilst on the other, not only was the Christian delegation welcomed to pray and worship according to their own tradition, but they were also invited to use the Prophet's mosque for this purpose.[6] This pattern would later be represented in the manner by which two Islamic disciplines, law (*fiqh*) and theology (*kalām*), shaped Muslim treatment of other faith communities. In classical legal tradition, the *ahl al-kitāb*, Christians and Jews, came to be regarded as people under the covenant of protection (*ahl al-dhimma*), whose right to practice their religion was recognised. Yet when it came to theological contentions, they were not spared severe criticism and reproach. Ṭūfī, like many other Muslim polemicists, adopted the same stance. Whilst he refuted the Christian understanding of God and His attributes, using his academic expertise and scholarly skills, he also spent a period of time amongst Christians, took residence in the home of a Christian for a certain amount of time and entered into theological discussions with various Christians. Ṭūfī's interest in exploring Christianity thus manifests itself in both his personal life and scholarly endeavour, shedding light upon intellectual exchanges between these two Abrahamic traditions in Mamlūk Egypt.

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controversy in Eastern Christendom on the other. Similarly, one should remember the discourse on the attributes of God in *'ilm al-kalām* (especially the question of whether the divine attributes are distinct from His essence or identical) and the Christian justification of the Trinity through the use of the Muslim notion of *ṣifāt*.

[5] On the Christian deputation of Najrān and their meeting with the Muslim community in Medina, see A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muḥammad: A Translation of Ibn Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, Karachi, 1967, pp. 270–277.

[6] See Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 271.

With his investigation of Christian doctrine, Ṭūfī for the most part aims to demonstrate that no connection between Christian theology and its scriptures can be established. Only in a few instances does he refer to other aspects of Christianity, particularly the Christian attitude towards revealed law (*sharīʿa*), on which he accuses them of abandoning the religious practices followed by Christ and of introducing new customs. Among the criticisms made by Ṭūfī in this regard are the omission of purification from ritual uncleanness (*ḥadath*) and impurity (*khubth*),[7] abandonment of the Abrahamic practice of circumcision[8] and the prohibition of divorce.[9] Although his academic career in Islamic learning primarily flourished in legal studies, in his critique of Christianity Ṭūfī's attention is above all attracted to matters of faith (*ʿaqāʾid*), rather than those of religious law (*fiqh*). He is fundamentally interested in the study of monotheism and how, as he perceives it, deviations therefrom have manifested. Ṭūfī's foremost objective is to commend the truth of Islam to his coreligionists and teach them about Christianity in order to equip them against the challenges posed by Christians. Inspired by the Qur'anic verses: 'argue not with the People of the Book unless it be in the best way' (Q 29:46) and 'argue with them in the best possible way' (Q 16:125), Ṭūfī regards this endeavour as a communal duty (*farḍ kifāya*).[10] In his understanding, the aim should be directed at 'bringing the truth to light', rather than 'showing off one's own superiority.' Therefore, 'one must not care whether the argument goes for him or against him.'[11] Despite his cutting style in challenging his opponents, which ultimately mirrors the typical vocabulary of the period within inter-faith as well as intra-faith discourses, one may take Ṭūfī's occasional criticism of his own argument[12] as an indication that although polemical, his work was not purely partisan. Rather, he seems compelled by his loyalty to what he believes to be the truth and by his commitment to the principle of *amr bi-al-maʿrūf wa-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, 'commanding the good and forbidding evil.' However, in Ṭūfī's

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[7] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 82–91; *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 274.

[8] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 344–345, 415–418 and 498–499.

[9] See ibid., §§ 104–108.

[10] Ṭūfī, *ʿAlam*, p. 9.

[11] Ibid., p. 13.

[12] Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 353. This appears in his discussion of Isaiah 53:4–7, read by Christian exegetes as a prophecy of Christ's suffering on the cross. Ṭūfī's attention is drawn to the grammatical structure of the passage. Had Isaiah been addressing future events he would have used the future tense instead of past. But fairness does not permit such an argument, Ṭūfī concludes, for likewise does the Qur'an refer to the future using the past tense (ibid., vol. II, pp. 350–353).

practice, the Qur'anic instruction to argue with the *ahl al-kitāb* 'in the best possible manner', seems to be primarily understood as an exhortation to purity of intention in theological dispute, rather than informing the style in which this task is to be carried out.

The *Taʿlīq* illustrates how well-versed Ṭūfī was in Muslim theological discourse on Christianity. He efficiently made use of both earlier and contemporary literature, and his arguments, reasoning, debate and critique clearly resonate with the traditional Muslim assessment of Christianity in the period. Ṭūfī's knowledge was not limited exclusively to Muslim polemical literature on Christianity. As the present study has shown, he was also familiar with Christian polemical writings against Islam and even those against Judaism. His personal contact with Christians must have also played an important role in informing his understanding of Christianity. Very often Ṭūfī's arguments and methods of refutation reveal parallels with those of his predecessors and contemporaries. Yet he does not always blindly follow the well-trodden path of other polemicists, leading us to conclude that Ṭūfī advocated controversial views not only in the area of Islamic law (with his understanding of *maṣlaḥa*) and historical criticism (with his reflective comments on early Islamic history), but also with regard to Christianity. His unusual position concerning the angelic nature of Jesus[13] and his eccentric view on the resurrection of Jesus[14] may be counted among the most striking differences between Ṭūfī and many other Muslim scholars writing on Christianity. Although views such as these can be traced back to certain archetypal features already present in earlier Muslim sources, as noted and analysed in the relevant parts of the original text that follows, most of these instances comprise fresh insights generated or in some cases revived by Ṭūfī's remarkable intellectual endeavour. It is disappointing, however, that Ṭūfī neglects to provide us with explicit references to the Muslim or Christian sources he relied upon when producing his *Taʿlīq*. An attempt to identify Ṭūfī's debt to his predecessors and contemporaries is therefore one of the tasks of the present study, the findings of which are provided in the notes to the translation.

As described earlier, Ṭūfī stands out as the first Muslim theologian to have produced a commentary on both scriptures, the Qur'an and the Bible. In order to understand better Ṭūfī's passionate interest in this ambitious task, one must also reflect on the position of divine revelation in his thought. The

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[13] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 261.
[14] See ibid., § 152.

scripture is the foundation of religion and the basis of truth, for Ṭūfī, and reason (*ʿaql*) is the medium through which we make sense of the divine word. Reason is intended to supply the revealed religion (*sharʿ*) with the methods that govern theological discussion on the existence of God, His unity, the authenticity of prophethood and other tenets of faith.[15] Ṭūfī's methodology of using *ʿaql* in the service of *sharʿ* is embodied in the honorific title he confers on theologians: 'Students of Abraham'.[16] Relying on the Abrahamic model promoted by the Qur'an (16:121), Ṭūfī believes that the path of *naẓar* (speculative reasoning) and *istidlāl* (argumentation) is the *ṣirāṭ mustaqīm* (straight path).[17] Ultimately, it is rational principles that comprise the common premises accepted by the followers of the three Abrahamic faith traditions: Muslims, Christians and Jews.[18] Divine revelation has brought nothing that contradicts reason.[19] Therefore, scriptures should stand at the very heart of any meaningful theological endeavour. Yet, as demonstrated in his Qur'an and Bible commentaries, Ṭūfī is careful not to fall into exegetical literalism. This is clearly expressed in his recurrent preference for the metaphorical (*majāz*) over the literal (*ḥaqīqa*), and his constant effort in applying figurative interpretation (*taʾwīl*) to the scriptures, Christian and Muslim alike.

The *Taʿlīq* is an excellent illustration of a medieval Muslim theologian's skillful engagement with the scriptural text as a tool to educate the faithful members of his own community on the intricacies of Muslim-Christian discourse. As a scholarly venture, it exemplifies the way the Bible was read, interpreted and used as a proof text for the construction of early 14th century Muslim views of Christianity and its teachings. With the rich and meticulous material it offers to readers, Ṭūfī's Biblical exegesis is an invaluable treasure for the study of Muslim-Christian dialogue and its intellectual history.

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15 Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 234.
16 Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 178.
17 Ṭūfī, ibid., vol. II, p. 385.
18 See Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. II, p. 745.
19 *Al-sharʿu lam yaʾti bi-mā yunāfī al-ʿaql* (Ṭūfī, ibid., vol. I, p. 237).

CRITICAL EDITION AND TRANSLATION

NOTES ON THE CRITICAL EDITION, MANUSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATION

The present critical edition of ***al-Taʿlīq ʿalā al-Anājīl al-arbaʿa wa-al-taʿlīq ʿalā al-Tawrāh wa-ʿalā ghayrihā min kutub al-anbiyā***' (Critical Commentary on the Four Gospels, the Torah and other Books of the Prophets) has been prepared on the basis of two extant manuscripts located in Istanbul: (1) Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa, 2315/4 and (2) Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 795/2. As far as I can determine, no other manuscripts have been preserved. In the present study the letter ش (*shīn*) is used as an abbreviation for the Şehid Ali Paşa manuscript, while ك (*kāf*) refers to the manuscript held in the Köprülü Library. Additionally, ش هـ stands for the comments written in the margins of the first manuscript, while ك هـ indicates the marginal notes of the latter. All folio references are made to the Şehid Ali Paşa MS. *Recto* and *verso* sides of the folios are distinguished by و and ظ (in Arabic), and 'a' and 'b' (in English) respectively.

The Şehid Ali Paşa MS, which is used as a primary text for this critical edition, forms the fourth and last part of a codex that contains Ṭūfī's other three works: (1) *ʿAlam al-jadhal fī ʿilm al-jadal*; (2) *Dar' al-qawl al-qabīḥ bi-al-taḥsīn wa-al-taqbīḥ*; (3) *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya wa-kashf shubah al-naṣrāniyya*. The work in this codex is entitled *al-Radd ʿalā kitāb ṣannafahu baʿḍ al-naṣārā sammāhu al-Sayf al-murhaf fī al-radd ʿalā al-Muṣḥaf*. Next to this title on the front page of the codex, we also find another title penned in a different handwriting. This is most probably a note from one of its readers identifying the work as: *al-Taʿlīq ʿalā al-Anājīl al-arbaʿa wa-al-taʿlīq ʿalā al-Tawrāh wa-ʿalā ghayrihā min kutub al-anbiyā'*. According to the copyist's record, written at the closing part of the *Taʿlīq* (f. 271b), the manuscript was completed on Wednesday 22 Ṣafar 728/[ca. 6 January 1328]. Relying on the fact that the second part of this codex, namely *Dar' al-qawl al-qabīḥ* was reproduced from the author's copy,[1] we may conclude that the text of the *Taʿlīq* might also have been copied from the author's copy.

[1] See Ṭūfī, *Dar*, pp. 58, 64.

Incipit: (f. 212b)

بسم الله الرَّحمن الرَّحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم الحمد لله رافع السّبع الشداد وواضع الارض المهاد ومثبتها بشوامخ الاوتاد الذي سَلك بالسعدَا من خلقه سبل الرشاد وعدل باشقيائهم عن طرق السداد الي الكفر وَالالحاد احمده على ما وفق له من الطريق الاقوم واشكره على ما الهمنا من الحكمه وَعلمنا ما لم نكن نعلم.

Explicit: (f. 271b)

والانبيآء كثيرونَ والزمانُ مُتقادِمٌ والنّقولُ قد تعذّر تصحيحُهَا الي ٱلزّمنِ ٱلقربِ فما ظنُّك بالبعيدِ الدى قد وَقعَ الناسُ منهُ فى حيصَ بيصَ أمَّا اذا منعنا صِحّةَ الحديثِ كان السُّؤال من أصلهِ غيرَ واردٍ واسترحنا من التّعبِ واللَّهُ اعلم.

This is followed by a colophon (ff. 271b–272a), specifying the date of the copy, which reads:

وهذا آحر ما وقع الاختيارُ عليه من المعلمى على التوراه وغيرِها ووَافق الفراغ من نسخِهِ بُكرةَ يوم الاربعا السابى والعسرين من شهر صفر سنه ثمانٍ وعسرس وسبعمايه والحمد لله اولا واحرا وطاهرا وباطنا وَصَلَّى اللَّه عَلَي سَيّدِنَا مُحمّدٍ وَآلِهِ وصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تسليماً كَثيراً طيّباً مُبَارَكاً.

The Köprülü MS is part of a codex which holds another work by Ṭūfī, entitled *al-Infiṣālāt al-islāmiyya wa-kashf shubah al-naṣrāniyya*. The manuscript of the *Taʿlīq* constitutes the second and last part of this codex. Although on the front page of the codex the work is identified by the short title, *al-Taʿlīq ʿalā al-Anājīl*, on the front page of the work itself (f. 86a) a longer title is provided: *Taʿlīq ʿalā al-Anājīl al-arbaʿa wa-kutub ithnay ʿashar*. Unfortunately, there is no date specifying when the copyist completed his copy of the *Taʿlīq*. However, the first part of the codex, i.e. the text of the *Infiṣālāt*, is dated Tuesday 4 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 747/[ca. 24 June 1346] (f. 85a). Therefore, the year 747/1346 may also be accepted as the approximate date of the *Taʿlīq*'s text, since both of them appear to be written by the same person, as they share the same handwriting.

Incipit: (f. 86b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم قال الشيخ الفقيه الامام العلامه نجم الدين الطوفى الحنبلى رحمه الله تعالى. الحمد لله وواضع الارض المهاد ومثبتها بشوامخ الاوتاد الذى سلك بالسعدا من خلقه سبل الرشاد وعدل باشقيائهم عن طرق السداد الى الكفر والالحاد. احمده على ما وفق له من الطريق الاقوم واشكره على ما الهمنا من الحكمه وعلمنا ما لم نكن نعلم.

Explicit: (f. 148b)

وروى الترمذى باسناده من حدىث عاسه فالت لما قبض رسول الله صلى الله علىه وسلم اختلفوا فى دفنه فقال ابو بكر سمعت من رسول الله صلى الله علىه وسلم شيىا ما نسيته فال ما فمض اللهُ نبيا الا فى الموضع الذى يحب ان يدفن فيه ادفنوه فى موضع فراشِهِ وهو حدىث غريب وفى اسناده عبد الرحمن الملكى وهو ضعف والحمد لله رب العالمس وصلى الله على سا وسلم.

There are occasional notes in the margins (*hāmish*) of both manuscripts. The marginal notes in the Köprülü MS have the same handwriting as the text, indicating that they were written by the copyist himself, whilst those in the Şehid Ali Paşa MS are written by someone other than the copyist. Some of these marginal notes indicate the beginning of a new chapter by giving a short title for it, whilst others include various comments on Ṭūfī's views. In the latter MS, these comments are signed by Walī al-Dīn (1151/1738),[2] the Ottoman statesman, who was apparently a later owner of this manuscript.

The Şehid Ali Paşa MS consists of 60 folios (212b–272a), each page containing 20–21 lines, while in the 63-folio (86b–148b) Köprülü MS, each page has 29–30 lines. The former is easy to read for it has neat handwriting, while the latter presents greater difficulty due to its unclear script. With regard to orthography, the Köprülü MS leaves out the final *hamzas* (ء) throughout the entire text. The same problem often appears in the Şehid Ali Paşa MS, especially in the first half of the text, while the second half of it (from f. 241b onwards), which seems to have been written by another copyist, does not omit them.

Diacritical points for the consonants are frequently missing in both manuscripts, creating further difficulties in reading the text. In the present work, missing *hamzas* and consonantal dots are tacitly corrected in most instances, and identified only in those cases where the reading is difficult to determine. Throughout the edition, for the sake of consistency, in medial positions *hamza* is preferred to *yā'*, namely قايل is written as قائل, فايدة as فائدة, and كاينات is substituted by كائنات. Regarding the orthography of long vowels, سماوات is preferred to سموات, as the manuscripts are inconsistent and use both versions. Furthermore, سلام is preferred to سلم, ثلاث to ثلث, إبراهيم to إبراهيم and سفيان to سفين. In vowel lengthening, *yā'* and *wāw* are substituted by *alif*. So, صلوة is replaced by صلاة and تورية is replaced by توراة. In both manuscripts numbers are sometimes conjoined (e.g. سبعمائة), and at times written separately (e.g.

[2] For Walī al-Dīn Jār Allāh, see Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat*, vol. II, p. 501.

سبع مائة). For the sake of consistency, the former is used throughout the text. Occasionally we find the copyist of the Şehid Ali Paşa MS using *ihmāl* in reference to *sīn* (س), marking it with three dots underneath (پس) to distinguish it from *shīn* (ش).[3] See for instance ff. 247b (لسپت); 252a (عسپکره); 252b (السپر); 255b (مسپتوفی); 256a (وحسپد); 258a (پسرابیل); 259b (مسپتقرا); 261b (پسارة); 271b (التسپامح المحسپوسات); and 272a (پسلم).

A point that the reader of the *Taʿlīq* will instantly notice is the unusual chapter-verse enumeration of the Gospel citations. In Ṭūfī's text, reference is made to an ancient chapter division, believed to date back to as early as the 5th century.[4] According to this arrangement, the Gospel of Matthew consists of 68 chapters (*aṣḥāḥāt*), Mark 48, Luke 83 and John 20.[5] This structure also differs from the Coptic system of the major chapters (*fuṣūl*) of which Matthew has 101, Mark 54, Luke 86 and John 46, and minor chapters or sections (*al-fuṣūl al-ṣighār*) of which Matthew comprises 355, Mark 236, Luke 342 and John 232.[6] In the present study, I have retained the chapter divisions mentioned by Ṭūfī in the original text, but have also provided the modern chapter and verse numbers in the footnotes.

In the translation of the *Taʿlīq*, the Qurʾanic verses cited in the text mostly accord with Marmaduke Pickthall's *The Meaning of the Glorious Qurʾan*, in addition to a few others (Muhammad Asad, Yusuf Ali, M.A.S. Abdel Haleem, M. Mohsin Khan, etc.) that have also been consulted. Often a synthesis of these is offered, whilst on a number of occasions a new translation is given.

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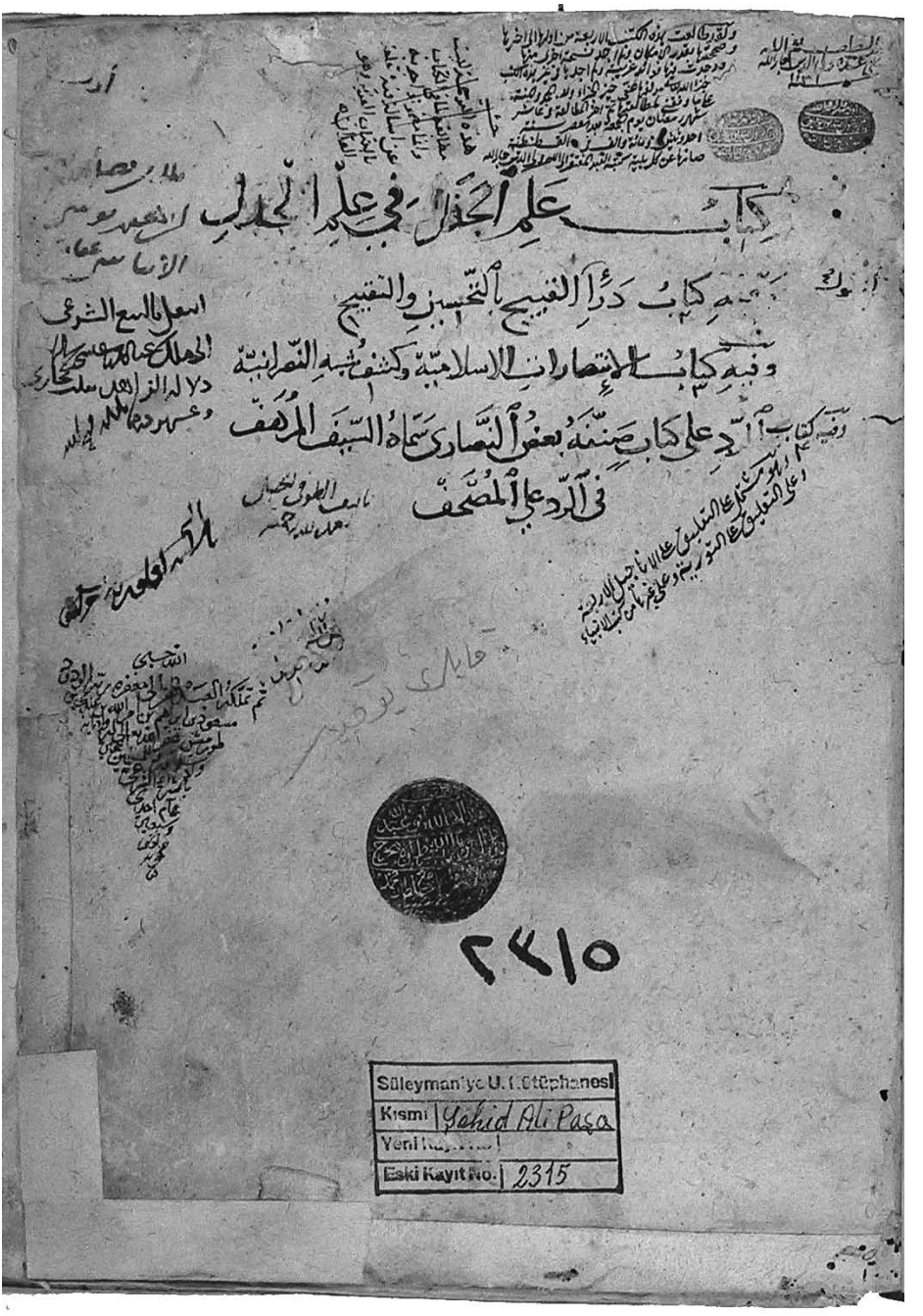
[3] For the use of *ihmāl*, see A. Gacek, *The Arab Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography*, Leiden, 2001, p. 147.

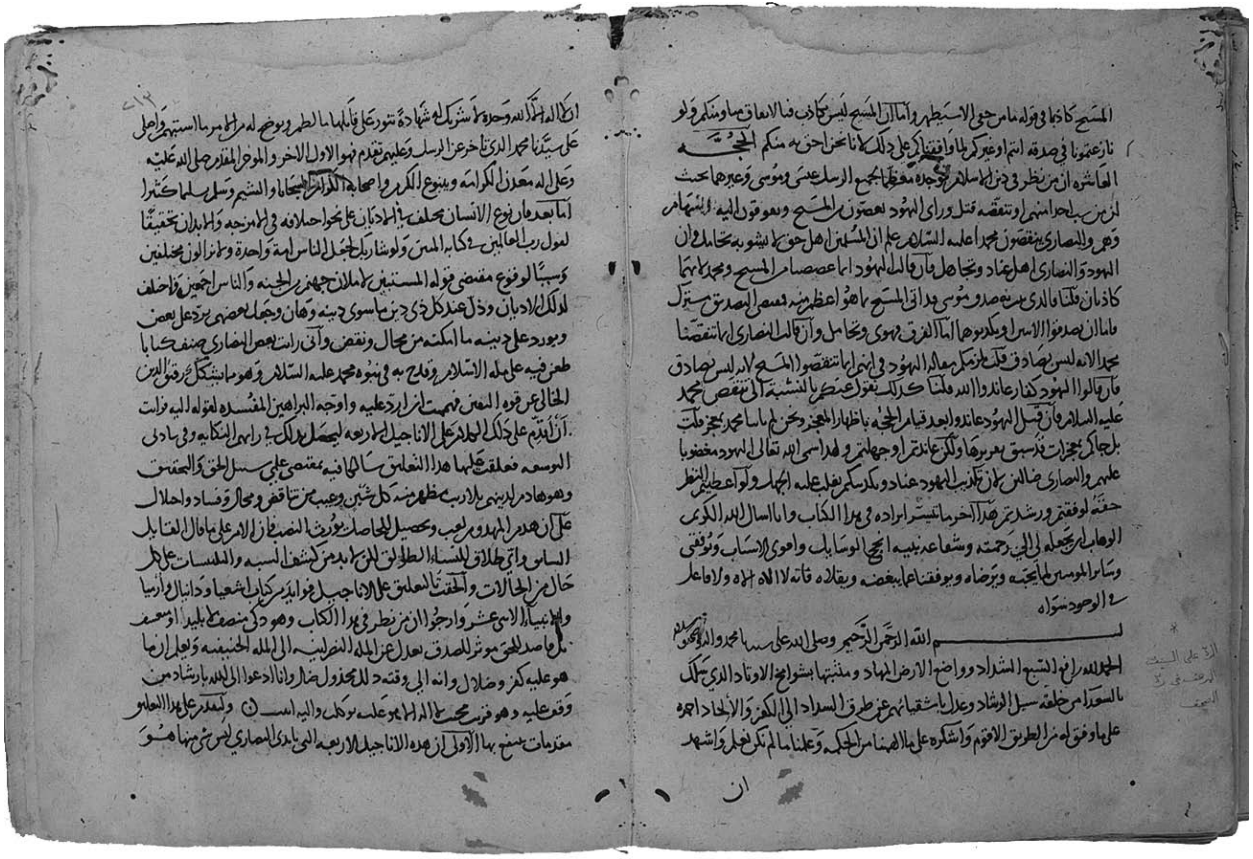
[4] As found in Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Ephraemi. See C.E. Padwick "Al-Ghazali and the Arabic Versions of the Gospels. An Unsolved Problem", *MW*, 29 (1939), p. 133.

[5] See ibid., p. 133. The same enumeration is used in one of the two manuscripts of the *Alexandrian Vulgate* preserved at the Cambridge University Library, Gg. 5.27 (dated 1285); while the other manuscript, Gg. 5.33 (dated 1272) follows the Coptic system of longer chapters. Similarly T. Erpenio's edition of the *Alexandrian Vulgate* has the Coptic greater chapters in use (*al-ʾAhd al-jadīd li-Rabbinā Yasūʿ al-Masīḥ / Novum D.N. Iesu Christi Testamentum Arabice: ex Bibliotheca Leidensi*, ed. T. Erpenio, Leidae, 1616).

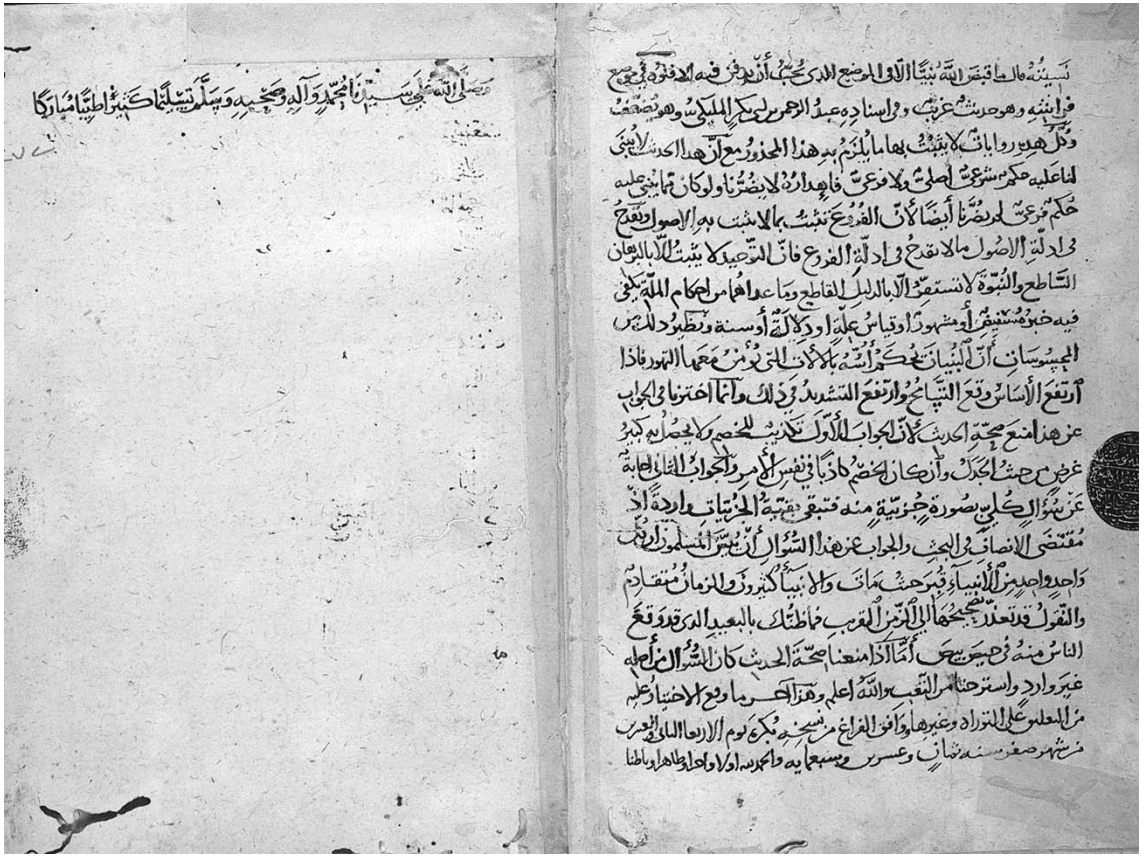
[6] See Lagarde, *Die Vier Evangelien Arabisch*, pp. iv–vi.



1. Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa 2315, codex, front page



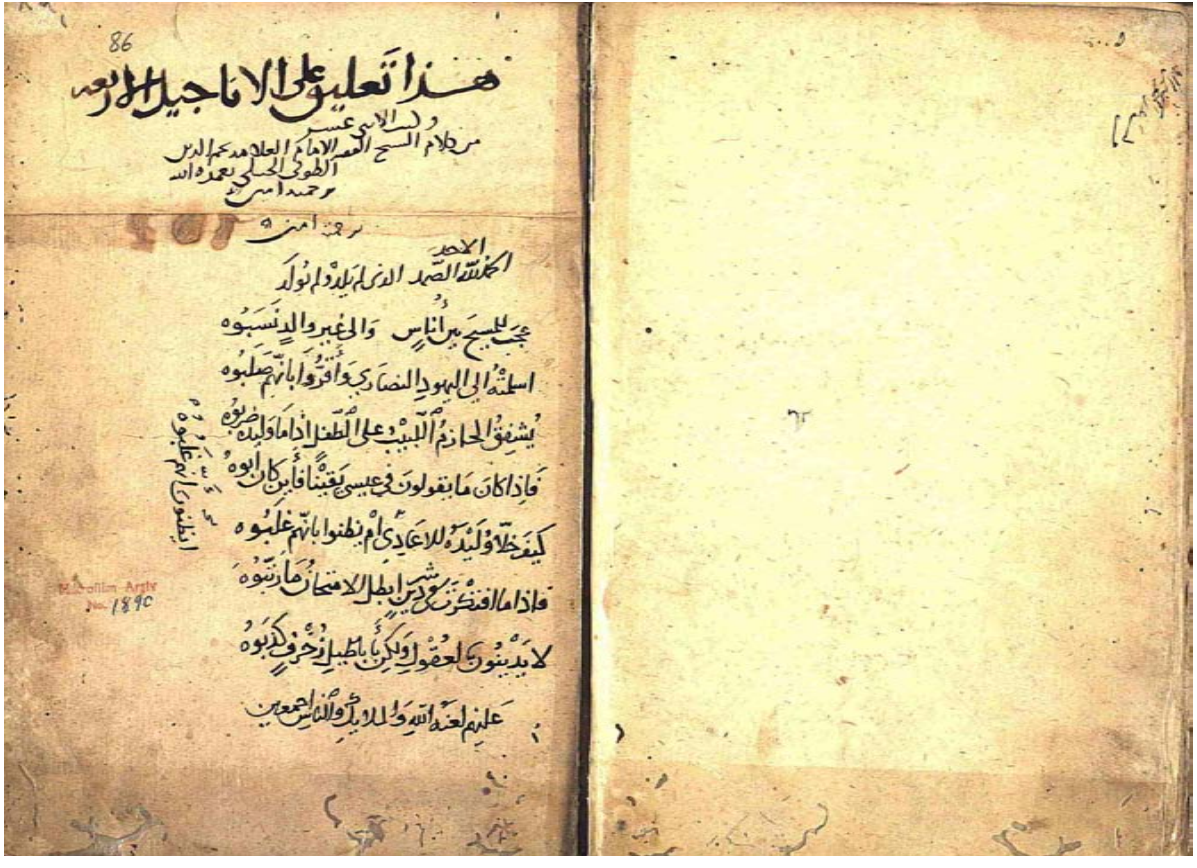
2. Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa 2315, the opening (ff. 212b-213a)



3. Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa 2315, the end (ff. 271b-272a)

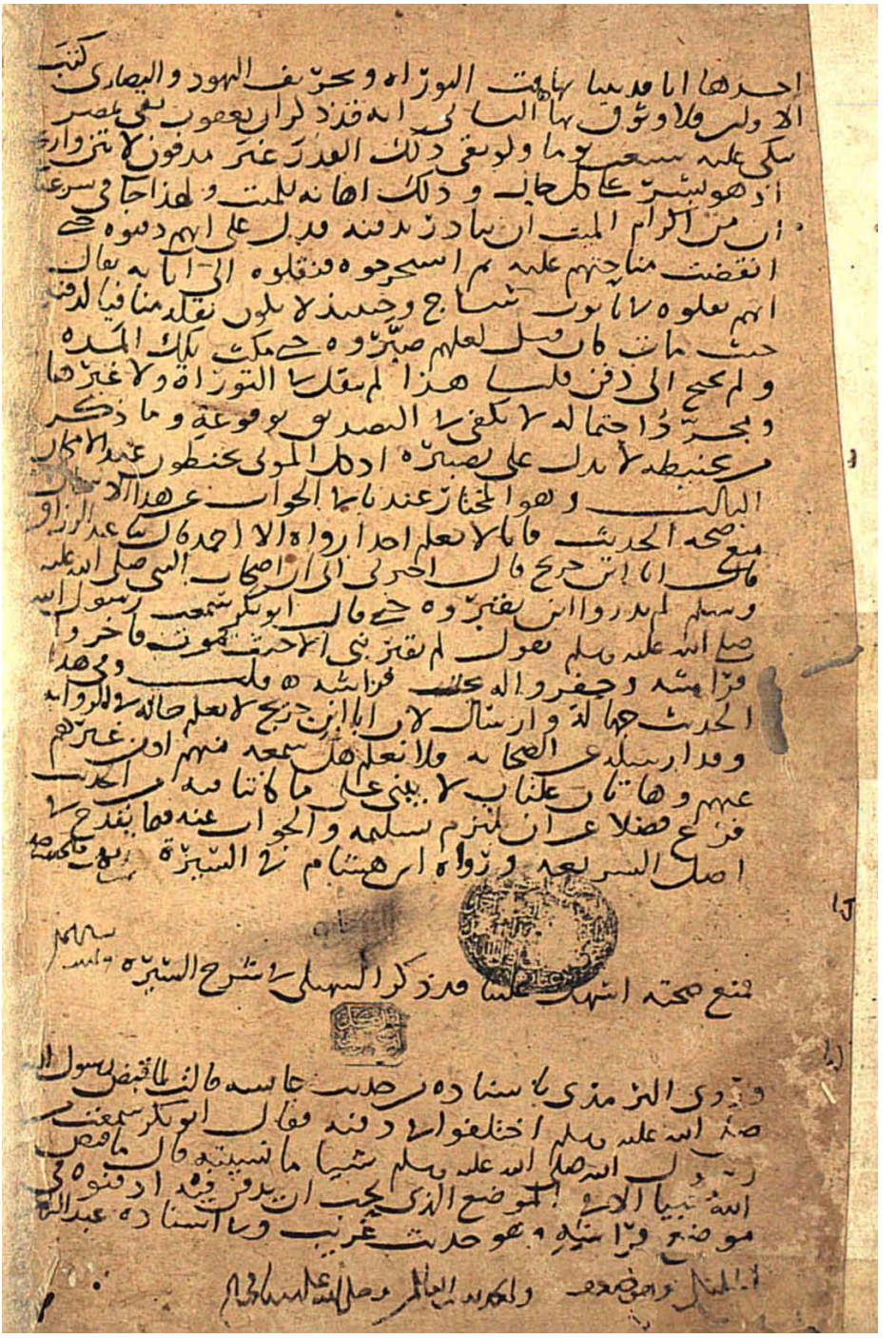
كتاب الانتصار للإسلام
وكشف شبه النصرانية
تأليف الشيخ الامام
العلامة شيخ الاسلام نجم الدين
الطوفي
وقد المعلى على الاربعين
795

4. Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 795, codex, front page



5. Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 795, front page (f. 86a)

6. Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 795, the opening (ff. 86b-87a)



7. Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 795, the end (f. 148b)

التعليق على الأناجيل الأربعة
والتعليق على التوراة وعلى غيرها من كتب الأنبياء
(الردّ على كتاب صنّفه بعض النصارى سمّاه
السيف المُرْهَف في الردّ على المصحف)

تأليف سليمان بن عبد القوي نجم الدين الطوفي الحنبلي
(716 هـ/1316 م)

تحقيق وتعليق: ليلى دميري

al-Taʿlīq ʿalā al-Anājīl al-arbaʿa wa-al-taʿlīq ʿalā al-Tawrāh wa-ʿalā ghayrihā min kutub al-anbiyāʾ

(Critical Commentary on the Four Gospels, the Torah and other Books of the Prophets)

Najm al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316)

الاختصارات

ش	نسخة خطية للتعليق بمكتبة سليمانية، شهيد علي باشا، تحت رقم 2315.
ك	نسخة خطية للتعليق بمكتبة كوبريلي، تحت رقم 795.
ش هـ	هامش النسخة الخطية بمكتبة سليمانية.
ك هـ	هامش النسخة الخطية بمكتبة كوبريلي.
صح هـ	ورد التصحيح بهامش النسخة الخطية.
و	وجه الورقة للنسخة الخطية.
ظ	ظهر الورقة للنسخة الخطية.
-	إشارة إلى الكلمة أو العبارة الناقصة في النسخة.
+	إشارة إلى الكلمة أو العبارة الزائدة في النسخة.
[...]	كلمة أو عبارة غير واضحة.
[ ]	ما بين القوسين هي كلمة أو عبارة زائدة من قبل المحقّق.
( )	ما بين القوسين هو توضيح من قبل المحقّق.

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اللّهمّ[1] صلّ[2] على سيّدنا محمّد وآله وصحبه وسلّم

قال الشيخ الفقيه الإمام العلاّمة نجم الدين الطوفي الحنبلي رحمه الله تعالى:[3]

{1} الحمد لله رافع السبع الشداد[4] وواضع الأرض المهاد ومثبتها بشوامخ الأوتاد، الذي سلك بالسعداء من خلقه سبل الرشاد، وعدل بأشقيائهم عن طرق السداد إلى الكفر والإلحاد. أحمده على ما وفّق لنا[5] من الطريق الأقوم وأشكره على ما ألهمنا من الحكمة وعلّمنا ما لم نكن نعلم. وأشهد || أن لا إله و213
إلاّ الله وحده، لا شريك له، شهادةً تنوّر على قائلها ما أظلم[6] وتوضّح له من الأمر ما استبهم. وأصلّي على سيّدنا محمّد الذي تأخّر عن الرسل وعليهم تقدّم. فهو الأوّل الآخر والمؤخَّر المقدَّم. صلّى الله عليه وعلى آله مَعدِن الكرامة و ينبوع الكرم، وأصحابه الكرام السجايا والشيم وسلّم تسليماً كثيراً.

{2} أمّا بعد فإنّ نوع الإنسان مختلف في الأديان على نحو اختلافه في الأمزجة والأبدان تحقيقاً لربّ العالمين في كتابه المبين: ﴿وَلَوْ شَاءَ رَبُّكَ لَجَعَلَ النَّاسَ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً وَلاَ يَزَالُونَ مُخْتَلِفِينَ﴾، وسبباً لوقوع مقتضى قوله المستبين: ﴿لأَمْلأَنَّ جَهَنَّمَ مِنَ الْجِنَّةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ﴾. فاختلف لذلك

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[1] ش – اللهم. [2] ش: وصلى الله. [3] ش – قال الشيخ الفقيه الإمام العلامة نجم الدين الطوفي الحنبلي رحمه الله تعالى.
[4] ك – رافع السبع الشداد. [5] ش ك: له. [6] ش: لظم.

In the name of God, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate 212b
O God, bless our master Muḥammad, his family
and his companions, and grant them peace.
The shaykh, faqīh, imām and most erudite, Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī,
the Ḥanbalī, may God, the Exalted, show mercy to him, said:

{1} Praise be to God, Who raises the seven mighty (heavens), makes the earth an expanse, and makes it firm with lofty pegs [i.e. mountains];[1] Who leads the felicitous from amongst His creation to the ways of sound belief and turns the wretched amongst them away from the paths of right faith toward unbelief and heresy. I praise Him for the straightest of paths to which He has directed us, and I thank Him for the wisdom He has inspired us with and for teaching us that which we did not know. I bear witness that there is 213a
no god but God alone, Who has no partner, with a testimony that illuminates for the one who affirms it that which was dark and makes obvious for him whatever part of this matter was ambiguous.[2] I seek blessings for our master Muḥammad, who came as the last of the messengers, yet took precedence over them. Thus, he is the first, who yet is the last; the one arriving last, yet taking precedence. May God bless him, his family, the source of nobleness and the spring of generosity, and his companions of noble character and nature, and may He grant them peace in great abundance.

{2} It is certainly the case that human beings differ regarding their religions just as they differ regarding their temperaments and bodies. This is the realisation of what the Lord of the Worlds (says) in His clear Book: 'If your Lord had willed, He verily would have made mankind one nation, yet they will not cease to differ.'[3] This is also the means for the actualisation of what is indicated by His clear words: 'Verily, I shall fill Hell with the jinn and mankind together.'[4] Therefore, religions have differed, and in the opinion of every religious person everything except his own religion is contemptible

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[1] See Q 78:6–7 and 12: 'Have We not made the earth an expanse? And the mountains as pegs? […] And We have built above you seven mighty (heavens).'

[2] He is referring to the matter of *tawḥīd* (oneness of God), regarding which he intends to criticise the Christians in his work.

[3] Q 11:118.

[4] Q 11:119.

الأديان وذلّ عند كلّ ذي دين ما سوى دينه وهان. وجعل[7] بعضهم يردّ على بعض ويورد على دينه ما أمكنه من محال ونقض.

{3} وإنّي رأيت بعض النصارى صنّف كتاباً طعن فيه على ملّة الإسلام وقدح به في نبوّة محمّد عليه السلام. وهو[8] ممّا يشكّك رقيق الدين الخالي[9] عن قوّة التعيين.[10] فهممت[11] أن أردّ عليه وأوجّه البراهين المفسدة لقوله إليه. فرأيت أن أقدّم على ذلك الكلامَ على الأناجيل الأربعة ليحصل بذلك في رأيهم[12] النكاية وفي مادّتي التوسعة. فعلّقتُ عليها هذا **التعليق** سالكاً فيه بمقتضى علمي سبيلَ الحقّ والتحقيق. وهو هادم لدينهم بلا ريب،[13] مظهر منه كلَّ شَيْن وعيب من تناقض ومحال وفساد واختلال. على أنّ هدم المهدوم لعب،[14] وتحصيل الحاصل[15] يورث[16] النصب. فإنّ الأمر على ما قال القائل السابق: "وأيّ طلاق للنساء الطوالق". لكن لا بدّ من كشف الشبه والتلبيسات[17] على كلّ حال من الحالات. وألحقت **بالتعليق على الأناجيل**[18] فوائد من كتاب إشعيا ودانيال وأرميا والأنبياء[19] الإثني عشر. وأرجو[20] أنّ من نظر في هذا الكتاب،[21] وهو ذكيّ منصف لا بليد أو[22] متعسّف، بل قاصد للحقّ مؤثر للصدق،[23] يعدل[24] عن الملّة النصرانيّة إلى الملّة الحنيفيّة، ويعلم أنّ ما هو عليه كفر وضلال

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[7] ك: فجعل. [8] ك – هو. [9] ك: الخلى. [10] ش: العنن؛ ك: العس. [11] ك: فرات. [12] ك: فى ردا علىه. [13] ك – بلا ريب (بياض، أي ممحي غير مقروء). [14] ك: لحب. [15] ش: وتحصيل للحاصل. [16] ك – يورث (بياض، أي ممحي غير مقروء). [17] ك: والكربر. [18] ك: على الا. [19] ك: وبعد. [20] ش: وارجوا. [21] ك: وارجو ان يكون [...] علىه من اهل الكتاب. [22] ك – أو. [23] ك – بل قاصد للحق مؤثر للصدق (بياض، أي ممحي غير مقروء). [24] ك: فعدل.

and despicable. So, some of them began refuting some others and supplying every possible (proof of) absurdity and contradiction against each other's religion.

{3} I have noticed that a certain Christian has compiled a book in which he attacks the religion of Islam and by which he impugns the prophethood of Muḥammad, peace be upon him.[5] This fills with doubt the weak in faith, who lack the ability to draw distinctions. Therefore, I have resolved to refute him and to direct against him the proofs that will undermine his words. But I have decided to precede this refutation with a discourse on the four Gospels, in order, thereby, to cause damage to their opinions and to expand upon my subject matter.[6] So, I have prepared this critical commentary (on the four Gospels), following therein the path of truth and telling the truth in accordance with my knowledge. This will without doubt firmly demolish their religion, exposing therein everything that is disgraceful and shameful, whether it be contradiction, absurdity, corruption or defectiveness. Nevertheless, to demolish what is already demolished is like playing a game, and to obtain what is already obtained brings about fatigue. The matter is indeed as described by someone before us who said: 'What divorce is there for divorced women!'[7] Yet it is necessary to uncover specious arguments and deceptions under all circumstances. I have also appended to the *Critical Commentary on the Gospels* some useful notes on the Books of Isaiah, Daniel, Jeremiah and the twelve Prophets. I hope that whoever looks into this book, being an intelligent and honest person and not someone stupid or unfair, but rather, striving for the truth and seeking truthfulness, will turn away from the Christian faith to the primordial monotheistic faith, *al-milla al-ḥanīfiyya* [i.e. Islam], and will know that what he used to hold true is actually unbelief and error and

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[5] According to the information found on the front page of the Şehid Ali Paşa codex (2315), this Christian polemic was entitled *al-Sayf al-murhaf fī al-radd ʿalā al-Muṣḥaf* (*The whetted sword in refutation of the Scripture*).

[6] This indicates that Ṭūfī wrote his commentary on the Gospels before his response to the above-mentioned Christian anti-Islamic polemic, namely, his apology for Islam entitled *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī kashf shubah al-naṣrāniyya* (*Islamic defences in uncovering specious Christian arguments*). This is substantiated by a number of references to the *Taʿlīq* in his *Intiṣārāt* (see Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 232, 246, 248–249, 289, 294, 306, 313, 328, 350, 352, 382, 384 and 499).

[7] He seems to be referring to the words of ʿAlwān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Jaḥdarī al-Madhḥajī, a poet from Yemen, known as al-Kurdī (d. 660/1263).

وأنه إلى وقته ذلك مخذول ضالّ. وأنا أدعو[25] إلى الله بإرشاد من وقف عليه. وهو قريب مجيب، لا إله إلاّ هو، عليه توكّلت وإليه أنيب.

[25] ش ك: ادعوا.

that up until that moment of his life he was a forsaken and erring person. I pray to God for the guidance of everyone who will be acquainted with this book. He is Near and Responsive. There is no god save Him. In Him I trust and unto Him I turn (in repentance).

[المقدمة]

{4} ولنقدّم على هذا **التعليق** مقدَّمات ينتفع بها:

{5} **الأولى**: إنّ هذه الأناجيل[1] الأربعة[2] التي بأيدي النصارى ليس شيء منها[3] هو || الإنجيل الذي أوتيه ظ213
عيسى المسيح بن مريم. وإنّما هي في الحقيقة سير صنّفها التلاميذ تتضمّن كيفيّة مولد المسيح ودعائه الناس إلى الإيمان وكيفيّة ارتفاعه إلى السماء بعد صلبه على زعمهم. فنظيرها من كتب المسلمين مغازي رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم وسيره، كسيرة ابن إسحاق، وموسى بن عقبة، والواقدي، والبكري،

[1] ك: الاناحل. [2] ك – الأربعة. [3] ك – منها.

[Prologue]

{4} Let us preface this *Critical Commentary* with some preliminary principles that will be of benefit:

{5} **The first principle:** With regard to these four Gospels that are in the possession of the Christians, no part of them is identical to the Gospel revealed 213b
to Jesus Christ son of Mary. In reality they are only books of biography compiled by the disciples, containing information about the nature of Christ's birth, his calling people to faith, and the nature of his ascension to heaven after his crucifixion, as they claim. Thus, their equivalent among the books of the Muslims are the writings on the military expeditions of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, and biographies of him such as the biography by Ibn Isḥāq [d. 150/767],[1] Mūsā b. ʿUqba [d. 141/758],[2] al-Wāqidī [d. 207/823],[3] al-Bakrī [d. ca. 3rd/9th century][4] and [the one by]

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[1] Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrat Ibn Isḥāq al-musammāt bi-Kitāb al-mubtadaʾ wa-al-mabʿath wa-al-maghāzī*, ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh, Rabat, 1976. This publication is based on the recension of Yūnus b. Bukayr (d. 199/815) which differs from the version of Ziyād b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bakkāʾī (d. 183/799), as preserved by Ibn Hishām. It was translated into English by G.D. Newby in his *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad*, Columbia, 1989. On Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq's life and work, see T. Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 34–39.

[2] Mūsā b. ʿUqba, *al-Maghāzī al-nabawiyya*, ed. Ḥ.M. Nasab, Qom, 2003. On the life and work of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, see J. Schacht, "On Mūsā b. ʿUqba's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*", *AO*, 21 (1953), pp. 288–300; and G. Schoeler, "Mūsā b.Uqba's *Maghāzī*", *The Biography of Muḥammad: The Issue of the Sources*, ed. H. Motzki, Leiden, 2000, pp. 67–97.

[3] Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, London, 1966. On his life and work, see S. Leder, "al-Wāḳidī", *EI*^{2}, vol. XI, pp. 101–103; and Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, pp. 44–48.

[4] Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī is an author or transmitter of stories about the early years of Islam. He is known for his popular biography of the Prophet, containing fictional and mythical accounts entitled *al-Anwār wa-miṣbāḥ* [or *miftāḥ*] *al-surūr* [or *al-asrār*] *wa-al-afkār fī dhikr* (*sayyidinā*) *Muḥammad al-muṣṭafā al-mukhtār*. There are differing views about exactly when he lived (such as 3rd/9th, 5th/11th and 7th/13th centuries). Relying on one of his works in which authors from as late as the end of the 13th century are quoted, Rosenthal places Bakrī in the latter half of the 13th century, while Shoshan, in his detailed analysis of Bakrī's *sīra*, concludes that the work or at least part of it, was 'in circulation by the latter part of the ninth century at the latest' (p. 36). Shoshan bases his view on a long passage found in al-Fārisī's *Kitāb badʾ al-khalq wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* (pp. 341–344), quoted from Bakrī's *Anwār*. Bakrī was accused by the historian Dhahabī of lying and inventing untrue stories. A similar accusation was made by Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī and Qalqashandī. He was also subject to a *fatwā* by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, a 16th

وابن هشام التي هي مختصر سيرة ابن[4] إسحاق، ونحو ذلك. والإنجيل الذي أنزل على عيسى الذي هو نظير القرآن الكريم، إمّا أنه عُدم وضاع وتلاشى كسائر الصحف التي نزلت على الأنبياء حيث دثَرت فلم يبق لها شهرة، أو أنه هو الأمثال والحكم التي تتضمّنها هذه الأناجيل من كلام المسيح، ضمّوا إليها شرح سيرته، وسمّوا الجميع إنجيلاً. والدليل على ذلك من وجهين:

{6} **أحدهما** أنّ في هذه الأناجيل كثيراً بل أكثرها ليس من كلام المسيح، بل من حكايات المصنّفين لها، كقولهم "أجاب يسوع"، و"فعل يسوع"، و"قال يسوع"، يعنون المسيح. وكان العرب عرّبت هذا الاسم بأن عكسته من آخره إلى أوّله، وقلبت واوه ياءً[5] وياءه ألفاً، فصار عيسى.

{7} **الوجه الثاني** أنّ كتب الأمم السالفة والرسل[6] التي يؤتمّ بها ويعتمَد عليها إنّما نزلت عليهم من عند الله سبحانه، كصحف شيث وإبراهيم، وتوراة موسى، وزبور داود، ومصحف إشعيا، وغيرها. والكلام الذي في الأناجيل، هو من كلام التلاميذ والأتباع، وفيه يسير من كلام المسيح. نعم، هم يزعمون أنّ المسيح هو الله أو ابن الله، فلا حاجة له عندهم إلى أن ينزل عليه شيء،[7] لأنه هو المنزل

[4] ك: بن. [5] ش: ياءاً. [6] ك – والرسل. [7] ك – شيء.

century scholar, which forbade the reading of his *sīra* (F. Rosenthal, "al-Bakrī", *EI*[2], vol. I/2, pp. 964–965; Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo*, pp. 23–39; DİA, "Bekrî, Ebü'l-Hasan el-Kasasî", *DİA*, vol. V, p. 366). Similarly, Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) claimed that most of Bakrī's work contained 'error and falsehood' and declared it impermissible to read (Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥāwī li-al-fatāwī*, Beirut, 1983, vol. I, p. 369). Ṭūfī, nevertheless, quoted from Bakrī's work without any criticism (see also his *Intiṣārāt*, vol. II, pp. 576–577).

Ibn Hishām [d. 218/834], which is an abridgement of the biography by Ibn Isḥāq,[5] and the like.[6] However, the Gospel which was sent down to Jesus and which is the equivalent of the Noble Qur'an, either disappeared and was lost, vanishing like the other scriptures that were sent down to the prophets, inasmuch as these too fell into oblivion such that not even their fame [i.e. name] was preserved, or (the revealed, original Gospel) actually consists of the parables and aphorisms from the words of Christ that these Gospels contain, to which they have added a presentation of his biography and called the whole work a 'Gospel'. Two arguments can be adduced as proof thereof:

{6} **Firstly**, with regard to these Gospels, much of them, in fact most of them, do not represent the actual words of Christ, but rather they are accounts written by their compilers, as indicated by their statements, such as 'Jesus answered', 'Jesus did', and 'Jesus said', meaning thereby Christ. The Arabs have Arabicised this name [i.e. Yasūʿ] by inverting its (letters) and turning its *wāw* [i.e. the ū] into a *yā'* [i.e. ī] and its *yā'* [i.e. the y] into an *alif* [i.e. the ā], which thus became *ʿĪsā*.[7]

{7} **Secondly**, the scriptures of the earlier communities and messengers, which were followed and relied upon, such as the *Ṣuḥuf* of Seth and Abraham, the Torah of Moses, the Psalms of David, the Book of Isaiah and others, were actually sent down to them by God, Glorified is He. But the words that are found in the Gospels consist of the words of the disciples and the followers, with only a small proportion of them representing the actual words of Christ. Yes, they do indeed claim that Christ is God or the Son of God, hence there is no need that anything be sent to him in their opinion, since either he

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[5] Ibn Isḥāq / Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, eds. M. al-Saqqā et al., Cairo, 1936. It was translated by Guillaume in his *The Life of Muḥammad*.

[6] On *sīra* and *maghāzī* literature, see J.M.B. Jones, "The Maghāzī literature", *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, eds. A.F.L. Beerton et al., Cambridge, 1983, pp. 344–351; M. Hinds, "al-Maghāzī", *EI²*, vol. V, pp. 1161–1164; M.J. Kister, "The *Sīrah* literature", *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, pp. 352–367; W. Raven, "Sīra", *EI²*, vol. IX, pp., 660–663; J. Horovitz, *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors*, ed. L.I. Conrad, Princeton, 2002.

[7] The same etymological analysis is also found in the *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, p. 304). Ṭūfī's point here seems to serve as a response to the anonymous Christian author's alleged claim in his polemic that the name of Jesus among the Jews was *Yashūʿ* and that no such name as *ʿĪsā* was used by them or known to them. Although Ṭūfī does not mention this argument, Ghāzī Ibn al-Wāsiṭī refers to it in his short reference to the *al-Sayf al-murhaf*. See Gottheil, "An Answer to the Dhimmis", p. 409 (Arabic) and p. 448 (English).

على غيره من الأنبياء، أو ابنه وهو مطّلع على سرّ أبيه. لكنّا سنقرّر فساد هذا المعتقد إن شاء الله سبحانه.[8] فيصحّ لنا حينئذ بالاستقراء أنّ هذه الأناجيل ليست أناجيل المسيح، بل هي[9] تواريخ وضعوها وسمّوها أناجيل. ولكلّ أحد أن يسمّي اصطلاحه ما شاء.[10]

{8} **الثانية:** إنّهم اتّفقوا في أوائل كتبهم الأناجيل وغيرها[11] على أن يقولو: "بسم الأب والابن وروح القدس إله واحد". ووجّهوا ذلك بتوجيه إذا حقّق الأمر معهم فيه ظهر أنه اختلاط وجنون. لا يشكّ عاقل في أنّ المسيح لو سمعه منهم لدعا عليهم أن يصيروا قردةً وخنازير، وبالجملة كان لا يرضى به منهم. ثمّ إنّي || رأيت في مقدّمة نسخة صحيحة مضبوطة بإنجيل متّى قد إفتتحها بقوله: "بسم الإله، 214 و
الواحد بالذات، المثلّث بالصفات". وهذا هو حاصل تأويلهم لقولهم الأب والابن وروح القدس إله واحد، فإنهم يقولون: "إنّ الله سبحانه ذو ثلاثة أقانيم: الأب والابن وروح القدس، كما أنّ الإنسان

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8 ك – سبحانه، + تعالى. 9 ك – هي. 10 ش ك: ما شاء ما شاء. 11 ش: وغيرهم.

himself is the One Who sends down revelation upon someone else, namely, the prophets, or else he is His Son who is informed about the secrets of his Father. However, we will establish the erroneousness of this belief, if God, Glorified is He, wills. It will then prove true for us through thorough study (*istiqrā'*)[8] that these Gospels are not the Gospels of Christ, but rather chronicles that others produced and called 'Gospels'. Yet everyone has a right to determine their terminology in however they wish.

{8} **The second principle:** They concur in opening their books, namely, the Gospels and other writings, with the statement, 'in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God'. They have come to give this statement such a meaning that when the matter is examined closely, it turns out to be utter confusion and insanity. No intelligent person can doubt that had Christ heard this statement from them, he would have invoked (God) against them, so that they would have turned into apes and swine;[9] in sum, he would not have approved of it. Moreover, I have observed the foreword of 214a
an authentic and accurate copy of the Gospel of Matthew, which opened with the statement, 'in the name of God, One in essence and Triadic in attributes'.[10] This is the gist of how they explain their own statement, 'the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, one god,' for in truth they say that God, Glorified is He, possesses three hypostases, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit,[11] just as a human being possesses hypostases [i.e. three subsistent

[8] *Istiqrā'* also means 'induction'.

[9] This might be a reference to the Qur'anic verse: 'He has turned some of them into apes and swine' (Q 5:60).

[10] As Ṭūfī's reference reveals, Christians within the Muslim milieu utilised Muslim discourse on the *ṣifāt Allāh* (attributes of God) in their defence of the Trinity. Their efforts had two ends in mind: (1) to convince Muslim opponents of the truthfulness of the Trinity; and (2) to offer satisfying answers to their Christian co-religionists in order to protect them from the risk of conversion when challenged by a Muslim critique. For more on this, see S.H. Griffith, "Faith and Reason in Christian Kalām: Theodore Abū Qurrah on Discerning the True Religion", *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period* (*750–1258*), eds. S.K. Samir and J.S. Nielsen, Leiden, 1994, pp. 1–43. See also S.H. Griffith, "Answering the Call of the Minaret", pp. 112–115 and D. Thomas, "Explanation of the Incarnation in Early 'Abbasid Islam", pp. 127–149 in *Redefining Christian Identity: Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam*, ed. J.J. Van Ginkel et al., Leuven, 2005.

[11] This apologetic strategy, termed 'attribute-apology' by M.N. Swanson, assimilates the Trinitarian hypostases to the attributes of God in Islamic theology in such a way that the 'Father' is primarily defined as the existence of God (*wujūd*), the 'Son' as His speech (*nuṭq*), and the 'Holy Spirit' as His life (*ḥayāt*). See M.N. Swanson, "Are Hypostases Attributes? An Investigation into the Modern Egyptian Christian Appropriation of the Medieval Arabic Apologetic Heritage", *Pd'O*, 16 (1990–1991), pp. 239–240.

ذو ثلاثة أقانيم: النفس والنطق والعقل. وكما أنّ الإنسان بأقانيمه واحد، فكذلك الله سبحانه بأقانيمه واحد". وهذا فاسد لوجوه:

{9} **أحدها** أنّ هذا القول منهم إمّا أن يكون قياساً أو تنظيراً للتقريب إلى الإفهام. فإن كان قياساً فهو فاسد لوجهين. **أحدهما** أنّ القياس إلحاق فرع بأصل، وهؤلاء عكسوا القضيّة فألحقوا الأصل بالفرع، لأنّ الله سبحانه هو مبدأ الكلّ وعلّة العلل وموجد الموجودات ومكوّن الكائنات. **الثاني** أنّ شرط القياس العقلي تساوي المقيس والمقيس عليه، بل كون المقيس عليه أظهر لتحصل فائدة التعريف. ونفس الإنسان وعقله لا يساويان[12] الله سبحانه في الظهور والشهرة والجلاء، لأنّ الذين اتّفقوا على وجود حقيقة الله سبحانه وكماله اختلفوا في حقيقة النفس والعقل خلافاً كثيراً جداً. فكيف يصحّ هذا القياس؟

{10} **الوجه الثاني** أنّ الأقانيم التي تقوّمت بها ذات الله عندهم هي جواهر قائمة بأنفسها، بدليل ما سنورده عند مجيء روح القدس في جسد حمامة. وأقانيم الإنسان التي تقوّمت بها ذاته ليست كلّها

[12] ش: لا يساوي.

elements], the soul, the speech and the intellect. And just as the human being is one by virtue of his hypostases, thus God, the Glorified, is One by virtue of His hypostases.[12] This statement is incorrect for several reasons:

{9} **Firstly**, this statement of theirs is either an analogy or a comparison, made in order to facilitate an approximate understanding. Hence, if it is an analogy, it is wrong for two reasons: **(1)** Drawing an analogy consists of inferring a *far'* [literally: 'branch', i.e. the derived case] from an *aṣl* [literally: 'root', i.e. the source, the original case], while these people, however, have inverted the proposition and inferred the original case from the derived case, since God, the Glorified, is the Originator of everything, the Principal Cause of all causes, the Giver of existence to all things existent and the Creator of all things created. **(2)** Drawing a rational analogy demands strong similarity between the target (*al-maqīs*) [i.e. the one compared] and the analogue (*al-maqīs ʿalayh*) [i.e. the one with which comparison is made], or even that the analogue (*al-maqīs ʿalayh*) should be more manifest, in order to attain the benefit of this definite analogy. Yet there is no such similarity in the manifestation, conspicuousness and lucidity (of a shared property) between a human soul with its intellect, and God, the Glorified, because those who have agreed upon the existence of the reality of God, the Glorified, and His perfection, are in very strong disagreement about the reality of the soul and the intellect. How, then, could this analogy be soundly drawn?

{10} **Secondly**, the hypostases, by which the essence of God in their view subsists, are self-subsisting substances, as will be proven by what we shall present when treating the subject of the Holy Spirit's coming in the body of a dove. The hypostases [i.e. subsistent elements], by which the essence of the human being subsists, on the other hand, are not all substances; rather speech and intellect are two attributes. With regard to speech, this

[12] This strategy traces its origin back to the early Christian apologists. The earliest example appears in the 8th century (ca. 132/750) anonymous Melkite treatise, *Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid* (On the Triune Nature of God), with its triadic analogy of the *nafs* (soul), *jasad* (body) and *rūḥ* (spirit) in humans (M.D. Gibson (ed. and tr.), *A Treatise on the Triune Nature of God*, in *Studia Sinaitica* 7, London, 1899, p. 76. For a detailed analysis of the structure and contents of this early Arabic Christian work, see Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity (c. 750)", pp. 57–114). Later in the same century, Timothy I defines the Christian notion of God as 'One God with three essential attributes' corresponding to soul, mind and word in mortals, which resonates with the scheme cited by Ṭūfī (R. Caspar, "Les versions arabes du dialogue entre le catholicos Timothée I et le calife al-Mahdî (II^{e}/VIII^{e} siècle) "Mohammed a suivi la voie des prophètes" ", *Islamochristiana*, 3 (1977), pp. 131 and 25–27).

جواهر، بل النطق والعقل صفتان. أمّا النطق فظاهر. وأمّا العقل فلأنّ الدليل دلّ على أنه [من] علوم ضروريّة يعلم بها الإنسان جواز الجائز واستحالة المستحيل. والعلم من قبيل الصفات. ولو سلّمنا أن العقل جوهر، كما قال بعضهم، لكان في كون النطق صفة وليس بجوهر كفاية في فساد القياس.

{11} **الوجه الثالث** أنّ قولهم: "واحد بالذات، مثلّث بالصفات" يقتضي أنه سبحانه ذات قامت بها ثلاث صفات. وهو فاسد لوجهين. **أحدهما** أنّ ذلك ينافي قولهم: "الابن وروح القدس"، لأنّ هذه جواهر لا صفات. فإن كانوا اصطلحوا فيما بينهم على تسمية الجواهر صفات أو الصفات جواهر، فذلك إيهام وتلبيس، لا حاجة بهم إليه. وهو على خلاف مصطلح الفلاسفة والمتكلّمين من الملّتين وغيرهم. **الثاني** أنّ صفات الله سبحانه[13] أكثر من ثلاث، كالعلم والقدرة والحياة والإرادة والكلام || ظ214

[13] ك: تعالى.

matter is clear. As far as the intellect is concerned, this is so, because the evidence shows that the intellect is one of the necessary cognitional capacities by which a human being becomes cognisant of the conceivability of the conceivable and the absurdity of the absurd. And cognition belongs to the category of attributes. Even if we were to concede that the intellect is a substance, as some (Christians) state, the fact that speech is an attribute and not a substance would still suffice to demonstrate the erroneousness of this analogy.[13]

{11} **Thirdly**, their statement, 'One in essence and Triadic in attributes', necessarily implies that (God), the Glorified, is an essence in which three attributes subsist. This is an incorrect statement for two reasons: **(1)** It is incompatible with their other statement, 'the Son and the Holy Spirit', because these are substances, not attributes. And even if they had adopted the terminological usage among themselves such as to call the substances 'attributes' or the attributes 'substances', this would be a delusional and deceptive usage, for which they have no need. This also constitutes a deviation from the terminology used by the philosophers and theologians of the two religions and others.[14] **(2)** The attributes of God, Glorified is He, are more than three, such as knowledge, omnipotence, life, will, speech and 214b
other than these from the attributes of essence and action. So, why did they

[13] With this argument Ṭūfī undermines the Christian apologetic effort to explain and justify the three hypostases through the use of the concept of divine attributes (*ṣifāt Allāh*) in Muslim tradition. He finds this interpretation to be in contradiction to the classical definition of the Trinity, in which each of the three 'personae' (*uqnūm*) of the Godhead is defined as a self-subsistent entity, thus exceeding the limits of an 'attribute' (*ṣifa*). While 'substances' subsist in themselves, 'attributes' cannot exist outside of what they describe, nor can they exist independently of them. In Ṭūfī's view, the equation of 'hypostasis' with 'attribute' is simply a misrepresentation of the Christian teaching.

[14] Ṭūfī's main emphasis is on the terminological confusion which Christian theologians seemed to have ignored. Such a conflict between the theological definition and apologetic strategy can be clearly observed in the definitions offered by Yaḥyā b. 'Adī (d. 974), a Jacobite Christian, who lived several centuries before Ṭūfī. In his work, God is defined as 'one substance (*jawhar*) in possession of three attributes (*ṣifāt*),' on the one hand, whilst on the other, He is 'one substance (*jawhar*) with three hypostases (*aqānīm*); each one of the hypostases (*aqānīm*) being a substance (*jawhar*) and each of them being a god'. This double-language is exactly what troubles Ṭūfī and leads him to declare it self-contradictory and confusing, for in his view, the first definition implies strict equality between the hypostases, while in the latter the Son of God and the Holy Spirit become functional qualities of God's essence, i.e. the Father (for Yaḥyā b. 'Adī's first definition, see Yaḥyā b. 'Adī, *Petits traités apologétiques de Yaḥyâ ben 'Adî*, ed. and tr. A. Périer, Paris, 1920, pp. 11, 22, 44–62, 65, and for his second definition, see ibid., p. 46).

وغيرها من الصفات الذاتيّة والفعليّة. فلم حصروها في ثلاثة؟ وجميع ما يذكرونه في تقرير انحصارها في ثلاثة أمور شبه إقناعيّة واستئناسيّة. وشبهة[14] ليس فيها برهان عقليّ. وكلّ ما[15] يوردونه من النظائر الثلاثيّة لذلك فهو معارَض بالنظائر الرباعيّة، كالعناصر الأربعة التي هي مبدأ العالم الكوني وما تفرَّع منها ككيفيّات الأبدان وأخلاطها ونحو ذلك وهو كثير، أو بالنظائر الخماسيّة وما زاد عليها.

{12} **الثالثة**: إنّما حمل النصارى على ما اعتقدوه في المسيح أمور ثلاثة:

{13} **أحدها** تكوّنه من غير ذكر، ثمّ ظهرت المعجزات على يديه. فقالوا: "هذا لا يصدر عن ولد زناء – وكانوا في هذا أعقل من اليهود – ولا نعلم له أباً ناكحاً من البشر. فتعيَّن أنه ابن الله، إذ هو ابن، ولا ابن إلا [و]له أب". فكان هذا من قبيل قياس الغائب على الشاهد والاستقراء غير التامّ، وهو فاسد، إذ تأثير الله سبحانه في إيجاد المسيح تأثير علّيّة وقدرة أزليّة، لا تأثير مباشرة وسببيّة كتأثير الآباء المشاهَدين في إيجاد أبنائهم. وقد نبّهم الله سبحانه على طريق الحقّ، ولكن

[14] ش لك: وشبهية. [15] ش لك: وكلما.

restrict them to three? All that they offer when establishing their restriction of the divine attributes to three matters are specious arguments aimed at persuasion and complaisance.[15] Yet a specious argument does not amount to a rationally decisive proof. And every threefold example they provide for this purpose is opposed by fourfold examples, such as the four elements,[16] which form the basis of the existing cosmos, and all that is derived from these four elements, such as the primary qualities of bodies,[17] their humours,[18] and much besides, or by fivefold examples and whatever exceeds them.

{12} **The third principle:** The Christians have been drawn to whatever doctrines they have adopted concerning Christ by three issues:

{13} **The first issue** is the fact that he came into existence without a male, then miracles appeared at his hands. And they said, 'This cannot originate from a child born of adultery,—and they were more reasonable in this than the Jews—and we do not know of a procreating father for him among humanity. Thus, it becomes clear that he is the Son of God, since he is a son and there is no son but has a father'. This reasoning belongs to the category of extrapolation and the category of incomplete induction. It is faulty reasoning, because the effect produced by God, Glorified is He, regarding the creation of Christ was that of an effect produced by a primary cause and pre-eternal omnipotence, not the effect produced by sexual intercourse and

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[15] As observed in Ṭūfī's assessment above and in the refutations of several other theologians such as Bāqillānī, Ibn Ḥazm, Qarāfī and Ibn Taymiyya, who respectively declared it as insufficient, false, pointless and wrong, this argument failed to persuade the Muslim audience. They consistently argued against the limitation of the divine attributes to three, which they did not find at all convincing (See Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī, *Kitāb al-tamhīd*, ed. R.J. McCarthy, Beirut, 1957, pp. 79–81; 'Alī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī al-milal wa-al-ahwā' wa-al-niḥal*, eds. M.I. Naṣr and 'A.-R. 'Umayra, Beirut, [1995], vol. I, pp. 113–114; Qarāfī, *Aǰwiba*, pp. 138–140, 318–319; Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, p. 267).

[16] Otherwise known as *al-arkān al-arba'a*, i.e. air, fire, earth and water, a widely used concept in classical Islamic philosophy and theology, which ultimately originated from the Greek philosopher Empedocles (see M.S. Sheikh, *A Dictionary of Muslim Philosophy*, Lahore, 1976, 'al-arkān al-arba'ah', p. 9).

[17] Also known as *kayfiyyāt al-'uwal* (the primary qualities), these are the four qualities of heat (*ḥarāra*), coldness (*burūda*), moisture (*ruṭūba*) and dryness (*yubūsa*). All other qualities such as colour, smell, taste, touch, etc., are supposed to have originated from these four (see ibid., 'al-kaifiyāt al-uwal', p. 111).

[18] Namely the four cardinal fluids of the body: blood (*dam*), phlegm (*balgham*), yellow bile (*ṣafrā'*) and black bile (*sawdā'*). This theory of four humours, commonly used by the medieval Muslim philosophers and physicians, originated from Hippocrates (see ibid., 'al-akhlāṭ al-arba'ah', pp. 6–7).

أنامهم الخذلانُ حيث جعل إيجاد نوع البشر على أقسام القسمة العقليّة، فأوجد آدم إيجاداً صناعيّاً، لا من أب ولا أمّ. وقد صرّح القرآن الكريم بقياس عيسى على آدم حيث قال سبحانه: ﴿إِنَّ مَثَلَ عِيسَى عِنْدَ اللهِ كَمَثَلِ آدَمَ خَلَقَهُ مِنْ تُرَابٍ ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ﴾. وأوجد غالب ذرّيّته من أبوين. هذان[16] طرفان. والواسطتان: إحداهما حوّاء اشتُقّت من جسد آدم ولا أمّ لها، والثانية المسيح صلوات الله عليه أوجده من مريم بإحبال روح القدس لها بنفخة نفخها في جيب درعها، فحملت به بالقدرة الأزليّة، لا بالطريق البشريّة العاديّة. وروح القدس هو جبريل ملك من ملائكة الله وخلق من خلقه، لا صفة قائمة بذات الله، ولا ثالث مفهوم ذات الله، كما ظنّه النصارى الضُلاّل الجهّال. ولإن جاز أن يدَّعى في المسيح الإلهيّة لوجوده من غير بشر ذكر، جاز بطريق أولى أن يدّعى[17] ذلك في آدم وحوّاء،

[16] ش: هاذان. [17] ك: ا يدعى.

a secondary cause, like the effect produced by the observable fathers regarding the procreation of their sons.[19] God, Glorified is He, had indeed informed them about the path of truth. Yet the state of forsakenness lulled them into error, as He also made the procreation of the human species in accordance with the categories of rational classification. However, He brought Adam into existence in the manner of a craftsman, not from a father or mother. The Noble Qur'an has indeed explicitly declared the comparability of Jesus with Adam, where God, Glorified is He, says: 'Verily, the likeness of Jesus before God is as the likeness of Adam. He created him of dust, then He said unto him, 'Be', and he was.'[20] And then He brought the majority of his progeny into existence from two parents. These are two extremes, while between them are two intermediate cases: the first one is Eve, who was derived from Adam's body, but had no mother; and the second one is Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him, whom He brought into existence from Mary through the impregnation of the Holy Spirit by a breath he breathed into the neckline of her garment. Thus, she became pregnant with him through pre-eternal omnipotence, not in the conventional human way. The Holy Spirit is Gabriel, one of God's angels and one of His creation, but neither an attribute subsisting in the essence of God nor a third concept [i.e. hypostasis] of God's essence, as the misguided and ignorant Christians have supposed.[21] On the

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[19] This categorisation corresponds to Ghazzālī's theory of two causes, *sabab qarīb* (immediate cause) and *sabab baʿīd* (ultimate cause), whereby he holds that having lacked the former, Jesus should be ascribed to the latter, i.e. to God's creative word (*al-kalima*) of 'be' (*kun*). See Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *al-Radd al-jamīl li-ilāhiyyat ʿĪsā bi-ṣarīḥ al-Injīl*, ed. and tr. by R. Chidiac in his *Réfutation excellente de la divinité de Jésus-Christ d'après les Évangiles*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études: Sciences Religieuses, vol. LIV, Paris, 1939, p. 59.

[20] Q 3:59. Inspired by this Qur'anic verse, like many other Muslim polemicists Ṭūfī suggests that Adam should be more entitled to divinity by Christian reckoning than Jesus, since he had neither mother nor father and his creation was more extraordinary and subtle than that of Jesus. Moreover, Jesus was born from a womb, which is incompatible with divine nature, as it sets Him within the realm of humanity (Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. I, p. 404; see also vol. II, p. 131).

[21] In his theological treatise, Ṭūfī defines the Spirit (*al-Rūḥ*) as a homonymous term (*mushtarak*) shared by different entities such as 'Gabriel', 'Qur'an', 'Christ' and 'angel' (Ṭūfī, *Ḥallāl*, f. 16a; for a detailed analysis see also his *Ishārāt*, vol. II, pp. 75–76. This categorisation is also mentioned by various other authors. See, for instance, Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Mukhtār min kitāb al-radd ʿalā al-naṣārā*, ed. J. Finkel in *Thalāth rasāʾil li-Abī ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ*, Cairo, 1926, pp. 36–37). Islamic exegesis, as B. Stowasser observes, has differentiated between God's spirit sent to Mary in the form of a man (*rūḥanā* / Q 19:17) and God's spirit breathed into Mary (*min rūḥinā* / Q 21:91; 66:12). The former is identified as Gabriel, while the latter is interpreted as the life substance with which God created Adam from clay and awakened Jesus to life in Mary's womb (B.F. Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation*, New York, 1994, p. 76). When used in reference to

لأنها أبوا المسيح من قبل أمّه. وآدم خلقه الله بيده من غير ذكر ولا أنثى، ونفخ فيه من روحه بقدرته بغير واسطة روح القدس ولا غيره.

{14} **الأمر الثاني** ظهور الخوارق على يده، كإحياء الموتى وإبراء المرضى ونحو ذلك من الخوارق التي لم تظهر || مثلها على يد نبيّ. لكن هذا لا يدلّ على أنه إله. وإلّا، لكان جميع الأنبياء آلهة أو يستحقّون و215

Jesus, the title, 'Spirit of/from God', is simply an allusion to Jesus' creation without the agency of a human father, as well as to his prophetic ministry. As the Qur'anic title, 'the Word of God', is read by the Muslim theologians in relation to Jesus' miraculous birth, similarly, 'the Spirit of God' (Q 4:171), is taken as a reference to it and is therefore interpreted metaphorically (see, for instance, Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, ed. 'A.-R. 'Umayra, Beirut, n.d., vol. III, p. 214; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. II, p. 56).

grounds that it is permissible to claim divinity for Christ due to his existence without a human male, then it must *a fortiori* be permissible to claim such a thing for Adam and Eve,[22] both of whom are Christ's progenitors from his mother's side. As for Adam, God created him with His own Hand neither from a male nor a female, and He 'breathed into him of His Spirit'[23] by His omnipotence, with neither the medium of the Holy Spirit nor that of anyone else.[24]

{14} **The second issue** is the appearance of supernatural events at his hand, such as reviving the dead, healing the sick and other miracles the like of which had not appeared at the hand of any other prophet. However, this 215a

[22] Ṭūfī takes this a step further, comparing Jesus' creation to that of Eve, a comparison also mentioned by Jāḥiẓ (*Radd*, pp. 32–33), Bāqillānī (*Tamhīd*, p. 101), Qurṭubī (*Iʿlām*, p. 137), Ibn Taymiyya (*Jawāb*, vol. IV, pp. 54–55; *Daqāʾiq al-tafsīr*, ed. M.S. al-Jalyand, Damascus, 1984, vol. I, p. 320; and *Tafsīr*, vol. III, p. 202) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (*Hidāyat*, p. 186). The triad of Adam, Eve and Jesus seems to be of much earlier origin, as it appears in the *Risāla* of Ibn al-Layth (8th century), a letter written for the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170/786–193/809) to the Byzantine emperor Constantine VI (r. 780–797), where the creation of Adam and Eve is considered more miraculous than that of Jesus, since the former two did not evolve in the womb, whilst the latter did (Abū al-Rabīʿ Muḥammad Ibn al-Layth, in *Jamharat rasāʾil al-ʿarab fī ʿuṣūr al-ʿarabiyya al-zāhira*, ed. A.Z. Ṣafwat, Cairo, 1937, vol. III, p. 314; on Ibn al-Layth and his *Risāla*, see D.M. Dunlop, "A Letter of Hārūn al-Rashīd to the Emperor Constantine VI", *In Memoriam: Paul Kahle*, eds. M. Black and G. Fohrer, Berlin, 1968, pp. 106–115). Such an analogy might have been inspired by a report attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih, in which it is Mary who first compares her fatherless child's creation to that of Adam and Eve. In this account, Joseph, upon noticing Mary's pregnancy, confronts her with the question of whether a crop could grow without a seed or a tree without water. Mary's answer is straightforward: God created the first crop from nothing, just as He created Adam and Eve without mother and father (R.G. Khoury, *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam. Depuis le I^er^ jusqu'au III^e^ siècle de l'Hégire. D'après le manuscript d'Abū Rifāʿa ʿUmāra b. Waṯīma b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt al-Fārisī al-Fasawī: Kitāb Badʾ Al-Ḫalq Wa-Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyāʾ*, Wiesbaden, 1978, p. 316; Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, vol. XVI, p. 73).

[23] See Q 32:9.

[24] Ṭūfī's triad of Adam, Eve and Jesus is situated within four forms of human creation. On the one hand, there is Adam, who was created from no man or woman, and the rest of humankind who were brought to life through their male and female parents. On the other hand, there are two exceptions: Eve who was created from man only and Jesus who was given life through a woman only. This paradigm of creation seems to be a frequently used reference for other 13th and 14th century Muslim authors. In the *tafsīr* literature, the commentaries of Bayḍāwī (*Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl*, eds. M.Ṣ.b.Ḥ. Ḥallāq and M.A. al-Aṭrash, Damascus, 2000, vol. I, p. 428), and later on Ibn Kathīr (*Tafsīr*, vol. III, p. 115 and p. 246; *Bidāya*, vol. II, p. 51 and *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Waḥīd, Cairo, 1968, vol. II, p. 387) exhibit the same structure. Similarly, the polemicists Ibn al-Qayyim (*Hidāyat*, p. 186) and Dimashqī follow the same path with the latter effectively describing this four-fold model of God's creative power as the perfection of His grace (Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic*, p. 195).

من الإلهيّة بقدر ما أتوا به من الخوارق. بل أعظم معجز المسيح إحياء الموتى، وقد أحيا[18] حزقيل ثمانين ألفاً وهم ﴿الَّذِينَ خَرَجُوا مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ وَهُمْ أُلُوفٌ حَذَرَ الْمَوْتِ﴾، وعيسى إنّما أحيا[19] آحاداً يسيرةً. ومعجز موسى أعظم، لأنّ إيجاد الحياة في جماد لا أصل له في الحياة أعظم من إيجادها فيمن له أصل في الحياة، لأنّ الأوّل اختراع والثاني إعادة. وقد قال الله سبحانه: ﴿وَهُوَ الَّذِي يَبْدَأُ الْخَلْقَ ثُمَّ يُعِيدُهُ

[18] ش: احيي. [19] ش: احيي.

does not prove that he was a god. Otherwise, all prophets would have been gods or would have deserved to share this divinity according to the extent of the supernatural things they had brought.[25] Indeed, reviving the dead was the greatest miracle of Christ,[26] yet Ezekiel revived eighty thousand people,[27] (who are referred to in the Qur'an as) 'those who went forth from their habitations in their thousands, fearing death',[28] while Jesus revived only a few individuals.[29] In addition, the miracle of Moses was greater, because giving life to an inanimate object, which has no origin in life, should be greater than merely giving life to someone who was by nature once alive, for the former is an act of bringing something into existence for the first

[25] One of the preferred Muslim polemical strategies was to compare Jesus' miracles with those of other prophets, in order to refute the claim of his divinity. The intention for negating the uniqueness of Jesus' miracles was directed at proving his prophetic ministry (for a thorough examination of early Muslim polemics writing on this question, see D. Thomas, "The Miracles of Jesus in Early Islamic Polemic", *JSS*, 39/2 (1994), pp. 221–243). By this argument, Christians are called to either accept Jesus as a prophet of God, or worship other prophets and regard them as divine too. Muslim theologians interpreted the miracles ascribed to Jesus as proof of his prophethood, but not of his divinity. Just like other messengers of God, Jesus performed miracles not by himself, but through God's supreme power. The clause, *bi-idhn Allāh*, i.e. 'by God's permission' (Q. 3:49; 5:110), always played a key role in the Muslim response to the Christians, for it presents the miracles of Jesus as the creation of God and not of Jesus. For a thorough analysis, see N. Robinson, "Creating Birds from Clay: A Miracle of Jesus in the Qur'ān and in Classical Muslim Exegesis", *MW*, 79 (1989), pp. 11–12. See also Qarāfī, *Ajwiba*, pp. 210–215.

[26] Elsewhere Ṭūfī differentiates between the absolute (*muṭlaqan*) life-giving activity, which exclusively belongs to God, and Jesus' life-giving action performed 'by God's leave' (*bi-idhn Allāh*). Accordingly, when Jesus raised the dead, he did not do so in an autonomous and absolute manner. Rather, it was by God's permission at specific times that he was able to do so. The need for permission is a clear sign of his humanity and lack of potency. The one who is not omnipotent cannot be considered God, concludes Ṭūfī (*Ishārāt*, vol. III, pp. 157–159).

[27] Although Ṭūfī does not give a Biblical reference to this story, one can easily correlate it with the 'valley of dry bones' and their revival mentioned in the book of Ezekiel 37:1–10.

[28] 'Have you not considered those who went forth from their habitations in their thousands, fearing death? And God said to them: "Die!" and then brought them back to life. Surely God is a Lord of Kindness to mankind, but most of mankind give not thanks.' (Q 2:243).

[29] This is a frequently repeated example in many earlier and later sources, in which Ezekiel's miracle is presented as a greater miracle, for he raised several thousands, in reference to the 'valley of dry bones' (Ezekiel 37:1–10). Since Ezekiel was not considered a deity as the result of his miracle, the Christians are asked to regard Jesus' miracle within the same framework. Although the argument articulated by these various sources appears to be identical, the numbers they offer vary. For instance, while Ibn al-Layth defines it as 'many dead people' giving no specific number (Ibn al-Layth, *Risāla*, p. 314), Dimashqī, designates it as 'a thousand' (Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic*, p. 386). Furthermore, in Thomas' article, "The Miracles of Jesus in Early Islamic Polemic", one can see that in various sources this number varies between 'a man' (p. 227), 'many men' (p. 229), and 'thirty-five thousand men' (pp. 225, 233).

وَهُوَ أَهْوَنُ عَلَيْهِ﴾. وأيضاً عيسى كان يحيي شيئاً، ثم يموت أو يصحبه حتى يموت، وموسى قلبت له العصا حيّةً مراراً كثيرةً. وهذا لا شكّ أعظم، فإذاً موسى أولى بأن يتألّه.

{15} **الأمر الثالث** ما ورد في أناجيلهم من كلام عيسى عليه السلام[20] على زعمهم من قوله: الأب، والابن، وأبي، ويا أبتِ[21] وإنّ أبي وأباكم[22] ونحو هذا. والجواب عنه من وجهين:

{16} **أحدهما** منع كون هذا كلّه من كلام المسيح. وإنّما هذا شيء دُلِّس على النصارى، وهم قوم جهّال ينطلي عليهم المحتال.[23] والسبب في ذلك ما ذكره بعض علمائنا في **كتاب الفرق** له أنّ اليهود لمّا فعلوا بالمسيح ما فعلوا ألزمهم الله الذلّ والصغار وأظهر عليهم الروم في نصرة دين المسيح. فكانت اليهود ثبتت لمحاربتهم في أوّل الأمر حتى أوهنهم النصارى وأيست اليهودُ من النصرة عليهم. فقالوا: "نحن مع هؤلاء مقهورون، وغرضنا أذاهم. وقد تعذَّر علينا ظاهراً. فلنجهدنّ فيه باطناً بالتفريق بينهم". ثمّ دسّوا

[20] ش – عليه السلام. [21] ش ك: ويا أبة. [22] ش: واباءكم. [23] ش ك: المحال.

time, while the latter is restoration. God, Glorified is He, has truly said: 'He it is Who produces creation, then reproduces it, and this is easy for Him.'[30] Also, whenever Jesus revived someone, they would die afterwards or would accompany him until they died, while for Moses the staff turned into a serpent many times. And this is without doubt greater, in which case Moses would be more deserving of deification.[31]

{15} **The third issue** consists of what is mentioned in their Gospels of the words of Jesus, peace be upon him, according to their claim, that is, his saying, 'the Father', 'the Son', 'my Father', 'O my Father',[32] 'my Father and your Father'[33] and similar statements. This can be countered in two ways:

{16} **Firstly**, by denying that any of this belongs to the words of Christ. This is something that the Christians were deceived with, for they are ignorant people, capable of being fooled by a fraudster. The reason for this is found in what was mentioned by one of our scholars in his *Book of Sects*, that when the Jews had done what they had done to Christ, God decreed for them constant humiliation and lowliness and granted the Romans victory over them in support of the religion of Christ. At first, the Jews had stood firm in their battle until the Christians weakened them and the Jews despaired of victory over them. So they said: 'We are vanquished when faced with these, whilst our aim is to harm them. However, it has become unfeasible for us to do so openly. Thus, let us secretly strive for it by causing separation among them.' Then (the Jews) plotted against (the Christians) with a cunning man from among themselves [i.e. the Jews] who was one of the fiercest of them in his opposition to the Christians and well-known for this.[34] He came to

[30] Q 30:27.

[31] The same argument appears in various other sources. For instance, Ibn al-Layth compares Jesus' miracles to those of Moses (*Risāla*, p. 315), and Bāqillānī (*Tamhīd*, pp. 98–99), Ghazzālī (*Radd*, pp. 4–5), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Kitāb al-arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, Hyderabad, 1934, p. 118), Dimashqī (Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian*, p. 387) and Ibn al-Qayyim (*Hidāyat*, p. 186) find Moses' miracle of turning his staff into a serpent greater and more extraordinary than the life-giving miracle of Jesus.

[32] Matthew 26:39; Luke 22:42.

[33] John 20:17.

[34] This is an allusion to Paul, which is the only case where Ṭūfī refers to him, albeit without the mention of his name. An anti-Pauline attitude is a common feature of medieval Muslim polemical literature, which describes Paul as a false convert who aimed to undermine and destroy the message of Christ from within. Such a negative image of Paul strongly resonates with the early Judeo-Christian application of the 'Liar' epithet and 'Enemy' terminology to Paul, which named him 'Lying Tongue', the 'Enemy of God', 'heretic' and 'an apostate from

لهم رجلاً منهم داهيةً كان من أشدّهم مكانةً في النصارى مشهوراً بذلك. فجاء إليهم هيئة الذلّ والصغار والاستغفار والاعتذار فقال: "قد علمتم مكاني في عدوّكم، وأنا الآن منكم أشدّ ما كنت من عدوّكم. وسبب ذلك أنّي رأيت المسيح، وهو يزجرني ويلومني على تخلُّفي عن دينه". فقبلوه على نوع تهمة. ثمّ أخذ في التعبّد على دين المسيح حتى فاق عبّادَ الملّة، فصار مقدماً فيها مسموع القول. فلمّا علم تمكُّنه في قلوبهم كتب بالإنجيل ثلاثة نسخ مختلفة متباينة. ثمّ قال لهم: "المسيح سيأتي في ليلة كذا في وقت كذا. وإنّي سأقرّب نفسي له، وستجدوني في المذبح مذبوحاً والإنجيل على صدري. فاحتفظوا به، ففيه هداكم!" فقالوا: "نعم!" ثمّ إنهم وجدوه في ذلك الوقت مذبوحاً والإنجيل على صدره مختلفَ || ظ215
النسخ. فأخذوها، وتوازعوها. وكلّ فرقة قالت: "إنجيلنا هو الحقّ!" فتفرّقوا، واختلفت أهواؤهم. وتمّت حيلة اليهود عليهم، وصاروا يخبطون في الضلال إلى الآن وحتى الساعة.

{17} وقال وهب بن منبّه: "إنّ عيسى لمّا رفع تحيّرت بنو إسرائيل. ثمّ أجمع رأيهم على أن يجتمع أشرافهم في مجلس واحد، ثمّ ينظرون، فيجمعون على أمر يكونون[24] عليه لا يختلفون فيه. فاجتمعوا، فقال

[24] ش: يكون.

the Law' (See R. Eisenman, *James, the Brother of Jesus: The Key to Unlocking the Secrets of Early Christianity and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, London, 2002, pp. 146, 147, 278, 377, 393). In this passage Ṭūfī asserts that the Christians were deceived by the Jews 'because of their ignorance.' The anonymous Jew is described as a cunning person who, out of his great enmity towards the Christians, deceives them with his crafty activities.

(the Christians) in the guise of humility and lowliness, pretending to ask for forgiveness and to offer apologies: 'You have come to know my place as your enemy, but now I am one of you, much more than I ever was when I was your enemy. This is so because I saw Christ and he was rebuking and reproaching me for holding back from his religion.' And (the Christians) accepted him with a degree of suspicion. Then he started to show such a strong devotion to the religion of Christ that he finally surpassed the worshippers of this faith and became a prominent figure amongst them, whose word was taken seriously. When he knew that he had gained influence over their hearts, he wrote three divergent and contradictory copies of the Gospel. Then, he said to them: 'Christ will come in such and such a night, at such and such a time. I will offer myself as a sacrifice to him, and you will find me slaughtered on the altar with the Gospel on my chest. So, safeguard it, for in it is your salvation!' They replied: 'Yes!' Thereafter, they did indeed find him at that appointed time slaughtered and on his chest the Gospel in diverging copies. 215b
And they took these (divergent copies of the Gospel) and divided them among themselves. Each party said: 'Our Gospel is the true one.' Thus, (the Christians) became divided, and their deviant beliefs came to differ. Hence, the wiles of the Jews against them were accomplished, and (the Christians) have been wandering on the path of error until this very moment and will continue to do so till the Day of Judgement.[35]

{17} Wahb b. Munabbih [d. 110/728 or 114/732][36] said: 'When Jesus was raised to Heaven, the Israelites became perplexed. Then they made a joint decision that their nobles should assemble for one council, examine the case, and unite upon a decree which they would all accept and not disagree about.

[35] In Ṭūfī's account, the anonymous Jew, who appears to be identified by other Muslim sources as Paul, devises the ruse of converting to Christianity in order to mislead Christ's sincere followers. All these features correspond with the common characteristics of anti-Pauline accounts found in various Muslim sources. Nevertheless, what makes Ṭūfī's version differ from the rest is that the hostile Jew is blamed not only for causing doctrinal controversies amongst the Christians, but also for creating discrepancies between the Gospels, for he is regarded as the author of diverse copies of the Gospel, which ultimately led the Christians astray.

[36] He is considered to be among the great transmitters of Biblical material into Muslim literature. None of his collections of the tales of the prophets (such as *Kitāb al-mubtada' wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, *Kitāb al-isrā'īliyyāt*, and many others) have survived. However, he has been extensively quoted by many later authors (see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, pp. 10–11; Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets*, pp. 138–141). He is thought to have come from a Jewish background. Khoury, however, questions Wahb b. Munabbih's conversion story and concludes that the sources have confused it with his father's conversion. According to Khoury, Wahb was most probably

إبليس لاثنين من جنده: "اليوم أدرك بغيبتي من بني إسرائيل إن أدركتها يوماً ما". ثمّ جاء بهما، فأجلسهما في ناحيتي الجمع، وجلس هو في ناحية. فلمّا اجتمعوا أخذوا في البكاء لفقد المسيح وخشية الفُرْقة والاختلاف. فقام أحد الشياطين فقال: "أيّها الناس، حافظوا[25] على أنفسكم واحمدوا الله ربّكم، إذ تولّى أمركم بنفسه فنزل فساسكم[26] مدّةً، ثمّ عرج إلى سماواته!" ثمّ قام الآخر فقال: "لقد أحسنت أيّها المتكلّم، غير أنّك زعمت أنّ المسيح هو الله! وإنّ الله لا ينزل من مكانه. ولكن المسيح ابنه بعثه حتى دبّر أمر الأرض مدّةً. ثمّ رفعه إليه." ثمّ قام إبليس فقال: "لقد أحسنتما أيّها المتكلّمان، غير أنّ الله لا ينزل ولا له ولد! ولكن الله إله أهل السماء، والمسيح إله من في الأرض." ثمّ انفضّ الجمع على خلاف وفرقة، وفشا ذلك، وتفرّعت عليه تفاريع، وذُيِّل عليه تذاييل. وكان ذلك بعد أن رفع عيسى بثمانين[27] سنة فيما نقل."

[25] ش ك: حفظوا. [26] ش: فسيأسكم. [27] ش: ثمنا س؛ ك: ثماس.

born Muslim (R.G. Khoury, "Wahb b. Munabbih", *EI²*, vol. XI, pp. 34–35). The two works of Wahb b. Munabbih preserved in papyri are edited by R.G. Khoury in his *Wahb b. Munabbih: der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23*, Wiesbaden, 1972, vol. I. For more information, see N. Abbott, "Wahb b. Munabbih: a review article", *JNES*, 36/2 (1977), pp. 103–112.

So, they assembled and Satan told two soldiers of his legion: "Today I should afflict the Israelites with my slander, if I ever afflict them." Then he came with these two and seated them on two sides of the gathering, while he himself sat on another side. And when (the Israelites) assembled, they began to weep for the loss of Christ and out of fear of separation and disagreement. Thereupon, one of the devils stood up and said: "O people, be mindful of yourselves and praise God, your Lord, for He took upon Himself your affair and descended to the earth, governed you for a while, and thereafter He ascended to His heavens!" Then the other one stood up and said: "You spoke well, O speaker, apart from your claim that Christ himself is God! Verily, God does not descend from His place. Rather, Christ, His Son, He sent so that he conducted the affairs of the earth for a while. Thereafter, He raised him up to Himself." Then Satan stood up and said: "Both of you spoke well, O speakers, except for the fact that God does not descend, nor does He have a Son! Rather, God is the god of the inhabitants of heaven, while Christ is the god of whoever is on the earth."[37] Thereafter, the assembly dispersed in disagreement and disunion, and these (opinions) spread about, and various offshoots branched out from them, while many further (ideas) were added to them.[38] This happened eighty years after the ascension of Jesus, according to what has been narrated.'

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[37] Although Paul is not mentioned in any way, this second account also shares some parallels with Muslim anti-Pauline images. Three personalities teaching three contradictory Christologies, in which Christ is respectively seen as God, the Son of God and the dual-natured Christ, reminds us of the widespread story of the three disciples of Paul (Nestor, Jacob and Malkān) who were taught by him three diverse and opposing teachings on Christ and his nature (For the image of Paul in Islamic sources, see P.S. van Koningsveld, "The Islamic Image of Paul and the Origin of the Gospel of Barnabas", *JSAI*, 20 (1996), pp. 200–216). Yet, these three personalities in some narratives, as in Qarāfī's account, appear as three kings (*Ajwiba*, pp. 322–323), and in others, as in Dimashqī's version, they are described as Christian scholars in Paul's service (Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic*, p. 396). There are also variations on the total number of Paul's associates. Although according to the common pattern they are three, in other parallel narratives the number increases to four. Both Dimashqī's account (ibid., pp. 396, 398) and Qarāfī's second version of the story add a fourth person, who in the latter is identified as a *mu'min*, believer (*Ajwiba*, pp. 325–326). Regardless of the identity of Paul's disciples or their actual number, all the narratives agree on the point that Paul was a Jew fiercely hostile to the Christians, who outwardly displayed repentance and conversion to Christianity, while inwardly remained true to his old faith. He taught opposing doctrines to different people; and various Christian sects arose as a consequence of his fraud. He is seen as the source of divergence among Christians in matters of religion, theology and worship, which corresponds to Ṭūfī's point in his argument.

[38] Another component that Ṭūfī's anecdote has in common with other parallel stories is related to the Israelites' assembly after the ascension of Jesus. Setting a *majlis* of people in search of a solution forms the structure of stories found in various Qur'an commentaries

{18} نعم، عن الحسن البصري أنه قال: "تعلّموا العربية! فإنّ النصارى ضلّت بترك تشديدة واحدة رأوا في الإنجيل: يا عيسى! أنت نبيّي،[28] وأنا ولَّدْتُك، أي أخرجتك مولوداً. فخفّفوا اللام، ونسبوا الولادة إلى الله". وهذا يدلّ من كلام الحسن على أنه لم يكن فيما جاء به عيسى ممّا يذكر فيه التوليد إلاّ هذه اللّفظة، وما سواها مختلَق.

ش: بنِي.

such as Ṭabarī (*Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, vol. XVI, p. 96), Ibn Kathīr (*Tafsīr*, vol. III, pp. 120–121) and many others (for a comparative analysis of these accounts, see López-Morillas, "The Moriscos and Christian Doctrine", pp. 290–305). The Qur'anic verse on the Christian division into factions (Q 19:37) is the context in which these stories appear. Again, four different responses are offered, three of them corresponding to the three blasphemous Christologies as mentioned in Ṭūfī's passage, and the fourth representing the 'believer's point of view,' identified as the Islamic teaching.

{18} Indeed, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [d. 110/728] is reported to have said: 'Learn Arabic! Verily, the Christians went astray due to the omission of a single consonantal gemination [i.e. sign for doubling a consonant: ـّـ], which they found in the Gospel: "O Jesus! You are my prophet, and I have engendered you",[39] meaning "I have brought you forth as a new-born child." They pronounced the *lām* in a lightened form (*takhfīf*) and attributed procreation to God.'[40] This implies, according to the words of al-Ḥasan, that in everything that was brought by Jesus, there was nothing that mentioned procreation, apart from this expression, while everything else is fabricated.[41]

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[39] This must be a reference to Psalm 2:7, quoted in Acts 13:33 as well as in Hebrews 1:5 and 5:5. In Arabic script, أنت نبيّي وأنا ولّدتك (You are my prophet and I have engendered you) looks very similar to أنت ابني وأنا ولدتك (You are my son and I have begotten you), in the absence of diacritical markings. Also 'O my son' might have been spelt as يا بنيّ which looks even closer to 'O my prophet' (يا نبيّي) and corresponds to the reading of the Şehid Ali Paşa manuscript of the *Ta'līq*. However, in Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151, an early copy of Acts and Hebrews translated into Arabic in the 9th century, the text of Psalms as quoted by Acts and Hebrews appears as انك انت ابني، انا اليوم ولدتك (You are my son, today I have begotten you). See H. Staal, *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151, I: Pauline Epistles*, (CSCO 452), Louvain, 1983, p. 216 and pp. 223–224; H. Staal (ed), *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151, II: Acts of the Apostles Catholic Epistles* (CSCO 462), Louvain, 1984, p. 35. 'You are my son, today I have begotten you' also appears as a variant reading of Luke 3:22 in the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiens (D), which is further supported by Old Latin manuscripts and a number of early church fathers. This expression is seen and interpreted today as an Adoptionist reading. See G.E. Rice, "Brief Note. Luke 3:22–38 in Codex Bezae: The Messianic King", *AUSS*, 17/2 (1979), pp. 203–208. There is also a reference to this reading of Luke 3:22 in the *New Revised Standard Version* and *Revised English Bible* (see *The Complete Parallel Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books*, New York, 1993). Among others, B.D. Ehrman asserts that this variant of Luke 3:22 was altered against the low adoptionistic Christology that claimed that it was at the baptism of Jesus that God made him His son (B.D. Ehrman, *Lost Christianities: The Battle for Scripture and the Faiths We Never Knew*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 102, 222–223).

[40] The same anecdote, without being attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is quoted by Ibn al-Manẓūr (d. 711/1311) in his *Lisān al-ʿarab* (vol. III, p. 470) and Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415) in his *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (Cairo, 1938, vol. I, p. 347). The latter also quotes the verse as أنت ابني وأنا ولدتك meaning, 'You are my little son, and I have begotten you'. Both of these dictionaries interpret ولدتك as ربّيتك 'I have reared you'.

[41] Omitting one single sign and misreading a word brought about the creation of a new theological doctrine, in Ṭūfī's view. His argument in this passage refers exclusively to the Arabic Gospels with no regard for the language in which they were originally written. Elsewhere in the *Ta'līq*, Ṭūfī remarks that translations from one language into another affected the transmission of the Biblical text and resulted in the alteration of its original form (see § 181). Here, however, he does not delve into an all-inclusive analysis, focusing rather on the Arabic context only.

{19} **الثاني** بتقدير أنّ ما في هذه الأناجيل من كلام المسيح، إلاّ أنه محمول على مجاز ظاهر شائع. وحمله على المجاز أولى من حمله على المحال. وتقرير ذلك أنّ قوله "الأب والابن" بمعنى قولنا "الربّ والعبد". وسيأتي تصريحه في الإنجيل بأنّ الله سبحانه إلهه. ووجهة[29] التجوّز أنّ بين الربّ والأب قدراً مشتركاً، وهو رحمة الربّ عبدَه والأبِ ولدَه، و[أنّ] بين الابن والعبد قدراً مشتركاً، وهو إعظام العبد سيّدَه والابنِ والدَه، خصوصاً والمسيح صلوات الله عليه لم يكن له أب من البشر، فتولّى اللهُ من تربيته والقيام بأمره ما يتولّى الأب من ولده. فتأكّد وجود || العلاقة المجوِّزة. ومن حكم المجاز و216

[29] ك: ووجه.

{19} **Secondly**, by presuming that what is found in these Gospels is actually from Christ's words, except that they are to be understood as an obvious and common metaphor. Giving them a metaphorical interpretation is more befitting than giving them an absurd interpretation. The decision to do so entails taking (Jesus') expressions 'Father' and 'son' to correspond to our expressions 'Lord' and 'servant'. (Jesus') declaration in the Gospel that God, the Glorified, is his God, will shortly be brought forth. The guiding principle when giving a metaphorical interpretation is the fact that a shared value exists between being a 'lord' and being a 'father'; that is to say, the lord's mercy for his servant and the father's mercy for his child. Similarly, a shared value exists between being a son and being a servant, namely, the servant's deep respect for his master and the son's deep respect for his father. This is especially so in the case of Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him, since he did not have a human father and therefore God undertook his upbringing and attended to his affairs as a father would for his child.[42] Thus, the existence of a metaphorical relation is confirmed. 216a
It is a rule of metaphorical usage that the expression be connected to a contextual indicator (*qarīna*), which implies the metaphorical meaning and precludes according it a literal meaning.[43] One of our distinguished

[42] Ṭūfī's reading is centred on the quality of 'mercy' shared by both father and lord, a widespread interpretation among Muslim readers of the Gospel. Before Ṭūfī, we also find Ghazzālī interpreting the use of 'Father' and 'Son' in terms of mercy. He describes God as the most merciful 'Father', and the messengers as the most obedient sons (Ghazzālī, *Radd*, p. 42). Similarly, for Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jaʿfarī, 'Father' is an allusion to *ubuwwat al-niʿma*, the 'fatherhood of grace', while 'Son' refers to *bunuwwat al-khidma*, the 'sonship of service' (see Masʿūdī / Suʿūdī's abridgement *al-Muntakhab al-jalīl* in *Disputatio*, p. 5). 'Son' further indicates, for him, one who is in need of an educator (*murabbī*), i.e. God (ibid., p. 13), whilst 'Lord' refers to 'the one who educates with grace and kindness' (ibid., p. 14). In the same vein, Ibn Taymiyya interprets the 'Father' as 'Lord', and the 'Son' as the one 'whom God rears'. The connection here is drawn on the grounds of mercy, yet this time it is related not only to 'father' but also to 'mother', for according to Ibn Taymiyya, what Christ actually means by this title is that 'God is the merciful sustainer. God is more merciful to His servants than a mother to her child [*ḥadīth* found in Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Zuhd" 35]. The son is the one reared, the subject of mercy, for God's rearing His servant is more perfect than a mother's rearing of her child' (Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, p. 261; see also pp. 263, 275, 277).

[43] As a legal theorist, Ṭūfī is deeply interested in semantics. He thoroughly explores the literal and figurative use of speech in special chapters dedicated to the subject of *ḥaqīqa* and *majāz* in both his *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa* (vol. III, pp. 516–573) and *al-Iksīr fī ʿilm al-tafsīr* (pp. 60–67), wherein conditions and various categories of the metaphor are meticulously analysed. One of the *uṣūl* principles Ṭūfī keeps referring to is the above-mentioned rule that the 'literal' is essential. A word must be read literally in the absence of a contextual indicator (*qarīna*). However, when there is a *qarīna*, then the metaphor becomes inevitable, for the metaphor is always conjoined with a contextual indicator (*qarīna*), necessitating

اقتران قرينة به تدلّ عليه ويمنع حمله على الحقيقة. قال بعض فضلائنا: "وليس في الإنجيل ذكر الأبوّة والبنوّة بين الله سبحانه وعيسى إلاّ ومعه قرينة تدلّ على أنّ المراد المجاز". وسأستقرّ إن شاء الله سبحانه موضعاً موضعاً من فصل فصل من الأناجيل الأربعة مع ذكري كلَّ ما[30] فيها ممّا يقدح في مذهب النصارى.

{20} وأمّا بيان استحالة نسبة البنوّة لعيسى إلى الله، فلأنّا نقول: لا يخلو[31] أن يريدوا بالأبوّة والبنوّة ما سبق من تركُّب الذات من ثلاثة أقانيم: الأب والابن وروح القدس، كما أنّ ذات الإنسان متقوِّمة بالنفس والعقل والنطق؛ أو أنه متوحِّد الذات متعدِّد الصفات؛ أو الأبوّة والبنوّة الحقيقيّة المتعارفة بيننا؛ أو أنّ الله سبحانه خلق عيسى بقدرته وسمّوهما أباً وابناً. والأوّل قد سبق الكلام عليه في المقدّمة الثانية. والثاني مجمع على بطلانه عندنا وعندهم، والثالث هو ما ندّعيه من المجاز. والله أعلم.

[30] ش ك: كلما. [31] ش ك: يخلوا.

the allegorical implication and rendering the literal meaning void. Regarding the use and implications of the *qarīna* in Islamic law, see W. Hallaq, "Notes on the Term *qarīna* in Islamic Legal Discourse", *JAOS*, 3/108 (1988), pp. 475–480.

scholars said: 'Whenever there is mention in the Gospel of fatherhood and sonship in reference to God, Glorified is He, and Jesus, it is always found with a contextual indicator (*qarīna*), implying that what is meant here is a metaphor.' If God, Glorified is He, wills, I will shortly establish this to be the case in passage after passage, from chapter after chapter from the four Gospels, while mentioning everything found therein which impairs the Christian position.

{20} With regard to explaining why attributing sonship to Jesus in relation to God is absurd, we say that: It must either be the case that **(1a)** by sonship and fatherhood they mean the aforementioned composition of the (divine) essence from three hypostases, namely, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, just as the essence of a human being subsists by the soul, the intellect and speech, as previously mentioned; or **(1b)** that He has a single (unified) essence, but multiple attributes; or **(2)** (they understand) sonship and fatherhood according to the literal meaning that is commonly accepted among us; or **(3)** (they mean) that God, Glorified is He, created Jesus by His power, yet they call the two 'Father' and 'Son'. The discussion of the first (interpretation) has already emerged in the process of presenting the second general principle. We both unanimously agree on the invalidity of the second (interpretation), while the third one consists of the metaphorical interpretation which we maintain. And God knows best!

[التعليق على إنجيل متّى][1]

{21} وهذا حين الشروع[2] في استقراء ما أردنا استقراءه من الأناجيل. فمنها إنجيل متّى الذي كان يسمّى لاوي. وهو من سبط إيشاخر من مدينة الناصرة. واسم أبيه دوقو، واسم أمّه كاروثياس.[3] وكتب بداية[4] هذا الإنجيل بفلسطين، وكمّله في الهند عبرانياً في السنة الأولى من ملك أقلوديوس وهي [السنة] التاسعة من صعود المسيح، صلوات الله عليه. ومات متّى شهيداً رجماً بمدينة بشبري، ودفن في أرطاجنّة قيساريّة. نقلت هذا من مقدّمة إنجيله من نسخة صحيحة.

{22} فمن ذلك ما ذكر فيه في مولد المسيح أنّ يوسف بن داود الصدّيق همّ بخطبة مريم، فوجدها حاملاً من روح القدس. فهمّ بترك خطبتها. فظهر له ملَك الربّ وقال: "يا يوسف، لا تخف أن تأخذ خطيبتك، فإنّ الذي تلده هو من روح القدس. وستلد ابناً، ويدعى اسمه يسوع. وهو مخلِّص شعبه من خطاياهم." ثم قال: "هذا كلّه كان لكي يتمّ ما قيل من [قِبل] الربّ بالنبيّ القائل: هو ذا العذراء تلد ابناً يدعى اسمه عمانوئل، الذي تفسيره الله معنا."

{23} قلت: ضلّت النصارى من هذا الكلام بموضعين:

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[1] ش هـ: مطلب في إنجيل متّى. [2] ش: الشرع. [3] ك: خاروثياش. [4] ش: بذاته.

[Critical Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew]

{21} Now it is time to begin the study of those parts of the Gospels we have elected to investigate. Among them is the Gospel of Matthew, who was called Levi. He was from the tribe of Issachar, from the city of Nazareth.[1] His father's name was Doko, and his mother's name was Karuthias [or Karousias]. He wrote the first part of this Gospel in Palestine and completed it in India, writing in Hebrew, in the first year of the reign of Claudius [i.e. 41 CE], which corresponds to the ninth year after the Ascension of Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him. Matthew died as a martyr from stoning in the city of Bishberi and was buried in Ar(e)taganna of Caesarea.[2] I am quoting this from an authentic copy of the introduction to his Gospel.

{22} Among other things, (Matthew) mentions in this (Gospel), regarding the birth of Christ, that Joseph, son of David, the righteous man, was concerned about his proposal to Mary, for he had found her pregnant by the Holy Spirit. Therefore, he considered withdrawing from his betrothal to her. Then an angel of the Lord appeared to him saying: 'O Joseph, fear not to take your betrothed to you, for he whom she shall give birth to is from the Holy Spirit. She shall give birth to a son whose name shall be called Jesus. He shall free his people from their sins.' Then, (Matthew) said: 'All this has happened, that it might be fulfilled that which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying: "Behold, the virgin shall give birth to a son, whose name shall be called Immanuel, the interpretation of which is *God is with us*".'[3]

{23} I say: the Christians have gone astray in two places in this passage:

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[1] The tribe of Issachar is mentioned in the Book of Joshua 19:17–23.

[2] This passage is in accordance with the information provided by the biography of Matthew in Arabic, as cited by William Cave, which states that Matthew was born at Nazareth and that his father's name was Ducu, and his mother was called Karutias, both descendents of the tribe of Issachar. It further says that Matthew suffered martyrdom in Beschberi and was buried at Arthaganetu Caesarea (W. Cave, *Antiquitates Apostolicae: or the Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of the Holy Apostles of Our Saviour*, London, 1834, vol. II, pp. 133 and 140). Although it is difficult to identify the location of these two places, one may think of Bishberi as a form of Peshawar, which was originally called in Sanskrit *Pushpapura* (City of Flowers) or *Purushapura* (City of Men), while Ar(e)taganna might be related to Aretas, the title of Nabatean Kings who were known as Arabian rulers (see II Maccabees 5:8; II Corinthians 11:32). I owe this note to Daniel Birnstiel.

[3] Matthew 1:18–23. See Isaiah 7:14.

{24} **أحدهما** قوله: "وهو مخلِّص شعبه من خطاياهم"، وقوله في آخر الفصل السابع والثلاثين: "لم يأت ابن الإنسان إلاّ ليطلب ويخلّص من كان ضالاًّ"، وقوله آخر الفصل الثالث والأربعين: "ابن الإنسان لم يأت ليُخدم، بل ليَخدم ويبذل نفسه عن كثير". فاعتقدوا || لسخافة عقولهم أنّ البارئ سبحانه لمّا ظ216
أراد أن يتدارك آدم وذرّيته من أيدي الشياطين بعدما أهلكوهم بالإغراء بمعصيّته الموجبة لعقوبته، تولّى ذلك بنفسه، فجسّد كلمته في بطن مريم. ثم ظهر ناسوتاً في لاهوت. فافتدى عصاة بني آدم من النار بأن جاد بنفسه حتى صُلب. ثمّ عاد، فدخل النار، فأخرج منها عصاة بني آدم.

{25} واعلم أنّ هذه خرافات عظيمة القبح. تجلّ[5] عقول العقلاء عن قطع الأوقات في حكايتها والإجابة عنها. وإنّما فعلنا ذلك على جهة التروّح بها ليسخر منهم من لا يعرف مقالتهم. وأيضاً فإنّ الأمر أفضى بهم إلى أن صنّفوا كتباً يطعنون بها في دين الإسلام، ويقدحون بها في نبوّة محمّد عليه السلام. نخشى منها على ضعفى المسلمين، فأردنا أن نبيّن فساد رأيهم ليجتنبه من يُدعَى إليه وفسادَ عقولهم لئلاّ يغترّ بها من يسمع قدحهم في الدين ولا يعوّلَ عليه. ولعمري، إنهم في طعنهم في دين الإسلام لكما قيل في المثل: "لَقَدْ تَحَكَّكَتِ العَقْرَبُ بِالأَفْعَى"[6] و"استَنَّتِ الفِصَالُ حَتَّى القَرْعَى".

[5] ش: يجل. [6] ش: بلافعى.

{24} **The first place of error** consists of his words, 'He shall free his people from their sins,' and similarly his words at the end of chapter thirty-seven, 'the Son of Man did not come but to seek and free those who were lost,'[4] as well as his words at the end of chapter forty-three: 'the Son of Man came not to be served, but to serve and sacrifice himself for many.'[5] And they believe, because of their feeble-mindedness, that when the Maker, Glorified 216b
is He, desired to grant relief to Adam and his progeny from the hands of the devils after they had ruined them by inciting them to disobey Him, causing thereby His punishment, He took the charge of this upon Himself and incarnated His Word in Mary's womb. Then, with His divine nature, He became visible in the form of human nature. Thereafter, He ransomed the disobedient children of Adam from the Fire by sacrificing Himself so that He was crucified. Then, He came back to life, entered the Fire, and brought the disobedient children of Adam out of it.

{25} Know that these are truly repugnant fairy tales. The minds of intelligent people are far above wasting time in narrating these fables and responding to them. We have done so only in a manner of refreshing ourselves thereby, so that whoever does not know their views may laugh at them. Moreover, the matter has led them to compile books attacking the religion of Islam and impugning the prophethood of Muḥammad, peace be upon him. We fear evil from it for those Muslims who are weak, and have therefore decided to explain the erroneousness of their opinions, so that whoever is exposed to it may avoid it, and to explain the pervertedness of their intellects, so that whoever hears their impugning of this religion [i.e. Islam] may neither be deceived by it nor place any trust in it. By my life! Regarding their attack against the religion of Islam, they are truly as is stated in the proverbs: 'The scorpion has prepared itself to do evil to the viper'[6] and 'The young weaned camels leaped, even those afflicted with small pustules'.[7]

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[4] Matthew 18:11.

[5] Matthew 20:28.

[6] Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī, *Kitāb al-maqāmāt al-adabiyya*, Cairo, 1333 [1915], p. 302. This is a proverb applied to the person who contends with someone more powerful than himself. See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, ḥ-k-k.

[7] Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maydānī, *Majmaʿ al-amthāl*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 1959, vol. I, p. 333. This proverb is applied to someone who speaks in an inappropriate manner with a person of higher rank. See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s-n-n.

{26} وفي هذا الكلام نقد واعتراض وتناقض. أمّا النقد فيقال لهم: ما تعنون بقوله: "وهو مخلِّص شعبه"؟ إن أردتم عالم عصره، فهو تخصيص بما في قولكم: "إنه نزل ليخلّص ذرّية آدم من مكر الشياطين". وإن أردتم بشعبه جنسه من ذوي الناسوت، وهم بنو[7] آدم، فهو قريب لكم، عليه الاعتراض المذكور. وتقريره أنّا وإيّاكم متّفقون على أنّ البارئ سبحانه قادر كامل القدرة. وبقدرته احتججتم على جواز كونه ذاتاً لها ثلاثة أقانيم، كالزبرة المحماة ذات الحديد والنار والشَرَر، والشمس ذات الجِرم والنور الفائض والشعاع، ونحو ذلك من أمثلتكم القبيحة اللعينة. وإذا كان قادراً مختاراً، فأيّ حاجة به إلى أن يتجسّد، ثم يجود بنفسه، ويسلّمها للصلب ليفتدي بني آدم من النار؟ هذا شأن العاجزين لا القادرين. وإن كان فعل هذا مع قدرته، فهو طعن في حكمته، إذ ذلك عبث مع إمكان الاستغناء عنه. وما هذا إلا بمثابة المثل السخيف السائر: "إخرأ[8] وطمّه حتى يصير لك عملين". وسخافة رأيكم توجب لخصمكم مقابلته بسخافة من جنسه.

[7] ش: بنوا. [8] ش: احر؛ ك: اخر.

{26} This statement ('He shall free his people from their sins') needs to be examined critically; it raises an objection and contradicts (other passages of the Gospel). As for a critical examination, (the Christians) should be asked: What do you mean by 'he shall free his people'? If you mean the people of his time, then this is a restrictive specification of the content of your assertion, 'he descended in order to free the progeny of Adam from the deception of the devils'. But if you mean by 'his people' his kind, that is to say, those who possess a human nature, who are the children of Adam, then (this interpretation) is close to your understanding, but as mentioned above, an objection disproves it. The account of (this objection) is as follows: We are both agreed upon the fact that the Maker, Glorified is He, is Omnipotent and His omnipotence is perfect. It is precisely on the basis of His omnipotence that you have advanced the argument of the conceivability of His being an essence which has three hypostases, just like the heated piece of iron consisting of the metal itself, the fire, and the sparks of fire, or like the sun consisting of the solar body itself, the abundant light, and the rays, and other similar repugnant and cursed allegories of yours.[8] If He is Omnipotent and Free to choose what He wills, why would He have any need to become incarnate, sacrifice Himself, and surrender Himself to the cross in order to redeem the children of Adam from the Fire? This is the quality of the impotent, not that of the potent. If He had done so despite His omnipotence, it would have represented a challenge to His wisdom, for to do such a thing would be nonsensical given the possibility that there was no need to do so. This is just like the well-known foolish proverb: 'Defecate and then wallow in your own faeces, so you will have double the work.' The folly of your opinion makes it necessary for your adversary to requite it with a folly of the same kind.

[8] These two analogies are also mentioned in his *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, p. 487). The example of the sun is one of the most favoured metaphors of the Patriarch Timothy I in his attempt to make the Trinity more acceptable to his Muslim opponent (see Caspar, "Les versions arabes du dialogue", p. 129). The same image is also used by the author of the *Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid*, who among others also uses the triad of a 'tree' with its roots, branches and fruits (see Gibson, *A Treatise on the Triune Nature of God*, p. 76). Yet the most subtle metaphor appears to be Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī's philosophical triad of *ʿaql* (intellect/intelligence), *ʿāqil* (intelligent) and *maʿqūl* (intelligible) (*Petits traités apologétiques*, pp. 18–21), which also found its way into Muslim polemical writings. For instance, Ghazzālī refers to this triad, albeit without the mention of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī's name (*Radd*, pp. 44–45).

{27} وأمّا التناقض، فإنّ أصحاب الأناجيل كلَّهم ذكروا أنّ المسيح لمّا احتسّ بالقتل حزن واكتئب وجعل يصلّي ويقول: "يا أبي! إن كان يستطاع، فلتعبر[9] عنّي هذه[10] الكأس. || وليس كإرادتي، لكن و217
كإرادتك." وكيف يجود بنفسه، ثم يبخل بها عند الحاجة؟ وهذا التناقض وارد سواء قلتم إنّ المسيح هو الله أو ابن الله. وإذا نظر الناظر بعقل صحيح لم يحتج إلى هذه الخرافات. بل هذا الرجل كان آية من آيات الله وعبداً من عباده ورسولاً كريماً إلى خلقه، دعا[11] الناس إلى طاعة ربّه، فخلّص منهم من الضلالة من سبقت له السعادة. وكذلك كلّ واحد من الرسل كان سبباً لخلاص من أطاعه. فهذا كلام لا غيرة عليه عند أحد من العقلاء ولا يرد عليه ما ورد على خرافات هؤلاء الجهّال الضلاّل من التناقض والمحال.

{28} **الموضع الثاني** قوله: "الله معنا"، فإنهم حملوه على حقيقته وعدلوا عن المجاز المزيل للإشكال، مع أنهم إذا أورد عليهم شيء من حقائق التوراة والإنجيل المفسد لرأيهم، لجأوا إلى دعوى المجاز. وهذا تكلُّف. احملوا هذا على مجازه الواضح، واسترجعوا[12] من دعوى المجاز البعيد في غيره! ووجه المجاز أنّ المسيح صلوات الله عليه، لما كان آيةً من آيات الله ورسولاً من رسله أظهر معجزاً به وبلّغ رسالته

[9] ش: فليعبر. [10] ش ك: هذا. [11] ش ك: دعى. [12] ش ك: واسترجوا.

{27} As to its contradicting (other passages), all the authors of the Gospels mention that Christ, when he sensed that he was going to be slain, was saddened and downcast, and began to pray, saying: 'O my Father! If it be possible, let this cup pass away from me. Yet let it not be according to my 217a
will, but according to Your will.'[9] How can he (be prepared to) sacrifice his life and then at the crucial moment be reluctant to let it go? This contradiction shows up no matter whether you claim that Christ is God Himself or that he is the Son of God. If one ponders the matter with sound reason, he will have no need for these fairy tales. Rather, this man [i.e. Jesus] was one of the signs of God, one of His servants, and a noble messenger to His creation, who called the people to obey his Lord and saved from error those of them for whom felicity had already been destined. Likewise, every other messenger was a cause for the salvation of those who obeyed him.[10] No intelligent person can object to this statement [concerning Jesus and the other prophets], and no contradiction or absurdity, such as those that found their way into the fairy tales of those ignorant and misguided people, can find its way into it.

{28} **The second place of error** consists of the words: 'God is with us,' for they interpret this saying according to its literal meaning and turn away from adopting a metaphorical meaning that would eliminate ambiguity, despite the fact that whenever any factual truth found in the Torah and the Gospel which undermines their opinion is mentioned to them, they resort to pretending that it is a metaphor. This is a kind of hypocrisy. Interpret this statement according to its obvious metaphorical meaning and leave the far-fetched use of metaphors that you advance for other passages! Adopting a metaphorical interpretation is based on the fact that since Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him, was one of the signs of God and one of His messengers through whom He manifested miracles[11] and who

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[9] Matthew 26:39. See also Mark 14:36; Luke 22:42.

[10] Ṭūfī's understanding of Jesus' mission of salvation within the framework of his prophetic ministry corresponds to Ghazzālī's interpretation of the same title (*mukhalliṣ*), which he takes as an allusion to Jesus' prophetic mission. Jesus is described as the *saviour of the world* only because he taught the world about their Lord, the only One Who deserves to be worshipped (Ghazzālī, *Radd*, p. 11).

[11] Not only did Jesus perform miracles, but his very existence is seen as a miracle. Ṭūfī further argues that Jesus' miraculous birth should not be regarded as a miracle of Jesus only, but also of Mary, if she were to be considered a female prophet, thus admitting such a possibility and implicitly suggesting internal debate on the matter. If she were not regarded as a prophet, however, then Jesus' birth would be Jesus' *mu'jiza* (miracle of a prophet) and

وأمر بأمر الله ونهى بنهيه، صحّ أن يقال: "إن الله معكم" بمعنى: "رسوله وحكمه وأمره ونهيه معكم"، لأنّ إطلاق المجاز يكفي فيه أدنى علاقة واضحة فكيف بهذه العلاقات الكثيرة الهائلة. ولكن هؤلاء لجهلهم وكثرة العلائق اشتبه عليهم المجاز بالحقائق. فلِلّه دَرُّ العرب! ما كان أصفى[13] أذهانهم وأكمل عقولُهم! انظر إلى أبي بكر الصديق لمّا قال له رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: ﴿لاَ تَحْزَنْ إِنَّ اللهَ مَعَنَا﴾ كيف حملها على مجازها مبادراً، وعلم أن المراد كونه سبحانه لهم معيناً وناصراً. وكذلك الصحابة في قوله تعالى: ﴿وَهُوَ مَعَكُمْ أَيْنَمَا كُنْتُمْ﴾ أي بعلمه أو بذاته، على وجه لا يلزم منه محال. والنبيّ القائل المشار إليه في هذا الفصل أظنّه إشعيا، لأنه الذي كان قبل المسيح وبشّر به. وقد صرّح به في مواضع من الإنجيل. والله أعلم.

{29} ومن ذلك في الفصل الثاني أنّ ملك الرب تَراءَى ليوسف في المنام قائلاً: "اهرب بالصبيّ وأمّه إلى مصر لئلاّ يهلكه هيرودس." فهرب به لكي يتمّ ما قيل من قِبَل الربّ بالنبيّ القائل: "من مصر دعوت ابني."

{30} قلت: وهذا عليه إشكالان:

{31} **أحدهما** أنّ المسيح إمّا أن يقال هو الله أو ابن الله أو أنهما واحد، كما زعموا فيهما وفي روح القدس. فإن كان هو اللهَ أو هما واحد فأَرَى إلهَ النصارى بعد أن كان مطلق العنان في

[13] ش ك: اصفا.

Mary's *karāma* (miracle of an upright person). For him, this is analogous to the report on turning back the Sun, which is seen as the Prophet's *muʿjiza* and ʿAlī's *karāma* (*Ishārāt*, vol. I, p. 401).

proclaimed His message, who commanded by God's command and prohibited what God had prohibited, it is correct to say that 'God is truly with you,' in the sense that 'His messenger, His decree, His command and His prohibition is with you.' For even a far less clear relation is sufficient to apply a metaphorical interpretation, what then in the case of all these astonishingly numerous relations? However, because of their ignorance and the multiplicity of [metaphorical] relations, the metaphorical interpretation became confounded with the literal meanings for those people. Therefore, the accomplishment of the Arabs is due to God! How clear were their minds and how perfect their intellects! Look at Abū Bakr, the trustworthy; when the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, told him: 'Have no fear, surely God is with us,'[12] he instantly interpreted this statement according to its metaphorical meaning and knew that what was meant was that the Glorified was their Helper and Protector. Similarly, the other companions received the words of God, the Exalted: 'He is with you wheresoever you may be'[13]—that is to say, (He is present) by His knowledge or His essence—without assuming an absurd position. I presume that the prophet who was mentioned earlier in this chapter as saying these words is Isaiah,[14] for he came before Christ and announced the glad tidings of his coming. This has been explicitly stated in a number of passages in the Gospel. And God knows best.

{29} Among other things, in chapter two (it is reported) that an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying: 'Flee with the child and his mother into Egypt, so that Herod does not destroy him.' Thus, he fled with him, so that what was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying: 'From Egypt have I called My son', might be fulfilled.[15]

{30} I say: There are two points of confusion with respect to this statement:

{31} **The first point of confusion** is that one either says Christ is God, or the Son of God, or else that the two are one, as they claim with regard to these two and the Holy Spirit. And if he is God or the two are one, then it seems that the God of the Christians, after He had been given free rein in a

[12] Q 9:40.
[13] Q 57:4.
[14] See Isaiah 7:14.
[15] See Matthew 2:13–15.

أمان || من الحدثان حبس نفسه في ناسوت يحتاج معه إلى الفرار من الأشرار. ولم يُعهَد مثل هذا ظ217
الفعال إلاّ من المجانين والجهّال، لا من الإله المتعال ذي العظمة والجلال. سبحانه عن هذا المقال. وإن كان هو ابن الله، ففعله ذلك به كفعله إيّاه بنفسه، لا فرق بينهما. وقد بيّنّا أن لا غرض في ذلك صحيح ولا فائدة مرغوب فيها غير السفه والعبث، والعقول منبئة[14] عن الخبْث والخبَث. إذ كلّ ما[15] حصل من الفوائد باتّحاده بالإنسان وصلبه وغير ذلك من العظائم، كان قادراً أن يحصله[16] بدونه.

{32} **الإشكال الثاني** قوله: "من مصر دعوت ابني"، وهو أنه قد كان يمكنه أن يجعل مولده بمصر، أو يجعل ذهابه إليها على غير هذا الوجه، ثمّ يدعوه منها. وعلى هذا الإشكال إشكال. وأمّا القرينة الدالّة على أنّ المراد هنا بالابن العبد، فقد سبق تقريرها، وهو أنه ليس مولودَ الله بالولادة[17] العرفيّة البشريّة، ولا هو جزء من ذات الله الآن لانفصاله عنها في العيان، ولا صفة لذاته لأنه جوهر منفصل. فتعيَّن أنّ المراد [هو] العبوديّة بلفظ البنوّة بالدليل السابق.

{33} ومن ذلك في الأصحاح الثالث لمّا اعتمد المسيح من يوحنّا المعمدانيّ، أي اصطبغ في المعمودية، فلمّا اعتمد يسوع، وصعد من الماء، فانفتحت له السماوات، ورأى روح الله نازلاً كمثل حمامة – وفي لفظ إنجيل لوقا[18] شبه[19] جسد حمامة – جاء إليه، وإذا صوت من السماوات قائل: "هذا هو ابني الحبيب الذي به سُررت."

[14] ش ك: المنبئة. [15] ش ك: كلما. [16] ش: يخلصه. [17] ش ك: الولاده. [18] ش – لوقا. [19] ش: اشبه.

position of safety from misfortunes, imprisoned Himself in human nature, 217b
due to which He would stand in need to escape from evil people. Something akin to this deed is only expected from the mad and ignorant, not from God, the Most High, the Possessor of Majesty and Glory. He is Exalted above such a claim. And if he is the Son of God, then His doing this to His son is the same as His doing it to Himself; there is no difference between the two. We have already explained that there is neither a sound goal in doing so, nor any desirable benefit that would not be foolish or futile, and intellects can discern corruption and corrupt things. Whatever benefits He obtained by His uniting Himself with man, His crucifixion and other similar great deeds, He would have been capable of obtaining without doing so.

{32} **The second point of confusion** concerns his words, 'From Egypt have I called My son,' and is found in the fact that He could have caused him to be born in Egypt, or caused him to go there in a manner that is different from this, and thereafter called him from there. And to this confusion another confusion must be added. As for the contextual indicator (*qarīna*), which implies that what is meant here by 'son' is 'servant,' it has been previously established that he is neither a begotten child of God in the sense of habitual human procreation, nor does he now partake in the essence of God, due to his separation from it which is visible to the eyes, nor is he an attribute of His essence, since he is a separate substance. Therefore, it has become manifest that it is 'servanthood' that is intended by the expression of 'sonship,' based on the aforementioned proof.

{33} Among other things, (there is the following account) in chapter three: 'When Christ was baptised by John the Baptist, that is, when Jesus was immersed in the baptismal place and emerged from the water, the heavens opened up for him, and he saw the Spirit of God came to him descending like a dove'—and in the words of the Gospel of Luke, 'in the likeness of the body of a dove'[16]—'and behold, a voice out of the heavens said: "This is My beloved Son, in whom I have taken pleasure".'[17]

[16] See Luke 3:22.
[17] Matthew 3:16–17.

{34} قلت: هذه القصّة ممّا تستأصل مذهب النصارى، لأنهم إن قالوا: إنّ المسيح هو الله، فهذا مكابرة للعيان، إذ المسيح هاهنا منفرد بذاته عن الله سبحانه وعن روح القدس في هذه الحال، أعني حال هبوط روح القدس من السماء. فيكون الله سبحانه هو المسيح وليس هو المسيح، هذا خلف. وإن قالوا مجموع الثلاثة هي ذات الله، فهي الآن مفترقة قِطَعاً، ولا تدرك بينها[20] رابطة تجمعها[21] حساً ولا عقلاً. فلا يخلو[22] من أن يكون افتراقها بعد أن كانت ذاتاً واحدةً، أو أنها بعد هذا الافتراق اجتمعت وتضامّت حتى صارت ذاتاً واحدةً. والتقدير أنه[23] محال على البارئ سبحانه لاستحالة الاجتماع والافتراق عليه بالأدلّة الكلاميّة والبراهين الفلسفيّة. وأيضاً دلّ الدليل على أنّ القديم لا يتطرّق عليه التغيّر الذاتيّ عمّا كان عليه في القدم. وإن قالوا: المسيح || ابن الله، فقد سبق و218
تقرير[24] البنوّة وأنها لا يمكن إلاّ على وجه المجاز وأنّ المراد "عبدي" و"عبد الله".

{35} ومن ذلك في بقيّة هذا الأصحاح لمّا قال إبليس للمسيح: "إن كنت ابن الله، فانطرح من هذا الهيكل إلى أسفل"، فقال له: "مكتوب: لا تجرّب الربَّ إلهك." وقال له إبليس أيضاً: "إن خررت لي ساجداً أعطيتك ممالك العالم." فقال له يسوع: "اذهب ورائي، يا شيطان! مكتوب: للربّ إلهك اسجد، وله[25] وحده اعبد." حينئذ تركه إبليس.

[20] ك: بسها. [21] ك: بجمعها. [22] ش ك: فلا يخلوا. [23] ش ك: ان. [24] ش: تقدير. [25] ش – و.

{34} I say: This story belongs to the things that negate the Christian position, for the following reasons: If they say, 'Christ is God', then this becomes an obvious offense against what is visible to the eyes, for here Christ in his essence is detached from God, the Glorified, as well as from the Holy Spirit in this situation, i.e. the circumstance of the Holy Spirit descending from the heavens. Accordingly, it is necessarily the case that God, the Glorified, is Christ, while at the same time He is not Christ; this is a contradiction [i.e. these statements are mutually exclusive]. If they say that all three together constitute the essence of God, then His essence has now been split into fragments and no bond that would bring them together can be perceived between them either by sense or by intellect. It must either be the case that their fragmentation occurred after they had been one single essence, or else that it was only after this fragmentation that they united and merged so that they became one single essence. The assessment, however, must be that such a thing is inconceivable with regard to the Maker, Glorified is He, because unification and fragmentation are inconceivable with regard to Him, according to both theological evidences and philosophical proofs. Moreover, the evidence also indicates that no change in essence can alter the Pre-Existent from the state He has been in since pre-existence. And if they say, 'Christ is the Son of God', then the meaning of sonship has already 218a
been determined earlier, as well as the fact that this expression can only be understood in a metaphorical sense, thus what is meant is 'My servant' or 'the servant of God'.

{35} Among other things, (there is the following account) in the remainder of this chapter: 'When Satan said to Christ: "If you are the Son of God, then throw yourself down from this temple." He replied to him: "It is written, you shall not make trial of the Lord your God."[18] Again Satan spoke to him: "If you fall down prostrating yourself to me, I shall give you the kingdoms of the world." Then Jesus said to him: "Get behind me, Devil! It is written, to the Lord your God you shall prostrate yourself, and Him only shall you worship."[19] At that moment Satan left him.'[20]

[18] Deuteronomy 6:16.
[19] Deuteronomy 6:13.
[20] See Matthew 4:6–11.

{36} وهذا تصريح من المسيح أنّ الله إلهه، وأنه مألوه بين يديه عبد لربّه. وبهذا ونحوه يظهر لكلّ عاقل أنّ المراد بالبنوّة حيث أطلقت العبوديّة المنصوص عليها هاهنا،[26] لأنّ المسيح لو كان هو الله لاستحال أن يكون إلهَ نفسه وأن يعبد نفسَه، ولو كان ابنه لكان[27] يقول: "لا تجرّب أباك، والربَّ أباك اسجد له." فلما صرّح بلفظ الإلهيّة دلّ على ما ذكرنا.

{37} فإن قيل: إنّ المسيح له جهة لاهوت وجهة ناسوت، فبجهة اللاهوت يقول: أبي، والأب والابن ونحوه، وبجهة الناسوت يقول: إلهي وإلهك ونحوه، فاختلاف العبارتين لاختلاف الجهتين، فلا استحالة.

{38} فالجواب من وجهين:

{39} **أحدهما** أنّا نمنع أنّ في المسيح لاهوتاً أصلاً، بل هو ناسوت محض، والسرّ الذي قام به إنّما هو أثر من آثار قدرة الله[28] سبحانه. فإن جعلتم هذه القدرة[29] لاهوتاً يستحقّ أن يسمّى اللهَ أو ابنَ الله، لزمكم مثله في جميع الأنبياء الذين أُودِعوا أسرار الله وأظهروا الآيات والمعجزات. والدليل على أنه لا لاهوت في المسيح هو أن يقال: المسيح إمّا أنه هو الله أو ابن الله. والأوّل باطل من هذا الكلام، لأنه لو كان هو الله لما أضاف الإله إلى نفسه، لأنّ ذلك مستلزم[30] للتغاير المنافي[31] للاتّحاد.[32] وإن كان هو ابن الله فاللاهوت الذي فيه إمّا أن يكون قائماً به مع اتّصاله بالله أو مع انفصاله عنه. والثانى

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[26] ك: هنا. [27] ش ك: كان. [28] ش: الإله. [29] ش: هذا القدر. [30] ك: سسلزم. [31] ك – للتغاير المنافي (بياض، أي محي غير مقروء). [32] ك: الاتحاد.

{36} This is a declaration by Christ that God is his god, and that Christ worships God and is a servant of his Lord. By this and similar passages it becomes obvious to any intelligent person that what is meant by the expressions of 'sonship', wherever applied, is the very 'servanthood' that has been determined in the present situation, because of the following fact: had Christ been God, it would have been inconceivable of him to be his own god and to worship himself,[21] and had he been His Son, he would have said instead, 'You shall not make trial of your Father, and to the Lord, your Father, you shall prostrate yourself.' Thus, what he declared by using expressions indicating 'divinity' proves what we have mentioned.

{37} If it is said: Christ has a divine nature and a human nature, and it is with his *divine* nature that he says, 'my Father', 'the Father', 'the Son' and so forth, while it is with his *human* nature that he says, 'my God', 'your God' and so forth; and thus the difference between the two expressions is due to the difference between the two natures, so that there is nothing inconceivable about it.

{38} Then, the response must be twofold:

{39} **The first way to respond** is to categorically reject that there can be anything divine about Christ at all. Rather, his nature was purely human, while the mystery which is found in him is only one of the marks of the omnipotence of God, Glorified is He. If you grant this mark of power the status of divine nature, which warrants being called God or the Son of God, then doing the same is incumbent upon you regarding all other prophets, who were entrusted with the mysteries of God and who manifested signs and miracles. The proof that there was no divinity in Christ is to say: Christ is either God or the Son of God. The first alternative of this statement is baseless, because of the following fact: Had he been God, he would not have connected the noun 'God' to himself (in the genitive construction found in his saying 'my God'), since that would require differentiation from one another, which contradicts the (notion of their) unity. And if he were the Son of God, then the divine nature which resides in him would have to subsist in him either simultaneously with his unification with God or simultaneously

[21] See also Ṭūfī, *ʿAlam*, p. 113. This is a frequently used argument in Muslim anti-Christian polemics. Ghazzālī, for instance, quotes almost the same Gospel verses and reaches the same conclusion (*Radd*, p. 23).

باطل، وإلاّ لزم انقسام اللاهوت، وهو لا يقبل الانقسام. والأوّل باطل، لأنّ اللاهوت إمّا جوهر أو عرض، ولو كان أُدرك[33] بالبصر[34] إن كان كثيفاً كالجبل، أو بالسمع أو غيره إن كان لطيفاً كالهواء. ولا يقال: يجوز أن يكون مجرّداً عن المادّة فلا يدرك إلاّ عقلاً، لأنّا نقول: هذا لا يصحّ على قولكم، لأنّ اللاهوت من الإله سبحانه، والتوراة || والأناجيل[35] كلّها دالّة على جسميّة الربّ سبحانه.[36] والجسم ظ218 ليس مجرّداً، فلا يصحّ أن يدّعى في اللاهوت ذلك، وهو فرع على الإله لئلاّ يثبت للفرع ما ليس لأصله. ولا يجوز أن يكون عرضاً، لأنّ العرض لا يبقى، ولاهوت عيسى لم يفارقه عندكم.

{40} الوجه **الثاني** أنّ النزاع إنّما وقع في عيسى من جهة لاهوته لا من جهة ناسوته، إذ هو من جهة ناسوته كسائر الناس، وهو في هذا المقام في مناظرة إبليس وجداله. فكان اللائق بحكمته حيث قال: "اسجد لي" أن يناقضه ويقول: "أنا إله وابن الإله. كيف أسجد لك وأنت عبد سوء؟"

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[33] ك – أدرك، + الاول. [34] ك – بالبصر (بياض، أي ممحي غير مقروء). [35] ش: والإنجيل. [36] ك + فاسم محسمه [...] علماوكم.

with his separation from Him. The latter of these alternatives is baseless, or else it would require a division of the divine nature, while divine nature is indivisible. The former is also baseless, because divine nature is either a substance (*jawhar*) or an accident (*ʿaraḍ*), even if it were to be perceived by seeing, in the case of its being dense like a mountain, or perceived by hearing or by any other of the senses, in the case of its being delicate like air. Likewise, it cannot be said: 'It is conceivable that divine nature be free from matter and therefore it can be perceived only by the intellect,' for we say: this is not sound according to your claim because divine nature pertains to God, Glorified is He, while the Torah and the Gospels all indicate the corporeality 218b
of the Lord, Glorified is He.[22] Yet, a body is not immaterial; thus, it is unsound to claim such a thing for divine nature when it is something that is derived from God, lest some characteristic be acknowledged as a derivative quality which its original essence does not possess. It is equally inconceivable that divine nature be an accident, because an accident does not last, while the divinity of Jesus has not departed from him, according to your opinion.[23]

{40} **The second way to respond** is to point out that the debate (between Jesus and Satan) concerns Jesus only with regard to his divine nature, but not with regard to his human nature, for with regard to his human nature, he is just like the rest of mankind (according to your opinion), and he is in precisely this state during his dispute with Satan. So the appropriate thing to do in his wisdom, when (Satan) said, 'prostrate yourself to me,' would have been to oppose him and say to him, 'I am a god and the Son of God.

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[22] In general, the Muslim polemical genre is highly critical of the Bible's use of anthropomorphic language in reference to God, which is seen as an indication of textual corruption (*taḥrīf*) in the Bible. Ṭūfī will expound on this later on in the *Taʿlīq*, especially while commenting on Genesis 3:8–11; 6:5–8 and 8:21 (§§ 453, 469 and 475). See also his *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 442–444.

[23] Muslim polemicists criticised the distinction made in Christian theology between the human nature of Jesus, subject to suffering, and his divine nature which was seen as being far beyond the worldly realm. Hypostatic union in Jesus was considered not only blasphemous, but also unsound, confusing and self-contradictory, for the quality of 'being composite' (*murakkab*) contradicts God's sovereignty (see, for instance, Ghazzālī, *Radd*, p. 30). According to Ṭūfī, the two opposing states of 'human' and 'divine' cannot be joined together, for it is absurd to claim the union of opposites. Hence the doctrine of the Incarnation is nothing but falsehood (Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 128). Ṭūfī's critique is grounded primarily in the analogy of *ẓarf* (cover) and *maẓrūf* (covered). The *ẓarf* should always be greater than the *maẓrūf*. If we say that the Divine entered Christ's flesh, this will lead us to consider Christ's body, his mortal being, to be greater than the incarnated God, a conclusion which Ṭūfī defines as absurd (ibid., vol. II, pp. 130–131).

فلما أجابه بالاعتراف بألوهيّة الله والتعبّد له، دلّ على أنّ جهته واحدة،[37] وهي العبوديّة، وأن لا جهتين له كما ذكرتم.

{41} ومن ذلك قوله في الفصل الخامس: "افرحوا وتهلّلوا، فإنّ أجركم عظيم في السماوات، لأنّ هكذا طردوا[38] الأنبياء الذين قبلكم". وقال بعد هذا: "لا تظنّوا أنّي جئت لأحلّ[39] الناموس أو الأنبياء. إنّما جئت لأكمل". وصرّح بذكر الأنبياء في غير موضع.[40] فهذا اعتراف منه بنبوّة من كان قبله.

{42} وفي الفصل العاشر من إنجيل يوحنّا في سياق مثَل ضربه لهم في الراعي والخِراف قال يسوع: "الحقّ الحقّ أقول لكم: أنا هو باب الخراف، وجميع الذين قبلي كانوا لصوصاً وسُرّاقاً، لكن[41] الضأن لم تسمع لهم".

{43} وهذا إنكار لنبوّة من كان قبله. وهذا تخليط من هؤلاء الإنجيليّين أو ممّن نقلها بعدهم من العجميّة إلى العربيّة. وبالجملة هذا كذب على المسيح، فإنه كان رسول الله مصدّقاً لمن قبله وبعده من الرسل.

{44} وفي هذا الفصل من إنجيل متّى هكذا:[42] "ليضيء نورُكم قدّام الناس، فيرون أعمالكم الحسنة، ويمجدون أباكم الذي في السماوات". فهذا يدلّ على أنّ المراد بالبنوّة في حقّه العبوديّة. وإلاّ لزم أن يكون كلّهم أبناء الله بموجب هذه الإضافة. فلما كانوا معها عبيداً، وجب أن يكون المسيح معها أيضاً

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[37] ش – واحدة. [38] ش: طرد. [39] ك: لاجل. [40] ش – وقال بعد هذا لا تظنوا أني جئت لأحل الناموس أو الأنبياء إنما جئت لأكمل وصرح بذكر الأنبياء في غير موضع. [41] ش + لكن. [42] ش: هكذى.

How shall I prostrate myself to you, when you are only a wicked servant?' Thus, since (Jesus) answered him while acknowledging God's divinity and his own worship of Him, he proved that his nature is a single one, which is servanthood, and that he does not have two natures as you have stated.

{41} Among other things, there is (Jesus') statement in chapter five: 'Rejoice and be jubilant, for great is your reward in the heavens, because that is how they persecuted the prophets who were before you.'[24] After this verse he says: 'Do not think that I came to abolish either the law or the prophets. Instead I came to fulfill.'[25] And elsewhere he explicitly mentions the prophets. This is, therefore, an acknowledgment from him concerning the prophethood of those who came before him.

{42} In chapter ten of the Gospel of John, in the context of the parable he propounded to them concerning the shepherd and the sheep, Jesus says: 'Verily, verily, I say to you: I am the door of the sheep, while all those who came before me were thieves and robbers; but the sheep did not listen to them.'[26]

{43} This is a renunciation of the prophethood of those who came before him. This statement is a confusion created either by the evangelists themselves or by whoever translated (the Gospels) after them from a foreign language into Arabic. In short, this is a lie against Christ, for he was a messenger of God, confirming the truthfulness of all other messengers, whether before or after him.

{44} This is likewise the case in the same chapter of the Gospel of Matthew: 'Let your light shine before the people, that they may see your good deeds and glorify your Father Who is in the heavens.'[27] This further proves that what is meant by sonship when used in reference to (Jesus) is servanthood. Otherwise, it would have been necessary for all (of his people) to be Sons of God on the basis of this genitive construction [i.e. '*your* Father']. Since they are servants despite this construction, it is therefore necessary that Jesus be likewise a servant despite this construction, while he was distinguished

[24] Matthew 5:12.
[25] Matthew 5:17.
[26] John 10:7–8.
[27] Matthew 5:16.

عبداً، وإنّما اختصّ عليهم بما اختصّ به الأنبياء على أممهم. وهذا وأمثاله من القرائن المستقلّة الدالّة على أنّ المراد بالبنوّة والأبوّة العبوديّة والإلهيّة، كما صرّح به في مناظرته إبليسَ في الأصحاح الثالث.

{45} ومن ذلك قوله في هذا الفصل الخامس: "سمعتم ما قيل للأوّلين: لا تحنث في يمينك، وأوف الربَّ قسَمك. وأنا أقول لكم: لا تحلفوا البتّة، لا بالسماء فإنها كرسيّ الله، ولا بالأرض لأنها موطئ قدميه، ولا بيروشليم فإنها مدينة الملِك العظيم. ولا برأسك تحلف، لأنك لا تقدر تصنع[43] شعرة بيضاء سوداء. ولتكن كلمتكم نعم نعم، ولا لا. وما زاد على هذا، فهو من الشرير".

{46} قلت: إذا || نظر العاقل المنصف في هذا الكلام وجده مثبِّطاً متناقضاً متهافتاً،[44] لا يشبه كلام 219 و
الأنبياء. بل السوقة في أسواقهم لا يرتضون بمثله. وبيان الخبط فيه أنّ كلّ عاقل يعلم ببديهة عقله أنّ الوفاء بالقسم وتحريم الحنث إنّما كان تعظيماً واحتراماً للمقسم به. وقد أشار صاحب هذا الكلام إلى هذا بقوله: "ولا برأسك تحلف لأنك لا تقدر تصنع[45] شعرة بيضاء سوداء". فإنه أشار[46] إلى أنّ المحلوف به يجب أن يكون عظيماً. ثم إنه يقول: "لا تحلفوا بالسماء فإنها كرسيّ الله، ولا بالأرض

[43] ك: بصبغ. [44] ش – متهافتا. [45] ك: بصبغ. [46] ش – صاحب هذا الكلام إلى هذا بقوله ولا برأسك تحلف لأنك لا تقدر تصنع شعرة بيضاء سوداء فإنه أشار.

above (his people) only in that by which other prophets were distinguished above their people. This and similar examples belong to the independent contextual indicators (*qarāʿin*), which prove that what is meant by sonship and fatherhood is servanthood and divinity respectively, as (Jesus) stated explicitly during his dispute with Satan in chapter three.[28]

{45} Among other things, there is his statement in the present chapter, (chapter) five: 'You have heard what was said to the people of the ancients: "You shall not violate your vow, but shall fulfil to the Lord your oath".[29] But I tell you: Do not swear at all; neither by heaven, for it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of His feet; nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the Great King. Nor shall you swear by your head, for you have no power to make one white hair black. But let your word of "yes" be "yes", and "no" be "no". And whatever exceeds this is from the evil one.'[30]

{46} I say: If an intelligent and honest person looks into this statement, he 219a
will find it to be confusing, contradictory and inconsistent, not resembling the speech of the prophets at all. Even the common people in their markets would not be satisfied with something like this. The insanity contained in this statement may be explained thus: every intelligent person knows by their own intuition that the fulfilment of one's oath and the prohibition against breaking it are only to glorify and honour that by which the oath had been sworn. The speaker of these words has already indicated this understanding by his statement: 'Nor shall you swear by your head, for you have no power to make one white hair black.' Thus, he indicates that the object by which the oath has been taken has to be something great. Then again he says: 'Do not swear by heaven, for it is the throne of God; nor by

[28] With his strategy of reading the 'Son of God' metaphorically, Ṭūfī follows many other Muslim scholars who opted for the same approach. There were among them, however, a few exceptions such as Jāḥiẓ, who declined to acknowledge even the figurative fatherhood of God (Jāḥiẓ, *Radd*, pp. 30 and 25–32). Yet the majority seem to have no problem with the *majāz* (allegory) of the honorific *ibn* (son). This is further reinforced by the Biblical application of the same title to other prophets and personalities. 'If they were not regarded as divine, then Jesus should not be either,' was the straightforward rationale of the Muslim argument (see, for instance Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, vol. II, pp. 165–166 and Dimashqī in Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic*, p. 384). Many of them opted for the universal applicability of these titles, yet some of them, such as Ghazzālī, identified this usage as specific to Jesus and his *Sharīʿa*, but impermissible with regard to the last Prophet and his followers on the basis that every *Sharīʿa* has its own specific precepts (Ghazzālī, *Radd*, p. 25).

[29] See Leviticus 19:12; Numbers 30:2; Deuteronomy 23:21.

[30] Matthew 5:33–37.

لأنها موطئ قدميه." وهذا، يقتضي جواز الحلف بها، لأنها اكتسبا عظمة لمجاورة عظمة الله بكون هذه كرسيّه وهذا موطئ قدميه. فهذا كلام ينقض أوّلُه آخرَه.

{47} قلت: ولهم عن هذا جواب حسن يدفع ما أوردناه عليه، وهو أنّ مقصود المسيح أن لا يحلف بغير الله كما هو رأي المسلمين، إذ ليس في الموجودات أعظم من الله سبحانه. ولهذا أشار في تعليله إلى أنّ المحلوف به يجب أن يكون قادراً بقوله: "لا تقدر تصنع[47] شعرة بيضاء سوداء". والسماء والأرض ومدينة الملِك ليس شيء منها قادراً ولا معظماً عظمة الله تعالى. لكن هذا الجواب لا يتأتّى لهم في السماء، لأنّ المسيح يقول في الفصل السادس والخمسين: "من حلف بالسماء فهو يحلف بكرسيّ الله والجالس عليه". فيبقى سؤالنا وارداً في السماء وهو يحصّل لنا المقصود. والله أعلم.

{48} ومن ذلك قوله بعد هذا: "حبّوا أعداءكم، وباركوا على لاعنيكم، واحسنوا إلى من أبغضكم، وصلّوا على من يطردكم ويظلمكم، لكيما تكونوا بني أبيكم الذي في السماوات، المُشرق شمسَه على الأخيار والأشرار، والمُمطر على الصدّيقين والظالمين. فإذا أحببتم من يحبّكم، فأيّ أجر لكم؟ أليس العشّارون يفعلون مثل ذلك؟"

{49} قلت: قوله "لكيما تكونوا بني أبيكم" قد تقدّم الاستدلال بإضافة البنوّة إليهم على أنّ المراد بها في حقّهم وحقّ المسيح العبوديّة، والاستدلال بقوله "الذي في السماوات" هاهنا وحيث وقع فإنه قادح في دين النصارى. لأنهم إن قالوا: إنّ[48] المسيح هو الله، فالمسيح قد أخبر أنه في السماوات

[47] ك: بصنع. [48] ك – إن.

the earth, for it is the footstool of His feet.' Yet here it should necessarily be permissible to swear by these two, for they both have acquired grandeur due to their proximity to the grandeur of God, since one is His throne and the other is the footstool of His feet. So, the first part of this statement contradicts the last part of it.

{47} I say: (The Christians) have a good response to this contradiction, which refutes the argument we put forward against their statement, namely, that what Christ meant was that one should not swear an oath by anything other than the name of God, which corresponds to the Muslim opinion, since there is nothing greater among all things in existence than God, Glorified is He. For this reason (Christ) alluded in his justification to the fact that the object by which the oath was taken has to be omnipotent, saying: 'You have no power to make one white hair black.' Neither heaven, nor the earth, nor the city of the king have any power, nor do they reach the grandeur of God, Exalted is He. However, this response is unfeasible for them with regard to heaven, because Christ also says in chapter fifty-six: 'He who swears by heaven, swears by the throne of God and by Him Who sits upon it.'[31] Thus, our argument still remains valid with regard to heaven, and for us this achieves our intended goal. But God knows best.[32]

{48} Among other things, there is his statement following the one just commented upon: 'Love your enemies, bless those who curse you, do good to those who hate you, and pray for those who persecute you and mistreat you, that you may be sons of your Father Who is in the heavens, and Who makes His sun rise on the good and the evil, and sends rain upon the just and the unjust. If you love those who love you, what reward do you have? Do not even the tax collectors do the same?'[33]

{49} I say: Regarding his statement, 'that you may be sons of your Father,' the evidence drawn from the attribution of sonship to (Jesus' disciples) has already been presented, to the effect that what is meant thereby when applied to them and to Christ is servanthood, while the evidence drawn from his statement, 'Who is in the heavens', here and wherever else it occurs, impugns the Christian religion. This is so, because if they say, 'Christ is God',

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[31] Matthew 23:22.

[32] A similar discussion on these Gospel passages is to be found in the *Intiṣārāt* (vol. II, pp. 674–677).

[33] Matthew 5:44–46.

الآن، هذا مقتضى لفظه، والمسيح في الأرض، ولا واسطة ولا رابطة بينهما توجب اتّحادهما. وإنّما أخبر بأنه[49] واحد. فاستحال أن يكون في السماوات والأرض بذاته في زمن واحد. وإن قالوا: هو ابن الله وأقنوم من أقانيم ذاته، لم يكن الأب يحمّله ذاته في السماوات، وقد أخبر أنه في السماوات. فوجب أن يكون تقديره: "لكي تكونوا عبيد ربّكم الذي في السماوات". وقد ثبت || بما سبق أنّ المسيح عبد مألوه. فصار كواحد من تلاميذه في ذلك. ويؤكّد هذا قوله في سياق هذا الكلام: "كونوا كاملين مثل أبيكم السماويّ، فهو كامل"، أخبر بكماله في السماوات. فدلّ على أنّ المسيح ليس هو نفسَه، ولا أقنوماً منه، ولا صفة له. ظ219

{50} فأمّا قوله بعد هذا في سياق الأمر بالزهد وصدق التوكّل: "أيّ رجل منكم يسأله ابنه خبزاً، فيعطيه حجراً؟ أو يسأله سمكة، فيعطيه حيّة؟ فإذا كنتم أنتم[50] الأشرار تمنحون العطايا الصالحة لأبنائكم، فأبوكم الذي في السماوات أحرى"، فإنه شبّه بنوّتهم بالإضافة إلى الله ببنوّة بينهم بالإضافة إليهم. فهو مجاز للإجماع على أنّ العالم كلّه لا يقال له أبناء الله، وهذه الوصيّة من المسيح عامّة لمن حضره وغاب عنه من العالم. وبهذا يبطل دعوى اليهود والنصارى أنهم أبناء الله، كما حكى الله عنهم في القرآن الكريم. لأنه يقال لهم: هذه الوصيّة لكم ولغيركم. فمن

[49] ش ك: بان. [50] ش – أنتم.

then (I say that) Christ himself reported that (God) was in the heavens at that moment, as a consequence of his expression ('Who is in the heavens'), while Christ himself was on the earth. Yet there was neither medium nor link between them that would necessitate their being united, and (Christ) further reported (on many occasions) that (God) is only one. Therefore, it is inconceivable that He would be present by His essence in the heavens and on the earth simultaneously. And if they say, 'he is the Son of God and one of the hypostases of His essence', then (I say that) God had not imposed on him His essence in the heavens, for (Christ) had indeed reported that (God) was in the heavens.[34] Therefore, the implication of these words must be: 'that you may be servants of your Lord, Who is in the heavens.' It has already been established in what preceded that Christ was a servant who 219b
worshipped God. Thus, he was as one of his disciples in this matter. This is corroborated in the context of the following words: 'Be perfect as your heavenly Father, for He is truly perfect'[35] wherein (Christ) reports (God's) perfection as being in the heavens. This indicates, therefore, that Christ was neither (God) Himself, nor a hypostasis of His, nor an attribute of His.

{50} As for his statement following this, in the context of commanding renunciation of the world and sincerity in relying upon God, he says: 'What man is there among you, who, if his son asks him for bread, shall give him a stone? Or if he asks for a fish, shall give him a serpent? Then, if you, the evil ones, give good gifts to your sons, this is surely much more fitting for your Father Who is in the heavens!'[36] Here he likens (the people's) sonship in relation to God to the sonship between themselves in relation to one another. This is therefore a metaphor, due to the consensus that all mankind cannot be referred to as 'sons of God,' while this instruction of Christ refers generally to all mankind, those present as well as those absent. By this statement the claim of the Jews and Christians that they are the sons of God is invalidated, as reported by God in the Noble Qur'an.[37] Thus, (the Jews and Christians) should be told: 'This instruction is for you and others. From

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[34] Ṭūfī's argument suggests that had Christ been a hypostasis, God would have had to impose upon him His essence, namely transfer His divinity onto him. However, this was not possible, because Christ was on the earth and it was only God Who was in the heavens.

[35] Matthew 5:48.

[36] Matthew 7:9–11.

[37] 'The Jews and Christians say: We are sons of God and His loved ones. Say: Why then does He chastise you for your sins? Nay, you are but mortals of His creating. He forgives whom He will, and chastises whom He will. God's is the Sovereignty of the heavens and the earth and all that is between them, and unto Him is the journeying' (Q 5:18).

امثلتها وجب أن يكون ابن الله. فاختصاصكم بها، لا حجّة عليه. ثمّ يعارَض دعوى اليهود بدعوى النصارى، ودعوى النصارى بدعوى اليهود. ثمّ يقال: فلِمَ تخافون[51] عذاب الله؟ وهل يعذّب الأب ابنه؟ وبهذا أجابهم الله سبحانه، ووجه الشبه بين البنوّتين أنّ الله سبحانه علّة إيجادهم كما أنهم علّة إيجاد أبنائهم، وإن اختلف التأثيران في الإيجاد.

{51} وفي أواخر هذا الفصل: "احذروا من الأنبياء الكذبة الذين يأتونكم بلباس الحُمُلان وداخلهم ذئاب خَطِفة. ومن ثمارهم تعرفونهم".

{52} قلت: صدّر بعض علماء النصارى بهذا الكلام كتاباً صنّفه في القدح في دين الإسلام والطعن على نبوّة محمّد عليه السلام. وأرجو[52] من الله سبحانه التحلّي[53] لمناقضته والردّ عليه. وهذا الكلام لا يدلّ على ما أراده لوجهين. **أحدهما** أنّ يوحنّا قد ذكر في بشارته أنّ المسيح قال: "كلّ الذين قبلي كانوا لصوصاً"، لا أنبياء. وهذا كذب على المسيح قطعاً كما سبق بيانه. فلا نؤمن أنّ هذا منه.[54] وإنّ بعض النصارى وضعه شبهة للقدح في دين محمّد عليه السلام. **الثاني** بتقدير تسليم أنه من كلام المسيح، وإنه لم يعيّن أحداً بعينه، وإنّما حذّر بمن يأتي بالصفات النافية المذكورة والثمار السيّئة. فإن ادّعوا أنّ محمّداً صلّى الله عليه وسلم[55] متّصف بها، فهو محلّ النزاع. وعلينا إقامة البرهان بأنه ليس كذلك، فلا يحصل مقصودهم.

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[51] ش: يخافون. [52] ش ك: وارجوا. [53] ش: التجلي؛ ك: الخلى. [54] ش ك: مثله. [55] ك – وسلم.

similar examples, it follows necessarily that other people are sons of God as well. So, there is no proof that you are singled out by this title.' Then, the Jewish claim should be opposed by the Christian claim, and the Christian claim should be opposed by the Jewish claim. They should also be told: 'Why do you fear the punishment of God? Does a father punish his son?' And thus God, Glorified is He, responds to them (in the above-mentioned Qur'anic verse), while the objective of the similarity between the two sonships is that God, the Exalted, is the cause of their coming into existence just as they are the cause of their sons' coming into existence, even if the two ways of bringing about existence are different.

{51} Towards the end of this chapter, (Christ says): 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. By their fruits you shall know them.'[38]

{52} I say: A certain Christian scholar commenced with these words a book which he compiled in order to impugn the religion of Islam and attack the prophethood of Muḥammad, peace be upon him.[39] I hope that God, Glorified is He, will endow me with the power to contend with it and refute it. These words, nevertheless, do not prove what he intended them to mean for two reasons. **Firstly**, John has mentioned in his Gospel that Christ said: 'All those who came before me were thieves,'[40] and not prophets. This is definitely a lie against Christ, as explained earlier.[41] Hence, we do not believe that this statement belongs to him. Some Christian might have coined it as a specious argument, in order to impugn the religion of Muḥammad, peace be upon him. **Secondly**, assuming we concede that the statement is from the words of Christ, (we say that) he did not specify anyone in particular, but he warned the people only of those who will come with the aforementioned negative attributes as well as with evil fruits. So, if they allege that Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, is described thereby, it is a matter of dispute. It is incumbent upon us to establish decisive evidence that this is not the case, so that their goal may not be realised.

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[38] Matthew 7:15–16.

[39] Also in his *Intiṣārāt*, Ṭūfī informs us that this verse (Matthew 7:15) was at the very opening of the Christian anti-Islamic polemic against which he wrote his work (vol. I, pp. 244–245).

[40] John 10:8.

[41] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 42.

{53} وفيه: "ليس كلّ من[56] قال: يا ربّ يا ربّ يدخل ملكوت السماء، لكن الذي يعمل إرادة أبي الذي في السماوات. يقولون لي في ذلك اليوم: يا ربّ يا ربّ". وكان الناس يخاطبونه[57] بيا ربّ كثيراً، فيقرّهم.

{54} قلت: فلعلّ هذا ممّا يغرّ النصارى || في[58] اعتقادهم المسيح إلهاً. والجواب عنه من وجوه: **أحدها** 220 و أنّا قد بيّنّا أنّ في الإنجيل دَخَلاً وتناقضاً كما سبق. فلعلّ هذا منه. **الثاني** إن صحّ، فليس خطابهم للمسيح بالربوبيّة ممّا يقتضي الإلهيّة، كما يقال في العرف: "ربّ الدار" و"ربّ العبد والدابّة" ونحوه. **الثالث** أنّ وجه المجاز فيه ظاهر، وهو أنّ المسيح رسول الربّ يأمرهم بأمره وينهاهم بنهيه. فظهرت علاقة التجوّز. أو يكون على حذف المضاف، أي "يا رسول ربّنا" أو "يا روح ربّنا" ونحوه. والمسيح أطلق هذا الكلام هنا اتّكالاً على ما بيّنه في مواضع من القرائن النافية الإلهيّة عنه. والله أعلم.

{55} وأمّا إقراره للناس على قولهم: "يا ربّ"،[59] فلعلمه بأنهم علموا أنه ليس بإله، فهم إنّما يريدون "يا رسول ربّنا" أو "سيّدنا". وقد روى وثيمة في **قصص الأنبياء** عن جرير عن قابوس عن أبيه عن ابن

[56] ش ك: كلمن. [57] ش: يخاطبوننا. [58] ش + صح. [59] ك: برب.

{53} In it (Christ also says): 'Not every one who says (to me), "Lord, Lord", shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he who does the will of my Father Who is in the heavens, they shall say to me in that day, "Lord, Lord".'[42] So, people often used to address him with 'Lord' and he would allow them to do so.

{54} I say: Perhaps this is one of the things that have misled the Christians with regard to their conviction that Christ is a god. This can be addressed 220a
in a number of ways. **Firstly**, we have already explained earlier that there are defects and inconsistencies in the Gospel. So, this verse may be part of it. **Secondly**, if the text is authentic, their addressing Christ in terms of lordship does not belong to the things that necessitate his divinity, just as it is said in common parlance: 'the lord of the house,' 'the lord of the slave and of the riding animal,' and the like. **Thirdly**, its metaphorical meaning is clearly evident, indicating that Christ is the messenger of the Lord, who commands what He has commanded, and forbids what He has forbidden. Thus, the metaphorical relationship becomes obvious. Or else, it may be a case where the governing noun of the genitive construction (*muḍāf*) is omitted, such that it had read: 'O messenger of our Lord,' or 'O spirit of our Lord,' and the like. In this case Christ permitted the unrestricted use of this utterance, relying on the contextual indicators he had offered on a number of occasions, which reject the attribution of divinity to him. And God knows best.

{55} As for his consenting to the people with regard to their saying, 'O lord', it was because of his recognition that they were aware he was not a god, for what they meant was only, 'O messenger of our Lord' or 'our master'. Wathīma [b. Mūsā al-Fārisī (d. 237/851)] related in his *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* from Jarīr, from Qābūs, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās that whenever the People of the Book see a man of good appearance, they say: 'O my lord' (*yā rabbāya*), meaning 'O master' (*yā sayyid*).[43] Also, Zakariyyā's

[42] Matthew 7:21–22.

[43] Both in Aramaic and Hebrew *rabb* means *sayyid*. Master or teacher is one of the basic meanings of Hebrew rav (רב). Thus, *'eved* and *rav* correspond to *'abd* and *sayyid* respectively, *rabbī* means *sayyidī*, and *mosheh rabbenu* is identical to *sayyidunā*. See A. Even-Shoshan, *Ha-Millon he-hadash*, Tel Aviv, 2000, pp. 2950 f.; M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, Ramat-Gan, 2002, pp. 511–512; M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic* of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods, Ramat-Gan, 2002, pp. 1052–1053. For Syriac, see J.P. Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, Oxford, 1903, p. 525. I am grateful to my colleague Gregor Schwarb for his kind help with these references.

عبّاس أنّ أهل الكتاب يقولون إذا رأوا رجلاً ذا هَيْئة: "يا ربّاي"، أي "يا سيّد". وحُمِل عليه قول زكريا: ﴿رَبِّ أَنَّى يَكُونُ لِي غُلَامٌ﴾، أي يا سيّدي، لأنّ خطابه إنّما كان لجبريل.

{56} ومن ذلك في الفصل الحادي عشر أنّ المسيح زجر البحر وقد هاج بالريح، فسكن.

{57} وهذا يدلّ علي الصلاحية والوجاهة عند الله، لا على الإلهيّة ولا البنوّة الحقيقيّة. وكذلك إخراجه الشياطين من المجانين إلى الخنازير، وإبراؤه المخلَّع، وغيره من الآيات إنّما تدلّ على ما ذكرنا.

{58} ومن ذلك قوله في الفصل التاسع عشر لتلاميذه الذين أرسلهم دعاة في البلاد: "ستحضرون بين يدي الملوك والقوّاد. وستُعْطَون في تلك الساعة ما تتكلّمون به. ولستم المتكلّمين، لكن روح أبيكم متكلّم فيكم".

{59} وهذا كناية عمّا يُلهمهم الله إيّاه من الكلام، ويسيّره من المقال بلا واسطة وبواسطة الملَك، بدليل قوله في إنجيل لوقا في هذا بعينه: "فإنّ روح القدس يعلّمكم في تلك الساعة". وروح القدس هو الملَك. فإضافته إلى أبيهم إضافة ملك، لا إضافة ذات. وإلاّ، فبالاتّفاق أنّ

statement, 'O my lord, how can I have a son?'[44] is taken in accord with this, meaning, 'O my master', because it was Gabriel whom his address was directed at.[45]

{56} Among other things, there is (an account) in chapter eleven (which states) that Christ rebuked the sea that had been stirred up by the wind, at which point it calmed down.[46]

{57} This indicates his merit and high rank before God and not his divinity or actual sonship. Similarly, his casting out the demons from the possessed people into the swine,[47] his healing the paralysed[48] and other signs only indicate what we have already mentioned.

{58} Among other things, (we find) his words in chapter nineteen addressed to his disciples whom he sent as callers to religion to the various countries: 'You shall be brought before kings and governors. You shall be given in that hour what you shall say, for it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaks in you.'[49]

{59} This is an allusion to the utterance God will inspire them with and to the speech He will facilitate, without any medium or through the medium of an angel, as indicated by the wording of the same account in the Gospel of Luke: 'For the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour.'[50] However, the Holy Spirit is an angel. Thus, its attribution to the Father is an attribution of possession, not an attribution of essence,[51] for there is agreement among

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[44] Q 19:8.

[45] Wathīma's work is entitled *Kitāb bad' al-khalq* (*or Kitāb al-mubtada'*) *wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*. The work has been attributed to his son 'Umāra b. Wathīma al-Fārisī (d. 289/902), who, as R. Tottoli argues, might have elaborated upon or revised the materials collected by his father. For different views regarding the authorship of the work, see Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets*, pp. 144–145 and 159–160, fn. 18. Only the second part of Wathīma's book, i.e. from the story of Khiḍr to that of the light of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*), has been preserved and was critically edited by Khoury in his *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam*. For Ṭūfī's above-mentioned reference, see ibid., pp. 308–309. For further analysis of this work, one may consult H. Schwarzbaum, *Biblical and Extra-Biblical Legends in Islamic Folk-Literature*, Walldorf-Hessen, 1982, pp. 61–65.

[46] See Matthew 8:23–26.

[47] See Matthew 8:28–33 and also Matthew 4:24, 8:16, 9:32–33, 12:22.

[48] See Matthew 9:1–8.

[49] See Matthew 10:18–20.

[50] Luke 12:12.

[51] This seems to parallel Ibn Taymiyya's consistent refutation of the Holy Spirit being 'the life of God subsisting in Him.' Instead, he interprets it as 'the revelation, guidance, and

روح الله لم يحلَّ في هؤلاء ولا في غير المسيح عندهم. ومثل هذا قول محمّد عليه السلام: "إنّ روح القدس نفث في رُوعي أنها لن تموت نفس حتى تستكمل رزقها".

{60} وفي هذا الفصل أنّ المسيح قال: "من اعترف بي قدّام الناس اعترفت به قدّام أبي. ومن أنكرني أنكرته قدّام أبي".

{61} والمراد: "قدّام إلهي وربي"، بدليل ما سبق في غير موضع، وبدليل إضافة الأب إلى تلاميذه، على أنه قد صرّح بالمقصود في إنجيل لوقا فقال: "من يعترف بي قدّام الناس فابن الإنسان يعترف به قدّام || ملائكة الله. ومن أنكرني أنكره قدّام ملائكة الله". فهذا يبيّن أنّ معنى قوله "قدّام أبي"، أي ظ220
ملائكة أبي، ومعنى "أبي"[60] ربّي. فيكون بتحقيق الكلام: "أعترف به قدّام ملائكة ربّي".

{62} ومن ذلك قوله في الفصل العشرين: "أعترف لك يا أبتاه ربَّ السماوات والأرض، لأنّك أخفيت هذه عن الحكماء والفهماء، وأظهرتها[61] للأطفال. نعم، يا أبتاه، إنّ هذه المسرَّة التي كانت قدّامك. كلّ قد دُفع إليّ من أبي. وليس أحد يعرف الابنَ إلاّ الأب، ولا الأبَ إلاّ الابن، ومن يريد الابن يكشف له".

[60] ش: ان. [61] ش ك: واظهرته.

support which God sends down either by mediation of the angel or without it,' hence the connection to the angel Gabriel (Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, pp. 186, 261, 262. See also Ibn Taymiyya, *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, pp. 174–178). Similarly, Ibn al-Qayyim remarks that all prophets and righteous believers share in receiving the Spirit of God, which means divine guidance, help and support (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Hidāyat*, p. 195).

(the Christians) that the Spirit of God did not inhere within (the disciples), nor within anyone else other than Christ. Also, the following saying of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, is similar to this meaning: 'Verily, the Holy Spirit inspired in my heart that no soul shall die until it has completed its sustenance.'[52]

{60} In this chapter Christ also says: 'Whoever acknowledges me before people, I shall acknowledge him before my Father. And whoever denies me, I shall deny him before my Father.'[53]

{61} What is meant here, however, is: 'before my God and my Lord', as indicated both by what has already been presented in more than one place [in this book] and by (Christ's) relating his disciples to the 'Father',[54] in addition to the fact that he himself explicitly clarified the intended meaning in the Gospel of Luke, saying: 'Whoever acknowledges me before people, the Son of Man shall also acknowledge him before the angels of God. And 220b
whoever denies me, he [i.e. the Son of Man] shall deny him before the angels of God.'[55] Consequently, this confirms that the meaning of his words, 'before my Father,' is '(before) the angels of my Father'; and the meaning of 'my Father' is 'my Lord'. As verified by the [above-mentioned] statement [in the Gospel of Luke], this must be understood as: 'I shall acknowledge him before the angels of my Lord.'

{62} Among other things, there is his statement in chapter twenty: 'I express my gratitude to You, O my Father, Lord of the heavens and earth, for You hid these things from the wise and understanding and revealed them to infants. Yes, my Father, for so it was well-pleasing before You. All things have been delivered to me by my Father. No one knows the Son, except the Father; neither does anyone know the Father, except the Son, and he to whom the Son wills to reveal Him.'[56]

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[52] Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍāʿī, *Musnad al-shihāb*, ed. Ḥ.b.ʿA.-M. al-Salafī, Beirut, 1986, vol. II, p. 185. For a report with slightly different wording (*fa-inna nafsan lan tamūta ḥattā tastawfiya rizqahā*), see Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Tijārāt" 2.

[53] Matthew 10:32–33.

[54] As in the expression 'your Father'.

[55] Luke 12:8–9.

[56] Matthew 11:25–27.

{63} وفي سياق هذا الكلام وقبله وبعده ما أبان به، أنّ المراد به الربوبيّة والعبوديّة لا الأبوّة والبنوّة، مع ما يدلّ على عدم إرادتها من الدليل العقليّ السابق تقريره. أمّا ما في سياق الكلام، فقوله: "يا أبتاه، ربّ السماوات والأرض"، فإنّ [في] قرانه بين لفظ الأبوّة والربوبيّة تبيين لمقصود أحد اللفظين بالآخر.

{64} وأيضاً فإنه أخبر أنّ أباه ربّ السماوات والأرض. فيقال: لا يخلو[62] من أن يكون مع كونه ربّها ربّ من فيهما أوّلاً، أو ربّ بعضه دون بعض. والثاني باطل بإجماع، والثالث تحكُّم وترجيح بلا مرجّح. وقد بيّنّا غير موضع أنّ ما ظهر من المسيح من الآيات والعجائب لا يستحقّ أن يكون به إلهاً ولا ابناً للإله على ما يعنونه. فتعيّن الأوّل، وهو أنه سبحانه ربّ السماوات والأرض وما بينهما وفيهما، والمسيح من ذلك. فيكون مربوباً.

{65} وأمّا ما قبله وبعده في الفصل وغيره، فقوله: "ابن الإنسان" و"ابن البشر" يعني نفسه، كقوله: "جاء ابن[63] الإنسان يأكل ويشرب، فقالوا: هذا إنسان أكول شريب الخمر"، فإنّ في إضافته لنفسه بالبنوّة إلى الإنسان والبشر تنبيهاً على أنه ليس إلهاً، وعلى انقطاع تسبُّبه عن غير الإنسان. ثم أكّد ذلك بقوله: "يأكل ويشرب"، فإنّ الأكل والشرب يلزمهما البول والتغوّط، وتلك من سمات الحدوث. والقديم وما قام به منزّه عن ذلك. وإليه الإشارة في القرآن المقدّس حيث قال سبحانه: ﴿مَا الْمَسِيحُ

[62] ش ك: يخلوا. [63] ش: بن.

{63} What is clear from the context of this passage, and what precedes as well as what follows, is that the intended meaning is lordship and servanthood, not fatherhood and sonship, alongside the rational proof showing that the latter was not intended, which has been elucidated earlier. As for what lies within the context of this saying, namely, his utterance, 'O my Father, Lord of the heavens and earth,' the close proximity in it between the expressions of 'fatherhood' and 'lordship' serves as illustration that one of these two expressions is what is intended by the other.

{64} Moreover, (Jesus) reports that his Father is the Lord of the heavens and earth. So, it should be said: It must either be the case, **(1)** that with His being the Lord of them both, He is also the Lord of everyone within them [i.e. the heavens and earth], or **(2)** that He must be the Lord of some of them, and **(3)** not of others. However, the second alternative [i.e. being the Lord of some] is invalid by consensus, while the third [i.e. not being the Lord of some others] is an act of passing arbitrary judgement and preferring one over the other without a basis for preference. We have already made clear in more than one place that the signs and wonders which have appeared from Christ do not necessitate that he be a god or the son of God, as they suggest. Therefore, the first alternative becomes necessary, namely, that God, the Glorified, is the Lord of the heavens and earth and all that exists between them and within them, and Christ is part of that. Therefore, he is a servant subject to His Lordship.

{65} As for what precedes and follows in this chapter as well as elsewhere, namely, his words, the 'Son of Man' and the 'Son of human being,' whereby he means himself, as in his words, 'The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say: this is a gluttonous man and a winebibber,'[57] there is actually, in his attributing to himself the sonship of humanity and the human race, an indication of the fact that he is not a god as well as an indication of the absence of a non-human origin. He further corroborates this with his words, 'eating and drinking,' because eating and drinking are inseparable from urination and defecation, and these are among the characteristics of contingent existence. However, the Pre-Existent and whatever subsists in Him [i.e. His attributes] are far above this. There is also an allusion to this fact in the Holy Qur'an, where the Glorified says: 'The Christ, son of Mary,

[57] Matthew 11:19.

بْنُ مَرْيَمَ إِلاَّ رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ الرُّسُلُ وَأُمُّهُ صِدِّيقَةٌ كَانَا يَأْكُلاَنِ الطَّعَامَ﴾. فإنه نبّه بهذا على عدم استحقاقهما أو أخذهما الإلهيّة والقدم.

{66} وقال بعد هذا في آخر الفصل: "وربّ السبت هو ابن الإنسان".

{67} والاستدلال به كالذي قبله. وأيضاً فإنّ من له نسَبان، أعلى وأدنى، لا يُترك الأعلى ويُذكر الأدنى.

{68} ومن ذلك في الفصل الحادي والعشرين ذكر أنّ في مصحف إشعيا[64] النبيّ: "هو ذا فتاي الذي هويتُ، وحبيبي الذي سُرَّتْ نفسي به. أضع روحي عليه". || 221 و

{69} ولفظ الحبيب لا يدلّ على إلهيّة ولا بنوّة. وأمّا لفظ الفتى، فهو ظاهر في العبد. يقال: فتاي وفتاتي، أي عبدي وأمتي. وهو مبيّن للمراد ممّا سبق من قوله عند خروجه من المعمودية: "هذا ابني الحبيب الذي سُررت به". وأكثر ما يقال: إنّ لفظ الفتى مجمل لتردُّده بين الابن والعبد. لكنّا نقول: قد بيّنّا ونبيّن أنه لا يصحّ حمله على الابن إلاّ بمعنى العبد، فيكون هذا اللفظ مثبتاً لذلك. وكلام الله سبحانه يبيّن بعضه بعضاً في جميع الكتب.

[64] ش ك: شعيا.

was none other than a messenger; messengers had passed away before him. His mother was a virtuous woman; they both ate food.'[58] Thus, He indicates with this verse the absence of their [i.e. Jesus' and Mary's] claim to, or their acquisition of, divinity as well as pre-existence.

{66} After this passage he says at the end of the present chapter: 'And the Son of Man is indeed Lord of the Sabbath.'[59]

{67} The conclusion to be drawn from this is similar to the previous one. Moreover, when someone has two lineages, a higher and a lower, the higher would not be left out while the lower is being mentioned.

{68} Among other things, in chapter twenty-one, there is a report from the Book of Isaiah, the prophet: 'Behold! My servant (*fatā*) whom I love, and My beloved in whom My soul has taken pleasure. I shall put my Spirit upon him'.[60] 221a

{69} The expression 'beloved' refers neither to divinity nor to sonship. As for the expression *fatā* [literally young man], it clearly stands for *ʿabd* (servant). One says, 'my *fatā*' and 'my *fatātī*,' meaning 'my male servant' and 'my female servant.' This passage also clarifies the intended meaning of (Matthew's) previously mentioned report that when (Jesus) emerged from the baptismal place (a voice out of the heavens said): 'This is My beloved Son (*ibnī*), in whom I have taken pleasure.'[61] The most that can be said is that the expression *fatā* is ambiguous, due to its shifting between 'son' (*ibn*) and 'servant' (*ʿabd*) [i.e. it is used for both]. However, we respond to this by saying: We have already explained, and shall continue to do so, that it is incorrect to refer to (Jesus) as 'son' except in the sense of 'servant.' Consequently, this expression determines the other [i.e. the meaning of *ibn* determines the meaning of *fatā*]. For in all scriptures, the words of God, Glorified is He, clarify one another.

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[58] Q 5:75.
[59] Matthew 12:8.
[60] Matthew 12:18. See also Isaiah 42:1.
[61] Matthew 3:17. See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 33.

{70} ومن ذلك قوله في الفصل الثالث والعشرين، قيل له: "أمّك وإخوتك يطلبونك"، فأشار إلى تلاميذه وقال: "هؤلاء أمّي وإخوتي. ومن صنع مشيئة أبي الذي في السماوات هو أخي وأختي وأمّي".

{71} فيقال: كما أثبت لنفسه أمومة الأجانب وأخوّتهم مجازاً بجامع طاعة الله، كذلك يريد بالأبوّة والبنوّة الربوبيّة والعبوديّة مجازاً بجامع علّيّة الوجود والطاعة، كما سبق. والعلاقة قائمة في الموضعين.

{72} **فائدة:** ذكر في الفصل السادس والعشرين أنّ المسيح بارك على خمس خبزات وحوتين، فأشبع منها خمسة آلاف[65] رجل سوى النساء[66] والصبيان. وفضل عنهم ثنتا عشرة سلّة مملوءة.

{73} قلت: وقد صحّ عن محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم[67] من هذا الجنس أكثر من هذا. فإنه في غزاة تبوك شكي إليه قلّة الزاد حتى أشار بعضهم بذبح الإبل والخيل. فاستدعى النبيّ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم بفضلة زاد القوم، فجمعوه. فإذا هو كمَرْبِض العنْز![68] فوضع عليه مِئْزَراً،[69] ثم بارك فيه، وأمرهم بالتزوّد منه. فأكلوا، وملأوا أوعيتهم. وكانوا عسكراً جرّاراً، أحسبه أكثر من عشرين ألفاً.

[65] ش ك: الف. [66] ك: سوا النسا. [67] ش – وسلم. [68] ش: العير. [69] ش: ميرزا؛ ك: مزرا.

{70} Among other things, there is (Jesus') statement in chapter twenty-three, when he was told: 'Your mother and your brethren are seeking you,' upon which he pointed to his disciples and said: 'These are my mother and my brethren. For whoever does the will of my Father Who is in the heavens is my brother and my sister and my mother.'[62]

{71} It should be said, however, that just as he has affirmed for himself the motherhood of strangers and their brotherhood only metaphorically due to the bond of obedience to God, by fatherhood and sonship he likewise meant lordship and servanthood metaphorically due to the bond between the Creator and the created, and the One Obeyed and the obedient, as mentioned before. The required metaphorical relationship is present in both passages.[63]

{72} **Useful Note**: In chapter twenty-seven it is mentioned that Christ invoked a blessing on five loaves of bread and two fishes, and satiated thereby five thousand men, as well as women and children, and twelve full baskets were left over from them.[64]

{73} I say: Even more than that has been authentically related from Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, of this very same kind of miracle. During the campaign of Tabūk, a complaint was made to him regarding the shortage of provisions, such that some of (his companions) even suggested slaughtering the camels and horses. So the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, called for the leftovers of the people's provisions, and they gathered them. However, it was only as much as would suffice to feed a she-goat! Then he placed a cover over it, invoked God's blessing upon it, and instructed them to supply themselves with provisions from it. So, they ate and filled their travel bags. Yet this was a huge army which, I would estimate, had more than twenty thousand (warriors).[65]

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[62] Matthew 12:47–50.

[63] We find the same argument expounded earlier by Qarāfī who criticises the Christians for not taking the title 'Son of God' as a metaphor, while Jesus himself attributed titles such as 'brother' and 'mother' figuratively to his followers (Qarāfī, *Ajwiba*, p. 291).

[64] Matthew 14:17–21.

[65] See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Sharika" 1, "Jihād" 123; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Īmān" 12; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 3/11. See also Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. II, p. 581. In using this argument Ṭūfī appears to follow the same polemical strategy found in other Muslim sources. His late contemporary, Ibn al-Qayyim, writes that Jesus' miracle of feeding a thousand people is nothing compared to that of Moses, who fed his people with *Manna* for forty years, nor to that of Muḥammad whose miracle involved a greater number of people (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Hidāyat*, p. 187).

{74} فإن قيل: هذا لا يثبت وهو من أخبار الآحاد.

{75} قلنا: بل هو صحيح بالاستفاضة عند المسلمين.

{76} فإن قيل: لم يثبت ذلك عند النصارى.

{77} قلنا: وما ذكرتموه من ذلك عن المسيح لم نعلمه إلاّ من الإنجيل، والإنجيل عندنا أكثره من اختلاق النصارى وتدليس اليهود. وإنّما نحن نتبرّع بتأويله والقدح في تفاصيله تبرّعاً على جهة التنزّل في مقام النظر. فإن منعتمونا منعناكم، وإن سلّمتم سلّمنا، ويلزم ما نريد من إثبات نبوّة محمّد عليه السلام بهذه المعجزة المعيّنة.

{78} فإن قيل: نمنعكم هذه وامنعونا أنتم نظيرها، ثمّ نرجع نحن إلى خوارق المسيح الثابتة بالتواتر الذي لا شكّ فيه، كإحياء الموتى ونحوه. فأنتم إلى ما ترجعون؟

{79} قلنا: إلى القرآن الثابت بالتواتر أيضاً، وعلمنا بيان إعجازه بالبرهان، وإلى ألوف من المعجزات استفاضت آحادها، وحصل العلم بالمعنى || الكلّي المشترك بينها، وهو التواتر المعنويّ كشجاعة عليٍّ ظ221
وسخاء حاتم. وذلك محصِّل للمقصود. وسنستقصي الكلام في هذا إن شاء الله تعالى.

{74} If it is said: This is not a proven fact, but rather a solitary report (*āḥād*).

{75} We say: On the contrary, according to Muslims, this is a sound report due to its being wide-spread.

{76} If it is said: This report does not prove a fact according to the Christians.

{77} We say: It is only from the (canonical) Gospels that we know all these things which you mention about Christ, but in our opinion, most of the Gospels consist of Christian forgery and Jewish deceit. We only volunteer to interpret (the Gospels) and impugn their details by way of humbling ourselves to even engage with their investigation. Therefore, if *you* deny us, *we* deny you, and if *you* accept, *we* accept, although the proof which we have considered for the prophethood of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, through this specific miracle, compels you to accept the argument.

{78} If it is said: *We* will deny you this and *you* in turn deny us its like, thereafter *we* will turn to those supernatural events of Christ that are established by *tawātur* (transmission via multiple channels), the truthfulness of which there can be no doubt, such as reviving the dead and alike. What, then, will *you* turn to?

{79} We respond: We will turn to the Qur'an which is likewise established by *tawātur* (transmission via multiple channels), for we know its manifest inimitability by decisive evidence. We will also turn to thousands of other miracles, the solitary reports of which have abounded. And through the common, essential meaning shared by these reports, (epistemologically certain) knowledge is yielded. This is called *al-tawātur al-maʿnawī* (transmission by meaning via multiple channels),[66] as is the case with our knowledge of ʿAlī [b. Abū Ṭālib]'s courage and Ḥātam [al-Ṭā'ī]'s generosity.[67] This will result in what is intended. We will thoroughly examine the discussion concerning this case, if God, Exalted is He, wills.[68] 221b

[66] *Al-tawātur al-maʿnawī* refers to a group of *ḥadīths* (prophetic reports) that express the same meaning, but are different in their wording.

[67] Ḥātam al-Ṭā'ī was a pre-Islamic poet of the second half of the 6th century, whose generosity and hospitality were proverbial (see C. Van Arendonk, "Ḥātam", *EI*^{2}, vol. III, pp. 274–275).

[68] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§132–140.

{80} ومن ذلك في الفصل السابع والعشرين ذكر أنّ المسيح صعد الجبل منفرداً ليصلّي،[70] وأنه جاءهم بعد ذلك في الليل يمشي على الماء حتى أتى السفينة. فسجد له من فيها، وقالوا له: "أنت هو بالحقيقة ابن الله."

{81} وقد بيّنّا أنّ المجاز في لفظ الابن وأنه بمعني العبد أو الرسول، لأنّ الابن يطيع أباه طاعةَ العبد مولاه، والأب في العرف يرسل ابنه في حوائجه كما يرسل الحاكم وغيره رسوله.[71] وحينئذ لا يضرّ لفظ الحقيقة هنا، إذ يصير التقدير: "أنت بالحقيقة رسول الله والمؤيَّد منه بالقوى الروحانيّة." ومما يؤكّد عبوديّة المسيح انفرادُه يصلّي. فإنّ صلاته لا يصحّ حملها على التشريع والتعليم لانفراده عنهم. والابن الحقيقيّ لا يعبد أباه هذه العبادة. فتعيّن أنه عبد مربوب، أطاع اللهَ، فأطاع له الأشياء.

{82} ومن ذلك في الفصل الثامن والعشرين قال المسيح: "اسمعوا وافهموا: ليس ما يدخل الفم ينجّس الإنسان، لكن الذي يخرج من الفم هذا ينجّس الإنسان." ثم فسّره بأن قال: "كلّ ما[72] يدخل إلى الفم يصل إلى البطن وينطرد إلى المخرج. وأمّا الذي يخرج من الفم[73] فهو يخرج من القلب، هذا الذي ينجّس الإنسان."

{83} قلت: هذا كلام صحيح وحكمة بالغة،[74] ولكن النصارى لجهلهم وسوء فهمهم وضعوه غير موضعه، وحملوه على مَحْمَلٍ يشبه وجوههم ولحاهم. فظنّوا أنّ مراد المسيح نفيُ النجاسة عن البول والغائط حتى جعل رهبانهم وعبّادهم ومحابيسهم يتعبّدون باجتماع العَذِرَة على مخارجها منهم

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[70] ش ك: يصلي. [71] ش: رسله. [72] ش: كلما. [73] ك – هذا ينجس الإنسان ثم فسره بأن قال كل ما يدخل إلى الفم يصل إلى البطن وينطرد إلى المخرج وأما الذي يخرج من الفم. [74] ش هـ: مطلب في بيان عدم كون العذرة نجاسة عند النصارى.

{80} Among other things, (Matthew) mentions in chapter twenty-seven that Christ went up on the mountain by himself to pray and that he came to them later in the night walking on the water until he reached the boat. Then, everyone on the boat prostrated before him, saying to him: 'It is you who is truly the Son of God.'[69]

{81} We have already explained that the metaphorical usage here concerns the expression 'the son' and that it means 'the servant' or 'the messenger', because a son obeys his father with the same obedience with which a servant obeys his master, and a father, according to custom, sends his son for his needs just as a ruler and others would send their messenger. Also, in this case no harm comes from having the word 'truly' here, for the implied proposition becomes: 'truly you are a messenger of God and the one who is supported by Him with spiritual powers.' Among the things which corroborate the servanthood of Christ is his seclusion when praying. Hence, it is inadmissible to ascribe his prayer to the need to legislate or instruct his disciples, because of his seclusion from them. Also, a real son does not worship his father with such worship. Thus, it is necessarily the case that he is a servant who is subject to his Lord, who obeyed God, and therefore things also obeyed *him*.

{82} Among other things, in chapter twenty-eight Christ said: 'Hear and understand: it is not what enters the mouth that defiles a person, but rather that which comes out of the mouth—this defiles a person.'[70] Then he explained it, saying: 'Everything that enters the mouth reaches the stomach and moves on to the exit. But that which comes out of the mouth comes from the heart, and this is what defiles a person.'[71]

{83} I say: This is a sound statement and a saying of profound wisdom. However, the Christians, because of their ignorance and lack of understanding, have misconstrued it and given it a meaning which suits their faces and beards. They have assumed that the intention of Christ was to preclude urine and excrement from being impure, so that their monks, devotees and hermits began to show their devotion by letting their ordure accumulate on the places where it exited from them and around them, until it reached the

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[69] See Matthew 14:23, 25 and 33.
[70] Matthew 15:10–11.
[71] Matthew 15:17–18.

وما حولها حتى يصير كما قال أبو النجم: "كَأَنَّ فِي أَذْنَابِهِنَّ الشُّوَّلِ مِنْ عَبَسِ الصَّيْفِ قُرُونَ الإِيَّلِ".[75]

{84} فقبّح الله هذا الدين الذي افتروا فيه على الله ورسوله. أترى، هكذا كانت عبادة المسيح والتلاميذ صلوات الله عليهم؟ كلاّ، والله! بل، ﴿ضَلُّوا وَمَا كَانُوا مُهْتَدِينَ﴾، والذي يدلّ على بطلان ما توهّموه من هذا الكلام أنّ النجاسة قسمان: حسّيّة كالبول والغائط، وعقليّة كالذنوب والمعاصي وهي تسمّى نجاسةً على المجاز. ولهذا قال أبو حنيفة: إنّ الماء المستعمل في دفع الحدث نجسٌ، لأنّ الطهارة عن غير نجاسة غير معهود. فلزم أن تكون على الأعضاء نجاسة معقولة، إذ لم تكن محسوسة. وغرضنا بهذا إيراد شاهد للمسلمين على أنّ من النجاسات ما هو || معقول عند بعض الأئمّة وإن لم يكن معصيةً، لأنّ الحدث ليس معصية. و222

{85} ومن الناس من قال: إنّ الوضوء يحُطّ الخطايا من أعضاء الوضوء، كما نصّ الحديث. والخطايا نجاسات تقديريّة أو معقولة مجازيّة، كما سمّى المسيح ما يخرج من الفم نجاسةً. ونظير هذا قولهم: "عثرة الرجل" و"عثرة اللسان"، في أنّ الأولى حسّيّة حقيقيّة، والثانية عقليّة مجازيّة. وإذا

[75] ش: الابل.

point where—as Abū al-Najm said—it was 'as if there appeared in their raised tails, from the dried excrements of summer, the horns of a mountain-goat.'[72]

{84} Thus, God has made repugnant this religion, in which they have forged lies against God and His messenger. Would you say that the worship of Christ and his disciples, may the blessings of God be upon them all, was like this? By God, most certainly not! Rather, 'they have gone astray and are not guided.'[73] The invalidity of what they have presumed from this statement is illustrated by the fact that impurity consists of two categories: (1) perceptible (impurity), such as urine and excrement; and (2) implied (impurity), such as offences and transgressions, which are only metaphorically called 'impurity'. For this reason, Abū Ḥanīfa says that the water used for removing ritual impurity (*ḥadath*) is considered impure (*najis*), because purification without prior impurity is unknown.[74] Hence, it is necessary that there be implied impurity on the limbs, for there is no perceived impurity.[75] Our goal hereby is to present evidence to the Muslims for the fact that amongst impurities there is one which is only implied, according to some leading authorities (of 222a
Islamic jurisprudence), even if it does not consist of a transgression, because ritual impurity is not necessarily a transgression.

{85} There are people who say: Ablution removes the burden of the sins from the limbs of the ablution [i.e. the limbs washed during the ablution], as the *ḥadīth* has stipulated.[76] However, sins are only considered to be implicit or metaphorically implied impurities, just as Christ named what comes out of the mouth an 'impurity'. An equivalent to this is people's saying: 'a stumble' and 'a slip of the tongue'; for the first is perceptible and real, while the

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[72] Abū al-Najm al-ʿIjlī, *Dīwān of Abū'n-Naǧm: Materials for the Study of Raǧaz Poetry I*, ed. J. Hämeen-Anttila, Helsinki, 1993, p. 66. A similar discussion on the absence of purity laws in Christian worship is found in Ṭūfī's *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, p. 274).

[73] Q 6:140. 'They are losers who foolishly have killed their children without knowledge, and have forbidden that which God bestowed upon them, forging a lie against God. They indeed have gone astray and are not guided.'

[74] That is to say, a thing cannot become pure from anything that is not impure. In other words, purification is always from impurity, and when we purify something we do so because it is impure.

[75] See Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-mabsūṭ*, ed. Abū ʿAbdallāh M.b.Ḥ Ismāʿīl, Beirut, 2001, vol. I, p. 152; Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī, *al-Hidāya sharḥ bidāyat al-mubtadī*, ed. A.Ṣ. Shaʿbān, Cairo, 1995, vol. I, p. 179.

[76] See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Ṭahāra" 14; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Ṭahāra" 39; Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, "Ṭahāra" 107; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Ṭahāra" 49, "Masājid" 14; Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭā*, "Qaṣr al-ṣalā" 18.

ثبت هذا، فالمسيح صلوات الله عليه لمّا[76] أثبت لِما يخرج من الفم من غيبة ونميمة وكفر وتجديف ونحوه وصْفَ النجاسة العقليّة المجازيّة، علمنا أنّ هذه هي[77] التي نفاها عن الداخل إلى الفم المنطرد إلى المخرج. ولا يلزم من نفي النجاسة العقليّة عنه نفي النجاسة الحسيّة، لأنّ غرضه ليس نفيها. إنّما غرضه نفي النجاسة التي يعاقَب عليها الإنسانُ. وذلك صحيح، فإنّ الله سبحانه لا يعاقب الإنسان على أنه يبول و يتغوّط، لأنّ ذلك من الطبيعات الضروريّة كالنفَس. ويعاقبه على الغيبة والنميمة، لأنه من الأفعال الاختياريّة، لا الضروريّة، وفيه إضرار بالناس. أمّا نجاسة الخارج المتولّد عن المأكول، فمتقرّر في بدائه العقول، والشرع فيه تابع للعقل، لأنّا لا نعني بنجاسة إلاّ وجوب اجتنابه. وذلك ظاهر عقلاً لسقوط قُوتِه وخبث ريحه وخلوّه من فائدة. فصار ضرراً محضاً وأذىً[78] صِرفاً ومفسدةً مجرّدةً. وعقول لا تقتضي ببدائهها اجتنابَ مثل هذا عقولُ سوءٍ مخذولة. والسرّ في وجوب اجتناب هذه الخبائث أنّ الإنسان مأمور بالعبادات لله سبحانه وتعالى،[79] وعابدُ الله مُناجٍ له واقفٌ في خدمته. فالأولى به أن يقوم في خدمته كامل الهيئة، ومن كمال الهيئة إزالة الخبائث التي هي ضرر محض لا نفع فيها أصلاً.

{86} فإن قيل: أليس خُلوُف فم الصائم كريه الرائحة حتى إنه يقارب ريح العَذِرَة،[80] لاسيّما ممّن يكوّن الخرْء؟[81] وقد استحبّ علماء المسلمين بقاءها له من حين الزوال إلى غروب الشمس،

[76] ك – لما. [77] ش – هي. [78] ك: اذا. [79] ك – وتعالى. [80] ك: المعده. [81] ش: الحرد.

second is implied and metaphorical. Since this has been proven, then when Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him, accorded to what comes out of the mouth, such as backbiting, slander, disbelief, blasphemy and the like, the quality of a metaphorically implied impurity, we understand that it is these things which he precluded from being 'that which enters the mouth and moves on to the exit'. Precluding these from the notion of implied impurity [i.e. denying that 'what enters the mouth and moves on to the exit' is spiritual impurity, namely, an act of offense and transgression] does not necessarily entail the negation of perceptible impurity as such, because it was not his aim to negate this kind of impurity. Rather, his aim here was only to prohibit the impurity which a man is punished for.[77] And that is a correct statement, for God, Glorified is He, does not punish a man because he urinates and defecates, for these are inevitable natural activities like breathing. However, He does punish him for backbiting and slander, for these are volitional, not inevitable acts, and therein lies harm for human beings. As for impurity from that which leaves the body and originates from eating, its impurity is established intuitively, while the religious legislation therein follows the mind, for what we mean by impurity is nothing but the necessity to avoid it. This is rationally evident, because of the loss of its nutrients, the foulness of its odour, and its being devoid of any benefit. Thus, it has become absolute harm, pure filth and a mere cause of corruption. And minds that do not intuitively determine to avoid such things are wicked and forsaken minds. The underlying reason for making the avoidance of these foul things necessary is that man is charged with performing acts of worship for God, Glorified and Exalted is He, and a worshipper of God is someone who confides in Him and stands in His service. Thus, it is most appropriate for him to take up His service with perfect appearance, and it is part of perfecting one's appearance to remove those foul things which are absolutely harmful and devoid of any benefit.

{86} If it is said: Does not the bad breath from the mouth of a person who fasts develop such a repugnant odour so that it approximates the odour of ordure, especially from someone who is engaged in defecating? The Muslim scholars deem it recommended (*mustaḥabb*) that the fasting person let the smell remain unchanged from noon until sunset, while some of them even

[77] According to Ṭūfī's understanding, in this Gospel passage Jesus' primary intention was to draw attention to the impurity which a man is punished for (i.e. backbiting, slander, disbelief, blasphemy, etc.) and prohibit such sinful acts. By doing so, however, Jesus had no intention of negating the notion of perceptible impurity.

بل بعضهم كره إزالتها حينئذ. وهذا يعبد الله سبحانه بالريح الخبيثة! فما وجه التشنيع علينا؟

{87} فالجواب من وجوه:

{88} **أحدها** أنه ليس الخلوف في ذلك كالعذرة عند أحد من العقلاء. فلا يلزم من مشروعيّة التعبّد بالأدنى مشروعيّة التعبّد بالأعلى.

{89} **الثاني** أنّ الخلوف ليس مكروهاً في بدائه العقول كالعذرة. والفرق بينهما شدّة تأثير الهاضمة في العذرة حتى يشتدّ خبثها بخلاف الخلوف.

{90} **الثالث** أنّ تعبّد المسلمين هو بما يخرج من مخرج التسبيح والحكمة تعبّداً موقّتاً || بنصف النهار، ظ222
وتعبّد النصارى هو بما يخرج من مخرج الضُراط والفُساء تعبّداً دائماً. فأين أحد التعبّدين من الآخر؟ وهل هذا إلاّ مثل قياسكم الأب والابن وروح القدس على النفس والنطق والعقل؟ وقد بيّنّا فساده، وقياسكم هنا أظهر فساداً.

{91} **الرابع** أنّ المذهب الصحيح الذي نعتقده وننصره والحجّة عليه ظاهرة: استحباب إزالة الخلوف بالسواك للصائم مطلقاً. وهو مذهب بعض العلماء ورواية عن أحمد. ومن كره إزالته أو استحبّ بقاءه أخطأ في فهم كلام محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم،[82] كما أخطأتم أنتم في فهم كلام المسيح. لكن خطأهم دون خطأكم لسهولة الأمر في الخلوف بالنسبة إلى العذرة. وتقرير[83] خطأهم في ذلك بيّنّاه غير هذا المكان. والله أعلم.

[82] ك هـ: حاشية. هذه العبارة توجب مؤاخذة الطوفي كونه خطأ الجمهور. والله أعلم. [83] ش: وتقرر.

deem its removal disliked (*makrūh*) in this period. And this person worships God, Glorified is He, with a foul odour! What, therefore, is the point of condemning us?

{87} This can be addressed in various ways:

{88} **The first** one is that bad breath in this regard is not, in the opinion of even one intelligent person, like ordure. Thus, the legitimacy of showing one's devotion with a lesser degree of impurity does not necessitate the legitimacy of showing one's devotion with a higher degree of impurity.

{89} **The second** is that, intuitively, bad breath is not considered to be as repulsive as ordure. And the difference between the two lies in the intense effect of the digestive process in the case of ordure so that its foulness intensifies, unlike bad breath.

{90} **The third** is that the act of devotion undertaken by Muslims involves something which exits from the same place from which praise and wisdom exit, while being at the same time an act of devotion that is limited to 222b
half a day, while the act of devotion undertaken by Christians (in omitting cleanliness of the private parts) involves something which exits from the same place from which audible as well as inaudible flatuses exit, while being at the same time a constant act of devotion. So, where does one of these two acts of devotion stand in comparison to the other? Is this anything but the equivalent of your drawing an analogy between the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, to the soul, speech and intellect? We have already explained its erroneousness, while your analogy in this case [i.e. comparing bad breath with ordure] is even more manifestly erroneous.

{91} **The fourth** is the correct position, which we hold as true and support, the proof for which is also apparent as follows: it is recommended without any exception for a person who is fasting to remove their bad breath with a toothstick. This is the position of some scholars and one of the transmitted opinions of Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal]. Whoever regards its removal to be disliked or regards leaving it to be recommended is mistaken in understanding the words of Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, just as you are mistaken in understanding the words of Christ. However, their mistake is less severe than yours, because bad breath is a minor matter in comparison with ordure. And we have already explained elsewhere how their mistake in this matter was established. But God knows best.

{92} ومن ذلك في الفصل الثاني والثلاثين قال المسيح لتلاميذه: "احذروا من خمير الفريسيّين والزنادقة!" فظنّوا أنه يحذّرهم خبزهم حتى وبّخهم على ضعف فهمهم. وإنه إنّما أراد تحذيرهم تعليم الزنادقة والفريسيّين.

{93} فانظر أيها المتأمّل إلى هذا المجاز، ما أبعده! وقد صرّح أنه أراده ووبّخهم على عدم إمعانهم النظر في تفهّم كلامه. فلم لا يجوز أن يريد بالأبوّة والبنوّة المنسوبة إلى الله وإليه الربوبيّة والعبوديّة مجازاً؟ وإذا كان التلاميذ الذين كانوا أنبياء معصومين خفي عنهم مراده حتى صرّح لهم به، فما ظنّك برَعاع النصارى الخالفين بعدهم الذين ﴿هُمْ كَالأَنْعَامِ بَلْ هُمْ أَضَلُّ سَبِيلاً﴾! ولقائل أن يقول: قد بيّنه في إنجيل لوقا فقال:[84] "خمير الفريسيّين الذي هو الرياء". لكن يقال له: لو[85] صحّ هذا البيان، لما ذهب وهمهم إلى الخبز.

[84] ك: وقال. [85] ش – لو.

{92} Among other things, in chapter thirty-two, Christ says to his disciples: 'Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees!'[78] They assumed he was warning them about their bread, so he rebuked them for the weakness of their understanding. As a matter of fact, he only intended to warn them about the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees.[79]

{93} Look at this metaphor, O pensive one, how far-fetched it is! He had to declare that he meant it (as a metaphor) and rebuked them for their lack of effort in penetrating his words. Then why should it not be possible that by the fatherhood and sonship he attributed to God and to himself, he was metaphorically referring to lordship and servanthood? And if (it was the case that) the intent of (his words) had escaped the disciples, who are (considered to be) infallible prophets, until he declared it to them, what then is to be said of the Christian rabble who followed after them, those who 'are but as the cattle—nay, but they are farther astray'![80] Yet someone might say: He had already explained this in the Gospel of Luke when he said, 'The leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.'[81] But it may be said to him: Had this explanation been authentic,[82] their imagination certainly would not have settled on bread.

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[78] It is noteworthy that the word 'Sadducees' is translated into Arabic as *Zanādiqa*. It appears in this form in the text of the Arabic Gospel used by Ṭūfī, as well as in Lagarde's edition of the *Alexandrian Vulgate* (*Die Vier Evangelien Arabisch*, p. 21). *Zindīq* (pl. *zanādiqa*) is an Arabic loan word from Persian, which in its narrow sense means 'Manichaean,' while it is also used as a synonym for *mulḥid, murtadd* or *kāfir*, denoting 'heretic, renegade, or unbeliever'. It is further suggested that Middle Persian *zandīq* was actually borrowed from Aramaic *zaddīḳ* 'righteous'. This is supported, as F.C. de Blois writes, by Syriac texts which mention the Manichaean use of *zaddīqē* as a designation for their 'elect', as well as by Muslim authors (such as Ibn Nadīm, al-Bīrūnī, and others) who use the equivalent Arabic *ṣiddīqūn* for full members of Manichaeism (F.C. de Blois, "Zindīḳ", *EI*^{2}, vol. XI, p. 510). In this sense, it is not difficult to relate 'Sadducees' to 'Zanādiqa', given that according to some Church Fathers the name 'Sadducees' means 'righteous ones', since in their opinion, it comes from the same root as righteousness (W.J. Moulder, "Sadducees", *ISBE*, vol. IV, p. 278). Moreover, since the 'Sadducees' were charged with the rejection of the oral tradition and the disparagement of divine providence in favour of human free will (Josephus), and were accused of denying the resurrection of the body (Mark 12:18) and the existence of angels and spirits (Acts 23:8; see ibid., p. 279), it comes as no surprise that they were named Zanādiqa in Arabic, i.e. heretics and unbelievers.

[79] See Matthew 16:6–12.

[80] Q 25:44.

[81] Luke 12:1.

[82] In other words, had this explanation originally been an authentic part of Jesus' speech.

{94} ومن ذلك في الفصل الثالث والثلاثين: ثمّ جاء يسوع إلى قرى قيسارية فقال لتلاميذه: "ماذا يقول الناس في ابن البشر؟" فقالوا:[86] "قوم يقولون يوحنّا المعمدانيّ، وآخرون إليا، وآخرون أرميا، أو واحد من الأنبياء". فقال لهم: "فأنتم ماذا تقولون؟" فقال[87] سمعان بطرس: "أنت هو المسيح بن الله الحيّ." فقال: "طوباك يا سمعان!" ثمّ استخلفه.

{95} واعلم أنّ هذا كلام فاسد مختلّ من وضْع بعض غلاة النصارى، وقد كان في غاية التغفيل. فليت شعري، كيف يشتبه عليهم المسيح بيوحنّا المعمدانيّ وإليا وأرميا، وهم أقدم منه في القدّيسيّة والنبوّة، وكلّ منهم متعيّن في نفسه لا يشكّل بغيره!

{96} ويدلّ على كذب هذا الكلام وفساده قوله بعد هذا: "حينئذ أوصَى تلاميذه ألاّ || يقولوا لأحد و223
إنه يسوع المسيح". ووجه الكذب فيه أنه إن كان الله أو ابنَ الله، فلماذا يخفي نفسه وبالناس حاجة إلى معرفته ليزول اللبسُ عنهم والإشكال، ويسلكون طرق الهدى بعد طرق الضلال. وهل هذا إلاّ تلبيس لا يليق إلاّ بإبليس، والمسيح صلوات الله عليه منزّه عنه. وإن كان رسولاً فكذلك، لأنّ شأن الرسول تبليغ ما أُرسل به غير خائف مع الله أحدًا ولا تأخذه فيه لومة لائم.

{97} وأيضاً فإنه قيل: هذا قد فرح بقول سمعان: "أنت هو المسيح ابن الله." فكيف يستخفي الآن؟ فإن قيل: خيفة اليهود أن يقتلوه. قلت: الكلام أعمّ من هذا. وأيضاً فإنه كان يعلم أنّ

[86] ش ك: فقال. [87] ش – فقال.

{94} Among other things, in chapter thirty-three (it is related): 'Then Jesus came to the regions of Caeserea and said to his disciples: "What do people say about the Son of Man?" They replied: "Some say John the Baptist, others Elijah, and yet others Jeremiah or some other prophet." Then he said to them: "But what about you, what do you say?" And Simon Peter said: "You are the Christ, the Son of the Living God." And (Christ) said: "Blessed are you, O Simon!" And then he appointed him as his successor.'[83]

{95} Know that this is an incorrect and defective saying originating from the fabrications of some Christian extremists, and it is extremely stultifying. I wish I knew how Christ has in their eyes a confusing resemblance to John the Baptist, Elijah and Jeremiah, while they [i.e. John the Baptist, Elijah and Jeremiah] are more ancient than him with regard to sainthood and prophethood, and every one of them was special by himself without being shaped by another individual!

{96} Yet his subsequent words demonstrate the falsehood found in this statement and its erroneousness: 'Then he charged his disciples not to tell 223a
anyone that he was Jesus, the Christ.'[84] The point of falsehood found therein is that if he were God or the Son of God, then why would he hide himself when people had a need to know him, so that confusion and doubt might leave them and they might enter upon the paths of guidance after following the paths of misguidance? Can this be anything but a deception in disguise which befits only Satan, while Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him, is free from such deception? And if he was a messenger, this would likewise be the case, for the concern of a messenger is to convey that which he was sent with without fearing anyone besides God, nor can the reproach of a critic overcome him.

{97} It is further said: '(Christ) has become joyful because of the words of Simon, "You are the Christ, the Son of God".'[85] But then how can he keep himself hidden now? If it is said: 'Out of fear of the Jews, that they might kill him,' I respond: (Jesus' above-mentioned) statement (asking his disciples not to reveal his identity) is more general than what this (allegation that Jesus tried to hide his true identity out of fear) implies. Besides, he was

[83] See Matthew 16:13–19.
[84] Matthew 16:20.
[85] See Matthew 16:16–17.

وقت تقبض عليه اليهود، ولم يكن جاء ذلك الوقت بعد. وأيضاً فإنه إذا كان يعلم أنه يُقتل لا محالة، فمثله لا يستعصم بأسباب يعلم أنها لا ينفع ولا يرّد قَدَراً. ومن كان يمشي على الماء بيقينه يبعد منه أن يقول: "لا تعلّموا الناس بي لئلاّ تقتلني اليهود". مع أنه كان يعلم أنه لا بدّ له من ذلك لكونه سبق في بشارة إشعيا. ونسبة مثل هذا إلى المسيح قدح فيه. ولكن ليس مستبعداً من النصارى لأنهم أصدقاء جهّال، وفي المثل: "عدوّ عاقل خير من صديق جاهل."[88]

{98} ومن ذلك في الفصل الخامس والثلاثين أنّ رجلاً كان بابنه شيطان، فقدّمه إلى التلاميذ، فلم يقدروا على إخراجه منه. فأخرجه المسيح، فقال له التلاميذ: "لِم لم يخرج معنا نحن؟" فقال: "لقلّة إيمانكم. الحقّ أقول لكم، لو كان لكم إيمان مثل حبّة خردل لقلتم لهذا الجبل: انتقل من هنا إلى هناك فينتقل، ولا يعسر عليكم شيء."

{99} وقد تكرّر له مثل هذا في مشيه على الماء وغيره. وهذا ظاهر في أنّ المسيح إنّما كان يفعل الخوارق بقوّة يقينه وإيمانه وحسن ظنّه بالله. ولو كان إلهاً لكان فعله لها بالقدرة الإلهيّة، أو ابنَ الإله لكان فعله لها بقدرة أبيه وجاهه كما يتصرّف أبناء الملوك في ممالك آبائهم بجاههم. فلما كان يتصرّف[89] المسيح باليقين والإيمان دلّ على أنه عبد مربوب لا إله ولا ابنه.

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[88] ك هـ: حاشية. يا مدمغين يا نصارى! إن قلتم خيفة اليهود فاليهود أقلّ وأخسّ أن يقتلوا من تزعمون أنه ابن الله وكيف يمكّنهم من قتل الله. وإن قلتم هو الله فمن يقدر على قتل الله؟ وهل يخاف الله من [القتل]؟ فعثركم الله! ما أدْمَغَكم وأنْعَسَكم!

[89] ش ك: يصرف.

aware of the moment when the Jews would seize him, but that moment had not yet arrived. Moreover, since he knew that he would inevitably be killed, a man like him would not have taken refuge in means which he knew to be without benefit and without the power to avert a divine decree. As for someone who used to walk on the water due to his unwavering belief, it is unlikely that he would have said: 'Do not tell the people about me, lest the Jews kill me'. Furthermore, he knew that this was inevitable for him, because it had already been announced by Isaiah.[86] However, to attribute the like of this to Christ means to calumniate him. Yet this is not unlikely coming from the Christians, since they are 'ignorant friends', and a proverb states: 'an intelligent enemy is better than an ignorant friend'.[87]

{98} Among other things, (it is mentioned) in chapter thirty-five that there was a man whose son was possessed by a devil, so he brought him to the disciples but they were unable to cast it out from him. Then Christ cast it out and the disciples said to him: 'Why were we not able to cast it out?' (Christ) replied: 'Because of the littleness of your faith. Verily I tell you, if you had faith like a grain of mustard seed, you would say to this mountain, "move from here to there", and it would move and nothing would be difficult for you.'[88]

{99} Similar miracles also happened to him when walking on the water and on other occasions. This is clear evidence that Christ used to perform these supernatural feats only by the power of his unwavering belief and by his faith, as well as by his good opinion of God. However, had he been a god, his performing them would have been by divine power; or had he been the son of a god, his performing them would have been by the power of his father and his dignity, just as the sons of kings act freely over the kingdom of their fathers by their dignity. Therefore, the fact that Christ used to act freely due to his unwavering belief and faith shows that he is a servant, who is subject to His Lord, and not a god nor his son.

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[86] Isaiah 53:4–5 and 7. For Ṭūfī's comments on these verses, see *Taʿlīq*, §§352–353.

[87] The proverb *ʿAdāwat al-ʿāqil wa-lā ṣuḥbat al-majnūn*, bearing the same meaning, is known to Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), who attributes it to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (see Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Maqāṣid al-ḥasana fī bayān kathīrin min al-aḥādīth al-mushtahira ʿalā al-alsina*, ed. M.ʿU. al-Khisht, Beirut, 1985, p. 453).

[88] See Matthew 17:14–20.

{100} وفي الفصل السادس والثلاثين لمّا طلبوا الخراج من المسيح قال: "يا سمعان،[90] ما تظنّ،[91] ملوك الأرض ممّن يأخذون الخراج، من النبيّين أو من الغرباء؟" قال له بطرس: "من الغرباء." قال يسوع: "فالنبيّون[92] إذن أحرار."

{101} قلت: هذه اللفظة في الإنجيل رأيتها متردّدة الصورة بين "النبيّين" جمع نبيّ أو "البنين" جمع ابن. فإن كانت جمع نبيّ فقد اعترف المسيح بأنه نبيّ. وإن ‖ كانت[93] جمع ابن لزم أن يكون لله أبناء متعدّدة، ولا قائل به، بل القائل قائلان، أحدهما قال: "ليس لله ابن"، والآخر قال: "المسيح ابن الله". سبحانه عن ذلك! ظ223

{102} ومن ذلك في الفصل الثامن والثلاثين قول المسيح لتلاميذه: "إذا اتّفق اثنان منكم على الأرض في كلّ شيء يطلبانه، يكون لهما من قبل أبي الذي في السماوات. وحيثما اجتمع اثنان أو ثلاثة باسمي فأنا أكون هناك في وسطهم."

{103} قلت: لعلّ هذا ممّا يغترّ به النصارى في كون المسيح إلهاً، لكونه قال: "حيثما اجتمعتم باسمي فأنا في وسطكم." وإنّما هذا كناية ومجاز عن "إنّكم بحكمي تحكمون، وللّتي يتّبعون" بدليل قوله: "[حيث]ما اجتمع اثنان أو ثلاثة باسمي"، فتقييده باسمه يدلّ على أنّ ذلك مجاز عمّا قلناه. وإلاّ، فلو كان بذاته معهم لكونه إلهاً لزم التبعّض والتجزّي على الإله، لأنّ المسيح يكون بذاته معهم وأبوه في السماوات كما صرّح به غير موضع. وهما عندهم واحد، والتجزّي على الإله محال. ولو كان معهم بعلمه

[90] ش: شمعان. [91] ش: يظن. [92] ش: فالنبيين. [93] ش: كان.

{100} Among other things, in chapter thirty-six (it is related that) when they demanded tax from Christ, he said: 'What do you think, O Simon, from whom do kings of the earth take tax, from prophets or from foreigners? Peter responded to him: 'From the foreigners.' Jesus said: 'In that case, the prophets are free.'[89]

{101} I say: I have realised that this expression in the Gospel has a form fluctuating between 'prophets' (*nabiyyīn*), the plural of 'prophet' (*nabī*), and 'sons' (*banīn*), the plural of 'son' (*ibn*).[90] If this expression is the plural of 'prophet', then Christ indeed has acknowledged that he is a prophet. And if this is the plural of 'son', then it becomes necessary that God has numerous 223b
sons, which no one claims. Rather, there are two groups of proponents, one claiming that God has no son, and the other saying that Christ is the Son of God. Glorified is He above that!

{102} Among other things, (we find) in chapter thirty-eight the statement of Christ to his disciples: 'When two of you agree on earth about anything to ask for, they will receive it from my Father, Who is in the heavens. And wherever two or three come together in my name, there I shall be in their midst.'[91]

{103} I say: Perhaps this statement is one of the things by which the Christians are misled with regard to the idea that Christ is a god, because he said, 'Wherever you come together in my name, there I shall be in your midst.' This is, however, only an allusion and a metaphor for 'you are judging according to my judgement and following my religion,' as indicated by his words: '[Wher]ever two or three come together in my name', for the fact that he restricted it to his name indicates that such an expression is a metaphor for that which we have mentioned. Otherwise, if he were present among them in his essence due to his being a god, this would necessitate division and partition at the expense of God's unity, because Christ would be present among them in his essence, while his Father would be in the heavens, as he had made explicit more than once. Yet, according to them, both of them are one, and partition at the expense of God's unity is inconceivable. And if he were present among them in his knowledge, then his restricting it to

[89] Matthew 17:24–26.

[90] In the *Alexandrian Vulgate* it appears as *al-banīn*, the sons. See Lagarde, *Die Vier Evangelien Arabisch*, p. 23.

[91] Matthew 18:19–20.

لم يكن لتقييده باجتماعهم باسمه معنىً، لأنّ الإله مع خلقه بعلمه حيث كانوا، سواء اجتمعوا باسمه أو باسم الشيطان الرجيم، كما قال الله سبحانه في القرآن العزيز: ﴿مَا يَكُونُ مِنْ نَجْوَى ثَلَاثَةٍ إِلَّا هُوَ رَابِعُهُمْ﴾ إلى قوله:[94] ﴿هُوَ مَعَهُمْ أَيْنَمَا كَانُوا﴾.

{104} ومن ذلك في الفصل الأربعين قال: جاء الفريسيّون إلى المسيح ليجرّبوه قائلين: "هل يحلّ للإنسان [أن] يطلّق امرأته لأجل كلّ علّة؟" فقال لهم: "أما قرأتم أنّ الذي خلق في البدء خلقهما ذكراً وأنثى. ومن أجل ذلك يترك الإنسان أباه وأمّه ويَلصَق بامرأته، ويكونان[95] كلاهما جسداً واحداً. وليس هما اثنين لكن جسداً واحداً.[96] وما جمعه الله لا يفرّقْه الإنسان!" قالوا له: "لماذا موسى أوصى أن تعطَى كتابُ طلاق وتخلَّى؟" قال: "لأنّ موسى علم قساوة قلوبكم، فأوصاكم أن تطلّقوا نساءكم، ومن البدء لم يكن هكذا.[97] وأقول لكم: من طلّق امرأته من غير زناء فقد ألجأها إلى الزناء. ومن تزوّج مطلّقةً فقد زنى."[98]

{105} قلت: اعلم أنّ هذا الكلام[99] مختلق على المسيح. لا تليق بعاقل نسبته إليه، لأنه فاسد. وبيان فساده أنّ المسيح صلوات الله عليه كان من أحكم الحكماء. والحكمة[100] الثابتة عنه لا يتمارى عاقل في حسنها وصحّة عللها وظهورها للعقول ومناسبتها، وهذا الكلام معلِّل بعلّة غير مناسبة. وذلك أنه جعل العلّة في عدم جواز الطلاق كونَ الخالق خلقهما في البدء ذكراً وأنثى، وأنّ الإنسان يلصق بامرأته || ويدع أبويه. وليس في هذا التعليل ما يناسب عدم جواز الطلاق والتشديد فيه. و224

[94] ش ك + و. [95] ش: ويكونا. [96] ش ك: وليس هما اثنان لكن جسد واحد. [97] ش ك: هذا. [98] ش ك: زنا.
[99] ك: كلام. [100] ش ك: وحكمة.

their coming together in his name would be without meaning, because God is present among His creation in His knowledge wherever they are, whether they come together in His name or in the name of accursed Satan, since God, Glorified is He, says in the Glorious Qur'an: 'There is no secret conference of three but that He is their fourth,' to (the end of) His words: 'He is with them wherever they may be.'[92]

{104} Among other things, (Matthew) says in chapter forty: The Pharisees came to Christ in order to test him, saying: 'Is it lawful for a man to divorce his wife because of any reason?' He answered them: 'Have you not read that He Who created [them] from the beginning "created them male and female,"[93] and said, "for this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and cling to his wife, and the two shall become one body"?[94] So, the two are no longer two, but rather one body. Therefore, what God has joined together, let not man separate!' They said to him: 'Why then did Moses command that (the wife) be given a certificate of divorce, and be released?' He said: 'Because Moses knew the hardness of your hearts, therefore commanded you to divorce your wives, although it was not so from the beginning. And I say to you: Whoever divorces his wife for something other than adultery has thereby compelled her to adultery. And whoever marries a divorced woman has thereby committed adultery.'[95]

{105} I say: Know that this statement is a fabrication about Christ. It does not befit an intelligent person to attribute it to him, because it is wrong. The explanation of its erroneousness is that Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him, was among the wisest of the wise. As for the wisdom which is transmitted from him, no intelligent person will dispute its beauty, the soundness of its effective causes, its clarity for the intellects and its inner coherence, while the above statement assigns an incoherent effective cause. This is due to the fact that he established the effective cause for the impermissibility of divorce in the Creator's having created them both in the beginning male and female, as well as in the fact that a man clings to his wife and leaves his parents. Yet there is nothing in this reasoning which 224a
establishes a coherent relation to the impermissibility of divorce and being strict about it.

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92 Q 58:7.
93 Reference to Genesis 1:27.
94 Reference to Genesis 2:24.
95 Matthew 19:3–9.

{106} نعم، فيه ما يُنهِض سبباً لكراهته كما في دين الإسلام هذا. نعم، ولهذا قال محمّد عليه السلام: "أبغض الحلال إلى الله الطلاق." أمّا تحريمه والتغليظ فيه، فمن أين ذلك؟ وأمّا قوله: "ما[101] جمعه الله لا يفرّقْه الإنسان"، فهو منقوض بالعضو المتآكل من البدن. إذا خيف منه الضرر كان قطعه واجباً عقلاً وشرعاً حفظاً للنفس. وقد يحصل للإنسان من الضرر بإمساك الزوجة أضعاف ما يحصل له بإبقاء العضو المتآكل. وقد نصّ المسيح على هذا في الفصل التاسع والثلاثين من هذا الإنجيل حيث قال: "إن شَكَّكَتْك[102] يدُك أو رجلك فاقطعها وألقها عنك. وإن شككتك[103] عينك فاقلعها وألقها عنك. فخير لك أن تدخل الحياة أعرج أو أعسم أو بعين واحدة من أن تُلقَى في جهنّم صحيحَ الأعضاء". وقد يكون استمرار الرجل مع المرأة مُفضياً به إلى النار. فيكون كما لو شككته[104] أحد أعضائه لو يصون ذلك.

{107} وأمّا قوله: "إنّ موسى لقساوة قلوبكم أوصاكم أن تطلّقوا نساءكم"، فيقال في جوابه: الطلاق لا يخلو[105] إمّا أنه كان جائزاً عند موسى أو غيرَ جائز. فإن كان جائزاً، فكيف يستجيز موسى ما لا يستجيزه المسيح؟ فإن قال: بطريق النسخ؛ قلنا: لو كان بطريق النسخ، لبيّنه المسيح وقال: "هذا في شرعي حرام، وإن كان جائزاً في شرع موسى." ولكن اعتلّ بقساوة قلوبهم، وقساوة القلوب لا تنسخ المحظور بل تناسب حظر المباح، كما شدّد الله سبحانه على اليهود بتحريم جملة من الطيّبات. وإن لم يكن الطلاق جائزاً عند موسى، فتجويزه إيّاه لهم لقساوة قلوبهم إدهان في دين الله

[101] ش: مما. [102] ش: شكلتك؛ ك: شكتك. [103] ش: شكلتك؛ ك: شكتك. [104] ش: شكلته؛ ك: شكاه. [105] ش ك: لا يخلوا.

{106} Certainly, there is something in (divorce) which inspires a reason for its being disliked, just as there is in this religion, namely, Islam. And indeed, because of this, Muḥammad, peace be upon him, said: 'Of the legitimate things, the most abhorrent to God is divorce.'[96] As for making it unlawful and being severe about it, where did that come from? As for his words, 'What God has joined together, let not man separate,' these are negated by (the example of) a gangrened organ of the body. When harm is feared from it, one necessarily amputates it according to reason, as well as revealed law in order to preserve one's life. It is possible that by keeping his wife a person brings upon himself a harm that is several times as much as the harm he brings upon himself by letting his gangrened limb remain. Christ has already stipulated this in chapter thirty-nine of this Gospel, when he said: 'If your hand or leg causes you to stumble,[97] cut them off and cast them from you. And if your eye causes you to stumble, pluck it out and cast it from you. For it is better for you that you should enter life lame, having a deformed hand or foot, or with a single eye, rather than that you should be cast into Hell having intact limbs.'[98] It is possible that a man's continued relationship with his wife may lead him to the Fire. Hence, it would be just as if one of his limbs caused him to stumble, if he preserved it.

{107} As for his words, 'It is only because of the hardness of your hearts that Moses commanded you to divorce your wives,' it may be said in reply: It must either be the case that divorce was permissible according to Moses or else that it was impermissible. So, if it was permissible, then how could Moses deem permissible something which Christ did not deem permissible? If (the opponent) counters: 'By way of abrogation', then we reply: If it had been by way of abrogation, Christ would have explained this and said: 'This matter is unlawful in my Sacred Law, even though it was permissible in the Sacred Law of Moses.' However, he offered the hardness of their hearts as a reason, while the hardness of the hearts does not abrogate the prohibited, but rather it agrees with the prohibition of the permitted, just as God, Glorified is He, was strict with the Jews in forbidding a large number of good things.[99] Also if divorce was not permissible according to Moses, then his making it permissible for them because of the hardness of their hearts would

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[96] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Ṭalāq" 3; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Ṭalāq" 1.

[97] Literally, if your hand or leg throws you into doubt; in others words, if your hand or leg scandalises you.

[98] Matthew 5:29–30.

[99] Reference to Q 4:160, 'Because of the iniquity of the Jews We forbade them good things which had been made lawful to them, and because of their hindering many from God's way.'

وتسامح في حقوقه، وهو لا يليق بأحد من الأنبياء. ثم إنّ المسيح قد حكم لأصحابه الذين سألوه عن الطلاق من الفريسيّين وغيرهم[106] بقسوة القلب. فالعلّة التي أجازه موسى لأجلها موجودة. فهلاّ أجازه لهذه العلّة؟ وهل منع الشيء مع وجود مقتضيه إلاّ تشديد على خلق الله وحرج عليهم، ومقاصد النبوّات من إقامة رسوم التكاليف تحصل بدون الحرج والتضييق.

{108} وأمّا قوله: "من طلّق امرأته من غير زناء فقد ألجأها إلى الزناء"، كلام غير محصَّل. وكيف يلجئها إلى الزناء والناس كثير؟ تتزوّج بغيره كما لو مات. وهل زوج المرأة وامرأة الرجل إلاّ كخادم يستمتع به في قضاء الحوائج؟ إذا مات اشترى عوضه. وكذلك قوله: "من تزوَّج مطلّقةً فقد زنى."[107] فإنه في غاية الفساد || والتناقض، لأنّ مفهوم قوله: "من طلّق امرأته من غير زناء فقد ألجأها إلى ظ224
الزناء" جواز[108] طلاقها إذا زنت. وقوله: "من تزوَّج مطلّقةً فقد زنى"[109] عامّ في المنع من تزوُّج المطلّقة سواء طلِّقت لكونها زنت أو لا لعلّة. فيلزم من هذا أنّ من زنت امرأته جاز له طلاقها، ولم يجز لغيره تزوُّجها. فيفضي حينئذ إلى أنها تزني. فهذا يكون إلجاءً لها إلى الزناء لا الذي قبله. فأنت أيّها العاقل اللبيب إذا تأمّلت هذا الكلام وما اشتمل عليه من التهافت والاضطراب علمت قطعاً أنه مختلَق على المسيح، وأنّ المسيح بريء منه، وأنّ هؤلاء القوم دلِّست عليهم أشياء فراجت، ثمّ جعلوها أساساً لدينهم. فكان بناؤهم على جُرف هائر،[110] وكما قال المسيح عليه السلام: "فمن بنى بيته على الرمل فجاء السيل فهدمه."

[106] ش: وغيره. [107] ش ك: زنا. [108] ش: حواب. [109] ش ك: زنا. [110] ش ك: هار.

constitute an act of dishonesty towards the religion of God and leniency regarding His rights, while this does not befit any prophet. Moreover, Christ has actually charged his companions who asked him about divorce, namely, the Pharisees and the like, with hardness of the heart. Thus, the reason for which Moses permitted (divorce) is also present here. Then, why did (Christ) not permit it for this reason? Yet what is prohibiting something despite the existence of that which requires it, other than being strict with God's creation [i.e. humanity] and causing them hardship, while the objectives of the prophecies, such as establishing the regulations of religious obligations, can be realised without causing hardship and distress?

{108} As for his words, 'Whoever divorces his wife for something other than adultery has thereby compelled her to adultery', this is an indefinite statement. How exactly does he compel her to adultery, when people are numerous? She could marry someone else as she would if he were to die. For is a woman's husband or a man's wife anything other than someone like a servant whom one enjoys when gratifying one's needs? When he dies, one buys a substitute for him. It applies likewise to his words: 'Whoever marries a divorced woman has thereby committed adultery'. This is extremely wrong and self-contradictory, because what is understood from his words, 224b
'Whoever divorces his wife for something other than adultery has thereby compelled her to adultery,' is the permission to divorce her, if she has committed adultery. While his words, 'Whoever marries a divorced woman has thereby committed adultery,' is a general statement concerning the prohibition of marrying a divorced woman, regardless of whether she was divorced for her having committed adultery or for no reason. Therefore, it follows necessarily from this that someone whose wife has committed adultery is permitted to divorce her, while no one else is permitted to marry her. Otherwise, whoever does so would lead her to commit adultery. So, now it is the latter husband who compels her to adultery, and not the former one. Hence, you intelligent and reasonable (reader), when you reflect upon this speech and the incoherence and confusion it comprises, you will certainly realise that this is a fabrication about Christ, that Christ is free from it, and that certain faults were concealed from these people, in order to deceive them, which then became wide-spread. Afterwards they made them a foundation of their religion. Thus, their building was laid on a collapsing water-worn bank, just like Christ, peace be upon him, says: 'Whoever builds his house on the sand, then the torrent comes and pulls it down.'[100]

[100] See Matthew 7:26–27. A similar discussion on divorce is also found in Ṭūfī's *Intiṣārāt* (vol. II, pp. 625–627).

{109} ومن ذلك في الفصل الخمسين مثل ضربه المسيح لهم في رجل سلّم كرمَه إلى الفعلة ليقوموا عليه. فلمّا جاء وقت الثمر بعث عبيده إليهم ليأخذوا الثمرة. فضربوا بعضاً وقتلوا بعضاً. ثمّ بعث عبيداً له آخرين. ففعلوا بهم كالأوّلين. ثمّ بعث إليهم ابنه لعلّهم يستحيون منه. فقالوا: "هذا هو الوارث"، فقتلوه ليختصّوا بالثمرة.

{110} هذا حاصل المثل، وهو مثل ضربه المسيح لله سبحانه ولرسله[111] قبل المسيح ولنفسه بعدهم. فربما قرّر النصارى رأيهم من هذا المثل بأن قالوا: قد فرّق المسيح هاهنا بين الابن والعبد، فجعل نفسه ابن الله، وجعل الأنبياء قبله عبيداً لله. فلو كانت البنوّة فيه مجازاً عن العبوديّة، لم يكن لهذا التفريق معنىً. فدلّ على أنّ للابن والبنوّة خصيصة ومزيّة على العبيد والعبوديّة، وليس إلاّ ما ندّعيه.

{111} والجواب: إنّا[112] نسلّم الفرق بين المسيح ومن قبله من الأنبياء وأنه أفضل منهم. ولكن من أين لكم أنّ خصيصته عليهم هي التي تدّعونها من كونه ابن الله؟ ولم لا يقال: إنّ خصيصته هي أفضليّته عليهم بما ظهر على يديه ممّا لم يظهر على أيديهم، وبكونه في نفسه آيةً حيث خلق بكلمة الله من غير بشر؟ والمسيح صلوات الله عليه في نفسه آية وظهرت على يده الآيات، وسائر الأنبياء ليسوا آياتٍ

[111] ش: ولرسوله. [112] ك + لا.

{109} Among other things, there is in chapter fifty a parable which Christ propounded to them about a man who handed over his vineyard to the workmen in order to take care of it. When the harvest time arrived he sent his servants to them in order to take the fruit. But they beat some, and killed some others. Thereafter he sent some other servants of his. Yet (the workmen) treated them like the previous ones. Afterwards, he sent his son to them so that they would perhaps feel ashamed in front of him. But they said: 'This one is the heir', and killed him in order to take sole possession of the fruit.[101]

{110} This is the gist of the parable, that is to say, the parable which Christ propounded about God, the Glorified, His messengers before Christ, and himself after them. Perhaps the Christians have established their opinion on this parable by saying: Here Christ has indeed made a distinction between the 'son' and the 'servant', and made himself the Son of God, while he made the prophets before him servants of God. Hence, if 'sonship' with respect to him were a metaphor for 'servanthood', then making this distinction would be meaningless. Therefore, it demonstrates that son' and 'sonship' constitute a special distinction and a privilege over 'servant' and 'servanthood', and this is none other than what we have alleged.

{111} The response must be as follows: We do acknowledge the distinction between Christ and the prophets before him, and that he is superior over them. However, from where do you deduce that the special characteristic setting him above them is the one that you allege, namely, that he is the Son of God? Why should it not be said: His special characteristic lies in his precedence over them because of what appeared at his hands, which had not appeared at their hands, and because of his being himself a 'sign', since he was created by the Word of God without a human (father)? For Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him, was himself a sign and signs also appeared at his hands, while the other prophets were not signs in themselves, but signs only appeared at their hands.[102] Therefore, it is because

[101] See Matthew 21:33–39.

[102] As the virginal conception is made a criterion for his pre-eminence, one may think that the same reasoning should lead Ṭūfī to regard Jesus as superior to Muḥammad. However, in the *Ishārāt*, his Qur'an commentary, Ṭūfī's position is much clearer. Here Muḥammad is considered the only exception to the high status of Jesus. Apart from Muḥammad, Jesus is ranked above all other prophets including Moses, for his superiority lies specifically in his temporal proximity to the last Prophet. Muḥammad is the pre-eminent prophet of God (*afḍal*

في أنفسهم وإنّما ظهرت على أيديهم الآيات. فلهذه الفضيلة استجاز أن ينسب إلى الله بالبنوّة المجازيّة اللفظيّة، ولم يسع ذلك لغيره من الأنبياء. كيف والمسيح صلوات الله عليه يقول للعامّة والسوقة: "ما فعلتم من خير وجدتموه عند أبيكم الذي في السماوات"، فأضاف أبوّة الله || إلى غيره من الناس في 225و مواضع كثيرة. فبهذا وأمثاله تبيَّن أنّ مراده ببنوّة نفسه وأبوّة الله له إنّما هي العبوديّة الخاصّة[113] بمزيد كرامة وفضيلة، لا ما ذهبت إليه أذهان فاسدة. وبنحو من هذا يجاب عن ضربه المثل بالملِك الذي صنع لابنه عُرْساً، ودعا[114] إليه قوماً، فلم يجيبوا، فأهلكهم، ودعا[115] لوليمته أبناء السبيل. ذكره في الفصل الحادي والخمسين.

{112} ومن ذلك في الفصل الثالث والخمسين جاء الزنادقة الذين يقولون ليس قيامة فقالوا: "يا معلّم، إنّ موسى قال: إن مات إنسان وليس له ولد فليتزوّج أخوه امرأته ويقيم زرعاً لأخيه. وكان عندنا سبعة إخوة تزوّجوا امرأةً واحداً بعد واحد، ولم يُرزقوا منها ولداً. ثمّ ماتت المرأة. فلمن تكون المرأة في القيامة من السبعة؟" فقال لهم يسوع: "ضللتم، لم تعرفوا الكتب ولا قوّةَ الله! في القيامة لا يتزوّجون[116] ولا يزوَّجون، لكن يكونون كملائكة الله في السماء."

{113} قلت: هذا الكلام إن صحّ عن المسيح، فيجب حمله على قيامة الموت لا قيامة البعث بعد الموت، لأنّ قيامة كلّ إنسان بموته، لأنه تبيين له بموته ما له في قيامة البعث من خير وشرّ. وفي الحديث: "وإنّما

[113] ش – الخاصة. [114] ش ك: ودعى. [115] ش ك: ودعى. [116] ك: تتزوجون.

al-anbiyāʾ); hence the high merit of Jesus, 'for the nearest to the best is better (than the rest)' (*Ishārāt*, vol. I, p. 399 and vol. II, p. 236). Similarly, the Qur'an is the most eminent book of God, according to Ṭūfī (*Ḥallāl*, f. 18b). Moreover, in Ṭūfī's view, both Muḥammad and Jesus are ranked higher than Moses in terms of wisdom (*Darʾ*, p. 229).

of this excellent quality that it is deemed permissible that he be related to God by a metaphorical expression of sonship, while that was not permitted for any of the other prophets. How else could it be when Christ, may the blessings be upon him, says to the common and ordinary people: 'Whatever good you do, you will find it(s reward) in the presence of your Father Who is in the heavens,'[103] and ascribed the fatherhood of God to other people in 225a
many instances.[104] So, by this and similar passages it is evident that what he intended by his own sonship and God's fatherhood of him was only the servanthood distinguished by much honour and excellence, and not what those corrupt minds have thought. In a similar manner one could respond to his act of propounding the parable about a king who arranged a wedding feast for his son and invited people to it, but they did not accept his invitation, so he destroyed them and invited wayfarers to his banquet. Its account is found in chapter fifty-one.[105]

{112} Among other things, in chapter fifty-three there came (to Jesus) the Sadducees, who were saying there was no resurrection, and said: 'O teacher, Moses verily said, "If a man dies, having no child, his brother shall marry his wife in order to raise up seed for his brother."[106] Now, among us there were seven brothers who married the same woman one after another, yet they were not blessed by a child from her. Then, the woman died. So, in the resurrection whose shall the woman be of the seven?' Jesus said to them: 'You have gone astray; you know neither the scriptures nor the omnipotence of God. In the resurrection people shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, but they shall be like the angels of God in heaven.'[107]

{113} I respond: If this statement stems authentically from the authority of Christ then it is necessary to interpret it as the resurrection *at* death, but not the resurrection to life *after* death, because the resurrection of every person takes place at his death, for by his death it is evident to him what his share will be of both good and evil at the resurrection to life. Furthermore, in a *ḥadīth* it is stated: 'The resurrection of every one of you takes place

[103] Perhaps he is referring to Matthew 6:4.
[104] See Matthew 5:16, 45, 48; 6:1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15, 18, 26, 32; 7:11; Mark 11:25, 26; Luke 6:36; 11:2, 13; 12:30; John 20:17.
[105] See Matthew 22:2–9.
[106] Reference to Deuteronomy 25:5.
[107] Matthew 22:23–30.

قيامة أحدكم إذا مات.“ ولهذا ذكر المسيح عقب هذا الكلام قيامة الأموات وقال: ”أما قرأتم ما قيل لكم من الله، إذ قال: أنا هو إله إبراهيم وإله إسحاق وإله يعقوب؟ والله ليس إله أموات لكن أحياء.“ ومعنى هذا الكلام أنّ المؤمن إذا مات كانت نفسه حيّةً في عالم السماوات مجرّدةً عن المادّة البدنيّة، ولا ترى ثوابها من أكل وشرب ونكاح وتلذّذ نفسانيّ وجسمانيّ إلاّ يوم القيامة عند بعث الأجساد، فإن صحّ هذا التأويل. وإلاّ، فهذا الكلام مختلق موضوع على المسيح وضعه بعض الزنادقة كالذين سألوه. والدليل على بطلانه من وجوه:

{114} **أحدها** أنّ المسيح قد صرّح بذكر جهنّم في الإنجيل في مواضع في سياق وعيد[117] من لا يؤمن به، وكنى عنها بالظلمة وصرير الأسنان في مواضع، منها في آخر الفصل السابع وآخر الحادي والخمسين من هذا الإنجيل. وعذاب جهنّم عذاب حسيّ. فينبغي أن يقابله للمطيع نعيم حسيّ، لأنّ النعيم الوعديّ ينبغي أن يكون من جنس العذاب الوعيديّ، لأنّ الرسل إنّما رغّبوا الأمم[118] ورهّبوهم بما يعقلون [...][119] ويحذرون[120] ليكون أدعى إلى الإجابة. واللذّة الروحانيّة أكثر الأمم لا يدركها. ولهذا احتاج الفلاسفة في إثباتها إلى تلطُّف وضرب أمثلة مشاهدة، || كما نقل ابن سينا في آخر كتبه كالإشارات،[121] وغيرُه من ظ225

[117] ش: وعند. [118] ش: اللام. [119] ش ك: (بياض، أي سقطت كلمة بعد ”يعقلون“). [120] ك: يحدون. [121] ش هـ: كإلاهيّات، الشفاء في آخرها.

when he dies.'[108] Therefore, Christ mentioned the resurrection of the dead immediately after this statement and said: 'Have you not read what was spoken to you by God when He said: "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob"?[109] And God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.'[110] The meaning of this statement is that when a believer dies his soul remains alive in the heavenly world, divested of corporal matter, and will only see its reward of food, drink and intercourse, as well as spiritual and physical delights, on the Day of Resurrection when the bodies will be resurrected, provided this interpretation is sound. Otherwise, this statement is a fabrication and forgery against Christ, which some of the Sadducees, such as those who asked him the aforementioned question, have forged. The proof of its falsity consists in various points:

{114} **The first point** is that Christ has explicitly mentioned Hell in the Gospel in various passages in the context of the threatening promise (of Hell) for those who do not believe in him, and he has alluded to it with darkness and the gnashing of teeth in various passages, some of which occur at the end of chapter seven and the end of chapter fifty-one of this Gospel.[111] The punishment of Hell is a sensory punishment. So, necessarily, opposite it, there should be sensory felicity for the obedient, because the promised felicity must be of the same kind as the threatening punishment, for the messengers have encouraged the people to good and discouraged them from evil only by that which the people knew, [...] and feared, in order that it be a greater incentive for obedience. As for the spiritual delight, most of the people do not perceive it. Therefore, when proving it the philosophers felt the need to proceed gently and propound parables of visible things, as Ibn Sīnā [d. 429/1037] relates in his later works, such as the *Ishārāt*,[112] 225b
and likewise other philosophers. Otherwise, whoever denies sensory felicity must deny sensory punishment, (yet claim) that the punishment in the

[108] According to two other reports the Prophet says: 'Whoever dies, his resurrection has indeed come to pass' and 'When one of you dies, his resurrection has indeed come to pass' (see Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Cairo, 1936, vol. VI, p. 268; Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-ʿAjlūnī, *Kashf al-khafāʾ wa-muzīl al-ilbās ʿammā ishtahara min al-aḥādīth ʿalā alsinat al-nās*, ed. A. al-Qalāsh, Beirut, 1985, vol. II, p. 368).

[109] Exodus 3:6.

[110] Matthew 22:31–32.

[111] See Matthew 8:12 and 22:13.

[112] See Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt*, ed. S. Dunyā, [Cairo], 1959, vol. III, pp. 737–746; vol. IV, pp. 774–782, 802–818. This reference to Ibn Sīnā is also found in Ṭūfī's *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, p. 497 and vol. II, p. 585).

الفلاسفة. وإلاّ، فمن أنكر النعيم الحسّيّ لزمه إنكار العذاب الحسّيّ، وأنّ العذاب في الآخرة إنّما هو تألّم النفس بما تجده من آثار العقائد الباطلة وكثافة الجهل وظلمته عليها، كما قرّره الفلاسفة. وفي ذلك إبطال لما توعَّد به الإنجيلُ من جهنّم في غير موضع.

{115} **الوجه الثاني** أنّ البارئ سبحانه عدل حكيم، والعدل والحكمة يقتضيان أنّ من ترك في دار التكليف شيئاً بموجب التكليف وتقوى الإله سبحانه [يجب] أن يعوّض بمثله من جنسه في دار الجزاء. وذلك يقتضي أنّ من ترك الزناء واللواط والمآكل والملابس المحرّمة في الدنيا يعوّض بجنسها في الآخرة مجازاةً له على تقواه. وإلاّ، كان مثل ذلك مثل ملك قال لغلامه: "لا تأكل هذا الطعام من أجلي، وأنا أعلّمك عوضه علماً!" فإنّ للغلام أن يقول: "إنّ لي بدناً ونفساً. والعلم وإن كان قوتَ نفسي، إلاّ أنّ الطعام قوت بدني. وكلا القوتين لا غَناء لي عنه. والعلم لا يقوم مقام الطعام، كما لا يقوم الطعام مقام العلم." وذلك، لأنّ[122] أجناس الشهوات وغيرها لا تقوم بعضها مقام بعض. فكون الإنسان يكابد ترك هذه الشهوات الذي هو أشدّ الأشياء عليه ثمّ يجازَى بأن يُجعَل كالمَلَك يسبّح الليل والنهار لا يَفتُر ليس بعدل ولا حكمة، لأنه يُنقَل من تعب إلى تعب.

{116} إلاّ أنّ النصارى تقبل عقولهم هذا بناءً على خرافة رأيتها عن بعض علمائهم يقال له يقطينوس الحكيم. قال له بعض تلاميذه: "ما فائدة ظهور المسيح إلى البشر؟" فقال له كلاماً معناه: "إنّ الله سبحانه وتعالى[123] لمّا خلق الملائكة جعلوا يتقرّبون إليه بالعبادة، ويزيد هو في إكرامهم. وكان فيهم مقدَّم جاهل قال لهم: "إنّي أرى أنّ الله إنّما يزيد في إكرامنا خشية أن نقهره على ملكه، فهو يصانعنا. فهَلُمّوا نغلبه على ملكه، ونكون مكانه!" فوافقته فرقة، وخالفته فرقة. فالذين خالفوه بقوا على ملكيّتهم، والذين وافقوا ركّب الله سبحانه أرواحهم اللطيفة النيّرة في هذه الأجساد[124] الكثيفة المظلمة، ثمّ كلّفهم أنواع

[122] ش: ان. [123] ك – وتعالى. [124] ك: الاحسام.

Hereafter consists only of the soul's sensation of pain through the things it meets, such as the traces of false doctrines, the density of ignorance and its darkness spreading over (the soul), as suggested by the philosophers. Therein lies a nullification of the notion of Hell with which the Gospel threatens people in a number of places.

{115} **The second point** is that the Maker, Glorified is He, is Just and Wise, and justice and wisdom require that whoever abstains from something in the abode of moral responsibilities [i.e. this world], in accordance with moral responsibility and fear of God, Glorified is He, must be compensated with its like and kind in the abode of requital [i.e. the Hereafter]. And that requires that whoever abstains from adultery, sodomy, unlawful foods and garments in this world be compensated by their kind in the next world as a reward for his fear of God. Otherwise, the similitude of this is the similitude of a king who said to his male slave: 'Do not eat this food for the sake of me, and I will teach you some knowledge in compensation for it.' The male slave has indeed a right to say: 'I have a body and a soul. Although knowledge is a nutriment for my soul, food is the nutriment of my body. Both of these nutriments are indispensible for me. So, knowledge cannot take the place of food, just as food cannot take the place of knowledge.' This is so, because no kinds of natural desire can take the place of another. So, that a human being will endure the abandonment of these desires, which is the hardest thing for him, and then be rewarded by being turned into an angel who praises (the Lord) night and day without slackening, is neither justice nor wisdom, for he is taken from one toil to another toil.

{116} However, the minds of the Christians accept this on the basis of a fairy tale which I have seen reported on the authority of one of their scholars named Yaqṭīnūs [or Yuqṭīnūs], the Wise. One of his students asked him: 'What is the benefit of Christ appearing to mankind?' He replied to him with words to the effect of: 'When God, Glorified and Exalted is He, created angels, they began to draw near unto Him by worship and He continued to increase His benevolence to them. Yet there was among them an ignorant chief who told them: 'Verily I think that God is increasing His benevolence to us only because of fear that we may force Him from His dominion; therefore He is treating us with blandishment. So, come, let us take His dominion from Him and be in His place!' Then, one party accorded with him, while another party opposed him. Those who opposed him remained angelic in their nature, but as for those who accorded with him, God, Glorified is He, placed their subtle and luminous spirits into these dense and dark bodies, then He

التكاليف. فمن أطاع هاهنا رُفع بعد الموت إلى حيث كان من[125] الملائكة، ومن عصى أُهبط إلى أسفل. وجعل الله سبحانه مقدَّم الملائكة الذي أشار عليهم بذلك الرأي إبليسَهم[126] في دار التكليف ومغويهم كما كان هو[127] مغويهم في عالم السماء. ثمّ إنّ الله أدركته الرحمة للملائكته، فظهر للبشر ليستنقذهم من حبائل شيطانهم ومغويهم." هذا حاصل تقريره. ولو صحّ هذا وثبت لم ينف النعيم الحسيّ بمقتضى || العدل الإلهيّ، وإن صار المكلّفون كالملائكة، كما رُكّبت الشهوة في هاروت وماروت وهما على ملكيّتهما ينزلان من السماء ويعرجان إليها حتى كان منهما ما كان. 226 و

{117} **الوجه الثالث** أنّ سؤال الزنادقة الذين يقولون لا قيامة للمسيح عن المرأة لمن يكون في القيامة من الإخوة يدلّ على أنهم علموا أنّ التزوّج في القيامة من دين موسى أو المسيح أو كلاهما.[128] وأياً ما كان دلّ على بطلان ما حكيتم من جواب المسيح لهم، وأنه[129] مختلق عليه. فكان سؤالهم له عن ذلك خارجاً مخرج الإيراد عليه والإشكال على ما جاء به من النكاح في الآخرة.

[125] ش: في. [126] ك: ابليس. [127] ك – هو. [128] ش ك: او هما. [129] ش: وانهم.

made them duty-bound to various responsibilities. So, whoever is obedient here is elevated after death to where he had been among the angels, while he who is disobedient is brought down to something even lower. God, Glorified is He, established the chief of the angels, who had suggested to them this idea, as their Satan in the abode of moral responsibilities and as their seducer, since he was their seducer in the heavenly world. Then, God was overtaken by compassion for His angels and appeared to mankind in order to deliver them from the ropes of their devil and seducer.' This is the gist of his account.[113] Even if this were authentic and proven to be true, sensory felicity (in Heaven) would not be disproved, due to divine justice. This would 226a
be the case even if the duty-bound people were like angels, for desire was placed into Hārūt and Mārūt, although they were in their angelic nature, descending from heaven and ascending into it, until whatever occurred to them occurred.[114]

{117} **The third point** is that the question which the Sadducees, who claimed that there is no resurrection, addressed to Christ, as to whom among the brothers the woman would belong to in the resurrection, shows that they knew that marriage in the resurrection was part of the religion of Moses or Christ or both. Whichever may be the case, it indicates the invalidity of what you narrate concerning Christ's answer to them, and that it is a fabrication against him. So, their question addressed to him on this matter was actually an allegation against him and (represented their) confusion about what he brought regarding the existence of marriage in the Hereafter.

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[113] Ṭūfī refers to the same anecdote briefly in his *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, p. 462). There, however, the name is spelled as Baqṭīnūs [or Buqṭīnūs], who is described as one of the eminent Christian scholars.

[114] For the story of the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt, see Q 2:102. This story is also mentioned in Ṭūfī's theological treatise, the *Ḥallāl*, in which Ṭūfī argues that the angels are duty-bound (*mukallaf*), for they are servants in possession of intellect, and every servant who has intellect is duty-bound. He substantiates his opinion with the Qur'anic verses on the angels' obedience to God (Q 66:6), their fear (Q 16:50), worship and praise of God (Q 7:206). But the angels are not called to account, for they do not commit sinful acts, the only exeption being the case of Hārūt and Mārūt who were enabled to err and were therefore punished for their act. According to what Ṭūfī narrates, this happened after the angels had rebuked the children of Adam for their disobedience towards God, saying: 'If we were in their place we would not disobey.' Thus, God tried Hārūt and Mārūt, the elect among the angels, in order to show that other angels would be even weaker in such circumstances. When Hārūt and Mārūt were disobedient, concludes Ṭūfī, the angels realised the hardship of the human condition and hence asked God for their forgiveness. Ṭūfī further supports his explanation with the Qur'anic verse (42:5): 'the angels hymn the praise of their Lord and ask forgiveness for those on the earth' (*Ḥallāl*, ff. 13b–14a).

وتقديره: "إنّك تقول بالنكاح في الآخرة، وهذه القصّة تُشكل على مذهبك، لأنّ كلاً من الإخوة قد تزوّجها. فإن جعلت لأحدهم دون الباقين كان ترجيحاً من غير مرجّح. وإن جعلت لجميعهم فلم تُعهَد امرأة لها أكثر من زوج واحد. وإن قلت: لا تكون لأحد، دلّ على ما قلناه من نفي النكاح في القيامة ومن نفي القيامة أيضاً."

{118} فجواب المسيح لهم بما حكيتم عنه يكون موافقة لهم على الزندقة وتبليغهم غرضهم. فهذا واضح في القدح في هذا الفصل بأسره. وأمّا جواب الإشكال الذي أورده الزنادقة من قصّة المرأة وأزواجها، فقد بيّنه محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم حيث قال فيما روي عنه: "المرأة لآخِر أزواجها في الجنّة." وهو مقتضى الفقه والحكمة، لأنّ الأوّل ينقطع عُلْقَته عنها بنكاح الثاني لها، وهلمّ جراً إلى آخر الأزواج الذي تموت عنه، لأنّ الفُرقة بينهما كانت ضروريّةً لا اختياريّةً. فالنكاح ينقطع حكماً بالنسبة إلى أحكام دار التكليف، كنكاحه أختها وأربعاً[130] سواها وسقوط نفقتها ونحو ذلك، لا بالنسبة إلى دار الجزاء. فإذا أعيدت كان أحقّ بها لموتها في عصمته، وكان ذلك مرجّحاً له على غيره. ولهذا لو فرضنا أنها عاشت بعد الموت في دار الدنيا لعادت[131] إليه بالنكاح الأوّل، كما لو كانت فرقتها عن اختلاف دين أو أسر أو اختطاف الجنّ أو الضلال في برّيّة ونحو ذلك، وأولى.

[130] ش: واربع. [131] ش: لعاده.

The implication (of their question to Christ) was thus: 'You maintain the existence of marriage in the Hereafter, but this account is problematic for your position, because each one of the brothers has married her. So, if you assign her to one of them over the others, it results in giving preference without a legitimate basis for preference. And if you assign her to all of them, (then we remind you that) a woman is not known to have more than one husband (at the same time). But if you say: 'She does not belong to any of them', it proves what we say, i.e. the non-existence of marriage in the resurrection, as well as the non-existence of resurrection.'

{118} Christ's answer to (the Sadducees), however, according to what you narrate, actually represents agreement with them regarding their disbelief [in the world to come] and the point they aim to make. This account, therefore, clearly impairs the reliability of this chapter altogether. As for the response to the problem which the Sadducees furnished from the account of a woman and her husbands, Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, has indeed clarified it when he said, according to what was reported from him: 'The woman belongs to the last of her husbands in Paradise.'[115] This is also the requirement of law and wisdom, because the first husband's attachment is severed from her by the second husband's marriage to her, and so forth up to the last husband who she was married to when she died, because the separation between the two comes from necessity, not from choice. Thus, marriage is severed legally with regard to the legal decrees of the abode of moral responsibilities [i.e. this world], such as his marrying her sister, (marrying) four (women) other than her, his failure in providing her maintenance, and so forth, but not with regard to the abode of requital [i.e. the Hereafter]. So, when she is resurrected, he is most deserving of her because her death occurred while she was in the bond of marriage with him; and this is what gives him preference over the others. Therefore, if we assume she lived in the abode of this world after (his) death, then she would return to him through the first marriage contract, just as it would be the case, and even more so, if their separation were due to the difference of religion, captivity, abduction by a jinn, getting lost in the wilderness, and the like.[116]

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[115] See Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, eds. Ṭāriq b.ʿI-A.b.M. and ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b.I. al-Ḥusaynī, Cairo, 1995, vol. III, p. 275; Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat*, vol. VI, p. 121.

[116] Ṭūfī repeats his analysis of Jesus' response to the question raised by the Sadducees in the *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, pp. 496–499).

{119} ومن ذلك في الفصل الخامس والخمسين قال يسوع للفريسيّين: "ما تظنّون في المسيح؟ ابن من هو؟" قالوا: "ابن داود". قال: "كيف يكون ابن داود، وداود يقول: قال الربُّ لربّي اجلس عن يميني حتى أضع أعداءك تحت قدميك. فإن كان داود يدعوه بالروح ربَّه، فكيف هو ابنه؟" فأفحمهم.[132]

{120} قلت: هذا يوجب أحد أمور أربعة. **أحدها** اختلاق هذا الفصل على المسيح وداود وأنه لا أصل له. **الثانى** أن يكون له أصل عن داود، لكن المسيح لم يفهم معنى كلامه. **الثالث** أنّ داود ظ226 كان يعتقد أنّ له ربّين، لأنه يقول: "قال الربُّ لربّي"، يعني المسيح. ولا ينفعهم في دفع هذا الوجه دعواهم أنّ المسيح هو الله، لأنّ هذا الكلام من داود يستدعي قائلاً ومقولاً له ورباً ومجلساً عن يمينه. وذلك موجب لتغايرهما، وأيضاً ما سبق من أنّ الله سبحانه والمسيح حقيقتان متفاصلتان حساً، وإشارة المسيح إلى أنّ أباه بكماله في السماوات مع كون المسيح مشاهداً في الأرض. **الرابع** أن يكون معنى كلام داود: "قال الربّ لسيّدي"، كما سبق من تسمية أهل الكتاب السيّد رباً. وهذا الرابع متعيّن الإرادة، لكن[133] الثاني والثالث محالان، والأوّل يوجب إسقاط الكلام مع إمكان حمله على معنى صحيح. ولا يستبعد أن يكون الله سبحانه أعلم داود بظهور عيسى بعده وأنه أفضل منه. فكان يعظّمه بأن يسمّيه سيّده بلفظ ربّه، كما علّم يوحنّا المعمدانيّ بظهور المسيح، فكان يقول للناس: "الذي يجيء بعدي أقوى منّي، ولا أستحقّ أن أحلّ سيور حذائه. وهو يعمّدكم بروح القدس".

{121} إنّا نقول: ما تعنون بالمسيح؟ اللاهوت وحده، أو الناسوت وحده، أو هما؟ والأوّلان باطلان بإجماع. بل المسيح عبارة عن ناسوته ولاهوته جميعاً.[134] فهب أنه صحّ لكم أنّ لاهوته[135] ليس

[132] ش: فالفمهم. [133] ك: لان. [134] ش: جمعا. [135] ش ك: ناسوته.

{119} Among other things, in chapter fifty-five (there is a report that) Jesus said to the Pharisees: 'What do you think about the Christ? Whose son is he?' They said: 'The son of David.' He said: 'How can he be the son of David, when David says: "The Lord said to my lord: Sit at My right side, till I place your enemies under your feet"? Thus, if David by (inspiration of) the Spirit called him his "lord," how can he be his son?' And thus, he dumbfounded them.[117]

{120} I say: This necessitates one of these four alternatives: **The first** is that this chapter has been falsely ascribed to Christ and David and that it has no basis. **The second** is that it does originate from David, but Christ did not 226b
understand the meaning of his speech. **The third** is that David was firmly convinced that he had two lords, because he says: 'The Lord said to my lord', meaning Christ. Yet their allegation that Christ is God avails them nothing in promoting this notion, because this statement by David necessarily calls for a speaker and an addressee, as well as a Lord and a seat at his right side. And that necessarily requires their dissimilarity from one another, in addition to the aforementioned fact that God, Glorified is He, and Christ are two realities perceptibly separate from one another, as well as Christ's allusion to the fact that his Father in all His perfection is in the heavens, while Christ is visibly on earth. **The fourth** is that the meaning of David's statement is: 'the Lord said to my master', as has been mentioned before regarding the People of the Book's naming of the master as 'lord'. This fourth alternative has a specific intended meaning, while the second and third are both inconceivable, and the first necessarily requires eliminating the statement despite the possibility of correlating it with a sound meaning. It is not improbable that God, Glorified is He, had informed David that Jesus would appear after him and that he would be more distinguished than him. Therefore, (David) used to magnify (Jesus), calling him his master by his words 'my lord', just as (God) informed John the Baptist about the appearance of Christ, and hence he used to tell the people: 'The one who shall come after me is mightier than me, and I am not even worthy to untie the straps of his sandals. For he shall baptise you with the Holy Spirit.'[118]

{121} We say: What do you (Christians) mean by 'Christ'? The divine nature only, the human nature only, or both? The first two are groundless by the consensus. Rather, the term 'Christ' is (supposedly) tantamount to his

[117] Matthew 22:41–46. See also Psalm 110:1.
[118] Luke 3:16. See also Matthew 3:11.

ابن داود، فكيف يصحّ أنّ ناسوته[136] ليس ابنه، وهو ابن مريم التي هي من نسل داود؟ فإذا لم يكن بدّ من تسليم أن ناسوته ابن داود، كان إطلاق المسيح إنكار كونه ابن داود غير صحيح. فبهذا يعلم العاقل اللبيب أنّ هذا الفصل مختلق موضوع ومفتعل مصنوع. قاتل الله من وضعه وأضلّ الجهّال به! ولو كان هذا صحيحاً لكان الواجب أن يفصّل المسيح في الجواب على عاداته في أجوبته المفصّلة وحكمته الشافية، فيقول لهم: "ما الذي تظنّونه ابن داود؟ ناسوتيّ أم لاهوتيّ؟ الأوّل صحيح والثاني باطل، لأنّ داود دعاه ربّه. فكيف يكون ابنه؟"

{122} ومن ذلك قوله في الفصل السادس والخمسين: "لا تدعوا لكم معلّماً على الأرض، فإنّ معلّمكم واحد هو المسيح، وأنتم جميع إخوة. ولا تدعوا لكم مدبّراً على الأرض، فإنّ مدبّركم واحد هو المسيح. ولا تدعوا لكم أباً على الأرض، فإنّ أباكم واحد هو الذي في السماوات".

{123} قلت: ومن المعلوم أنّ مراده بأيهم هو الله سبحانه. ثمّ قد فرّق في الخطاب || والتسمية بين 227و
أيهم والمسيح. فدلّ على أنّ المسيح غير الله وليس هو الله. ثمّ قد أضافهم بالأبوّة إلى الله. فدلّ على أنه هو ليس ابن الله. وإلاّ، لزم ذلك فيهم أيضاً. فلم يبق إلاّ أنه عبد الله كريم على الله وجيه عنده، كما صرّح به القرآن المعظّم.

{124} وقوله: "لا تدعوا لكم معلّماً على الأرض" يعنى غيري، لدلالة الحسّ والخطاب والقرينة. أمّا الحسّ، فلأنه مشاهَد بحقيقته على الأرض بينهم. فلا يصحّ مع[137] ذلك دعوى[138] أنه في

[136] ش ك: لاهوته. [137] ك: على. [138] ش – دعوى.

human nature and his divine nature together. So, assuming that it is acceptable for you that his divine nature is not the son of David, how then is it acceptable that his human nature is not his son, when he is the son of Mary who was of David's progeny? Therefore, if we inevitably concede that his human nature is the son of David, then Christ's categorical rejection of his being the son of David is incorrect. Thus, an intelligent and insightful person comes to know hereby that this chapter is a fabricated and forged account and a concocted and skilfully invented report. May God curse the one who forged it and led the ignorant astray by it! If this narration were sound, it would be necessary for Christ to set forth his answer in detail, in accordance with his habit of giving detailed answers, as well as his healing wisdom, and to say to them: 'What do you think the son of David is? Human or divine? The first is correct, while the second is wrong, because David called him his 'Lord'. So how can he be his son?'

{122} Among other things, in chapter fifty-six he says: 'Do not seek for yourselves a teacher on earth, for your teacher is one, the Christ, and you are all brethren. And do not seek for yourselves a leader on earth, for your leader is one, the Christ. Also do not seek for yourselves a father on earth, for your Father is one, He Who is in the heavens.'[119]

{123} I say: It is a known fact that what he meant by 'your Father' is God, the Glorified. Furthermore, he made a distinction between 'your Father' and 'Christ' through the use of the pronouns of address, as well as the 227a
use of different nouns. Thus, he indicated that Christ is other than God and is not God. He also related (his followers) to God using the notion of fatherhood, indicating that he is not the Son of God. Otherwise, the same would necessarily have to pertain to the others (and they should therefore be called 'Sons of God') as well. All that remains is that he is a servant of God who is honoured before God and is highly regarded in His presence, just as the Glorified Qur'an has explicitly declared.[120]

{124} (Christ's) statement, 'Do not seek for yourselves a teacher on earth,' meaning 'other than me', refers to what is perceived by the senses; (it uses) the pronoun of address and (serves as) a contextual indicator. Regarding

[119] Matthew 23:8–10.

[120] See Q 3:45–46, 'When the angels said: O Mary! God gives you glad tidings of a word from Him, whose name is Christ, Jesus, son of Mary, highly regarded in this world and the Hereafter, and one of those brought near (to God). He shall speak to the people in his cradle and in his manhood, and he is of the righteous.'

السماوات. وأمّا الخطاب، فلأنه قال: "فإنّ[139] معلّمكم المسيح" و"مدبّركم المسيح"، ولم يقل: "الذي في السماوات". ولمّا ذكر أباهم الذي هو الله قال: "فإنّ أباكم واحد هو الذي في السماوات". فدلّ على أنّ الله سبحانه في السماوات، وأنّ المسيح ليس في السماوات، بل هو على الأرض معلّم، وأن لا معلّمَ عليها غيره. وأمّا القرينة، فلأنه ذكر هذا الكلام في سياق ذمّ الفريسيّين الذين يُراؤون[140] الناس ويعظّمون أطراف ثيابهم ويحبّون أوّل الجماعات في العشاء وصدور المجالس في المجامع والسلام في الأسواق وأن يدعوهم الناس معلّمين. "فأمّا أنتم، فلا تدعوا لكم[141] معلّماً على الأرض فإنّ معلّمكم واحد هو المسيح." وهذا ظاهر في أنّ تقدير الكلام: "لا تدعوا لكم معلّماً على الأرض غيري."

{125} **فائدة**. ذكر في الفصل السابع والخمسين أنّ المسيح يسوع قال لتلاميذه: "انظروا لا يضلّكم أحد! كثير يأتون باسمي قائلين: أنا هو المسيح، ويضلّون كثيراً".[142] وقال في موضع آخر منه: "ويقوم كثير من الأنبياء الكَذَبة ويضلّون كثيراً".[143] وقال في موضع آخر منه: "فسيقوم مسيحو[144] كُذُب وأنبياء كَذَبة، ويعطون علامات عظام وآيات، ويضلّون المختارين إن قدروا. ها قد تقدّمت وأخبرتكم. إن قالوا لكم: إنه[145] في البرّيّة فلا تخرجوا، أو في المخادع فلا تصدّقوا. وكما أنّ البرق يخرج من المشرق فيظهر في المغرب، كذلك يكون مجيء ابن البشر. وحيث تكون الجثّة هناك تجتمع النسور".

{126} قلت: النصارى لجهلهم يحتجّون بهذا وبقوله في الفصل الخامس: "احذروا من الأنبياء الكذبة الذين يأتونكم بلباس الحُمْلاَن وهم ذئاب خَطِفة" على أنّ محمّداً صلّى الله عليه وسلّم[146] ليس

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[139] ك: فلان. [140] ش ك: يراون. [141] ش – لكم. [142] ك: كثير. [143] ش – وقال في موضع آخر منه ويقوم كثير من الأنبياء الكذبة ويضلون كثيرا. [144] ش ك: مسيحوا. [145] ش: آية. [146] ش – وسلم.

what is perceived by the senses, this is the case because he is visible in his true reality on earth among them. So, thereby the allegation that he is in the heavens cannot be correct. Regarding the use of the pronoun of address, this is the case because he said: 'for your teacher is Christ' and 'your leader is Christ,' without saying 'who is in the heavens.' Yet, when he mentioned their Father who is God, he said: 'for your Father is one, He Who is in the heavens'. Thereby, he indicated that God, the Glorified, is in the heavens and that Christ is not in the heavens, but rather he is a teacher on earth, and that there is no teacher on it other than him. Regarding the contextual indicator, this is the case because he uttered this statement in the context of criticising the Pharisees who 'like to be seen of people, lengthen the ends of their garments, and love the prominent parties at dinner, the front seats in the synagogues, the greetings in the markets, and to have people call them teachers. "But you should not seek for yourselves a teacher on earth, for your teacher is one, the Christ".'[121] And thereby it becomes clear that the implied meaning of the statement is: 'Do not seek for yourselves a teacher on earth other than me.'

{125} **Useful note**: (Matthew) mentions in chapter fifty-seven that Jesus Christ said to his disciples: 'Watch out lest someone lead you astray! Many will come in my name saying, "I am the Christ", and will lead many astray.'[122] He also said in another passage therein: 'Many false prophets will arise, and will lead many astray.'[123] And elsewhere therein he said: 'So, there will arise false Christs and false prophets, who will deliver great signs and marvels, and will lead astray the elect if they are able. Behold, hereby I have indeed foretold you. If they say unto you, "he is in the wilderness", do not go out; or, "(he is) in the inner chambers", do not believe it. For just as lightning comes forth from the east and then becomes visible in the west, thus will be the coming of the Son of Man. For wherever the carcass is, there the vultures will gather.'[124]

{126} I say: The Christians, out of their ignorance, adduce this and his statement in chapter five, 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but are ravening wolves,'[125] as a proof that Muḥammad, may

[121] See Matthew 23:5–8.
[122] Matthew 24:4–5.
[123] Matthew 24:11.
[124] Matthew 24:24–28.
[125] Matthew 7:15. See Ṭūfī's earlier comments in § 51.

نبياً. ولا حجّة فيه، لأنّ المسيح إنّما حذّر الأنبياء الكذبة والذين يتسمَّون باسمه ويقولون: "نحن مسيحون"، ولم ينصَّ على أحد باسمه. وذلك لا ينفي ظهور نبيٍّ صادق بعده يدلّ على صدقه الحجج والبراهين، كما سنقرِّره إن شاء الله تعالى.[147] بل هذا ممّا يدلّ على صدق محمّد صلّى الله عليه حيث قال: "لا تقوم الساعة حتى يظهر ثلاثون دجّالاً كلّهم يزعم[148] أنه نبيّ. ألا وإنه لا نبيَّ بعدي". || فكون عيسى ومحمّد اتّفقا على الإخبار بظهور الكذّابين بعدهما يدلّ على صدقهما، لأنّ الحقَّيْن متّفقان والحقّ والباطل مختلفان. ظ227

{127} وأمّا وعد المسيح بمجيئه، فهو كما وعد به محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم أنه ينزل من السماء، يقتل الدجّال، ويضع الجزية عن[149] اليهود والنصارى، ويقتل الخنزير، ويكسر الصليب، لأنّ حكمها بطل بنبوّة محمّد عليه السلام. وهو كان أخبر بظهوره على ما شهدت به التوراة والإنجيل، كما سنذكره. ونزوله من السماء يكون بين ملكين. فلذلك يكون سريعاً، كما قال: "كالبرق يكون مجيء ابن البشر". وإذا نزل اجتمع إليه صالحو[150] الأرض من كل مكان، فيقاتل بهم الدجّال.

[147] ك – تعالى. [148] ك: يدعي. [149] ش ك: على. [150] ش ك: صالحوا.

God bless him and grant him peace, is not a prophet. However, no proof can be found therein, because Christ only cautioned against the false prophets and those who give themselves his name and say 'we are Christs,' and he did not specify anyone by name. This does not preclude the appearance of a true prophet after him, whose truthfulness is indicated by proofs and decisive evidence, just as we are going to establish—if God, Exalted is He, wills. Rather, this passage is part of those which indicate the truthfulness of Muḥammad, may God bless him, since he said: 'The Hour will not come to pass until thirty great false Messiahs appear, each of whom will claim to be a prophet. Surely there is no prophet after me.'[126] Thus, the fact that 227b
Jesus and Muḥammad agreed upon declaring the appearance of liars after them indicates the truthfulness of both, because two truths are always in agreement, while truth and falsehood are always in disagreement.

{127} As for Christ's promising to come (again), it is like Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, promising that (Christ) will descend from heaven, kill the Antichrist (*Dajjāl*), remove the poll tax (*jizya*) from Jews and Christians, kill the swine, and break the cross,[127] because the validity of both [i.e. eating pork and venerating the cross] became void by the prophethood of Muḥammad, peace be upon him. And (Muhammad's) very appearance had been reported in accordance with what the Torah and the Gospel testify to, as we are going to mention. So, (Christ's) descent from heaven will take place between two angels.[128] Therefore, it will be swift, just as he said: 'Like the lightning shall be the coming of the Son of Man.'[129] Once he has descended, the righteous of the earth will gather around him from every place, and he will fight with them against the Antichrist (*Dajjāl*).[130]

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[126] For similar reports, see Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Fitan" 1, "Malāḥim" 16; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Fitan" 43; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 5/278.

[127] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Buyū'" 102, "Maẓālim" 31, "Aḥādīth al-Anbiyā'" 52; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Īmān" 73; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Malāḥim" 14; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Fitan" 54; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Fitan" 33.

[128] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Fitan" 20; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Fitan" 33.

[129] See Matthew 24:27.

[130] This information is provided in various *ḥadīths* found in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Fitan" 20; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Fitan" 33. The Qur'an does not explicitly speak about Jesus' eschatological return. Yet, Muslim exegetes have identified allusions to it in various verses (e.g. 4:159, 43:61). A number of prophetic reports concerning the return of Jesus, such as the ones mentioned by Ṭūfī, seem to have inspired this reading (there is a thorough study listing over seventy *ḥadīths* relevant to the topic: M.A.K. al-Hindī, *al-Taṣrīḥ bi-mā tawātara fī nuzūl al-Masīḥ*, ed. ʿA.-F. Abū Ghudda, Aleppo, 1965). In Muslim eschatology, *nuzūl ʿĪsā* (Jesus' descent) is treated as one of the signs (*ʿalāmāt*) of the Hour, i.e. the Last Day. The eschatological Jesus

فذلك معنى قوله: "حيث تكون الجثّة [هناك] تجتمع النُّسُور". فانظر أيّها العاقل إلى جهل النصارى كيف تشهد كتبهم وكلام أنبيائهم بصحّة ما عندنا، وهم يحرّفون ويكابرون كفراً وعناداً. فعليهم من الله ما يستحقّونه!

{128} ومن ذلك ما ذكر في الفصل الرابع والستين أن يسوع بينما هو يأكل مع تلاميذه الفسح أخذ خبزاً وشكر وكسر وأعطى تلاميذه وقال: "خذوا وكلوا. هذا هو جسدي". وأخذ كأساً وشكر وأعطاهم وقال: "اشربوا من هذا كلّكم. هذا دمي العهد الجديد الذي يهْراقُ عن كثير لمغفرة الخطايا. أقول لكم: إنّني لا أشرب من الآن من عصير هذه الكرمة إلى ذلك اليوم الذي أشربه معكم جديداً في ملكوت أبي". فسبّحوا وخرجوا إلى جبل الزيتون.

{129} قلت: إخباره بأنّ الخبز جسدُه والخمَر دمه ليس على حقيقته قطعاً، أعني أنّ جسده خبز ودمه خمر. فيجب تأويله على مجاز شائع. ولا يظهر في المجاز إلاّ كونه أراد أنّ "مادّة جسدي ودمي الخبز والخمر، لأنه قوتي"،[151] والأجساد ودماءها إنّما تتولّد عن الأقوات مأكولاً ومشروباً. وحينئذ يظهر أنّ فائدة ذلك تعريفهم عند قرب مفارقته أنه بشر محض وليس فيه شيء من الألوهيّة، لأنّ حقيقة الإله لا تتولّد عن الأقوات ونحوها من المحدثات. وهذا معنى قوله سبحانه في القرآن المقدّس: ﴿مَا الْمَسِيحُ بْنُ مَرْيَمَ إِلاَّ رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ الرُّسُلُ وَأُمُّهُ صِدِّيقَةٌ كَانَا يَأْكُلاَنِ الطَّعَامَ﴾ أي فتتولّد عنه

[151] ك: قوته.

will descend to earth as a just judge, following the law of Muḥammad (for a thorough study on various classical commentators' readings and interpretations of the relevant Qur'anic verses, see N. Robinson, *Christ in Islam and Christianity: The Representation of Jesus in the Qur'ān and the Classical Muslim Commentaries*, London, 1991, pp. 78–105).

And thus is the meaning of his statement: 'Wherever the carcass is, [there] the vultures will gather.'[131] Therefore look, O intelligent (reader), at the ignorance of the Christians, how their scriptures and the words of their prophets testify to the soundness of what we hold, whilst they are engaging in alteration (*taḥrīf*) and arrogant contention out of disbelief and obstinacy.[132] May God therefore inflict upon them whatever they deserve!

{128} Among other things, (Matthew) mentions in chapter sixty-four that Jesus, while he was eating with his disciples the Passover (meal), took bread, thanked (God), broke it, gave it to his disciples and said: 'Take and eat. This is my body.' And he took a cup, thanked (God), gave it to them, and said: 'Drink of it, all of you. This is my blood, the new covenant, which will be spilled for many for the forgiveness of sins. I say unto you: Verily, I will not drink henceforth of the juice of this vine, until that day when I drink it with you anew in the kingdom of my Father.' Then they glorified (God) and went out to the Mount of Olives.[133]

{129} I say: His declaring that the bread is his body and the wine his blood is certainly not (to be understood) according to its literal sense, meaning that his body actually is bread and his blood, wine. Thus, it becomes necessary to interpret it according to a well-known metaphor. And what becomes apparent in this metaphor is that he had intended that, 'The substance of my body and my blood comprises bread and wine, because it is my nutriment,' for bodies and their blood are only sustained by nutriments when they have been eaten and drunk. Thereupon, it becomes apparent that the benefit thereof is to inform them at the moment of near separation that he is a mere human being and that there is no shred of divinity in him, because the true reality of a divine being is not sustained by nutriments and similar contingent things. This is the meaning of the words of God, Glorified is He, in the Holy Qur'an: 'The Christ, son of Mary, was none other than a messenger; messengers had passed away before him. His mother was a virtuous woman; they both ate food,'[134] meaning that their bodies are

[131] Matthew 24:28.

[132] As with various other theological contentions, so too with the question of Jesus' return, Ṭūfī reads the Muslim and Christian scriptures in harmony with one another. In his view, it is Christian exegesis and theology which deviates from the truth. This position demonstrates the overriding aim of Ṭūfī's critique: to show that Christianity is not even supported by its own scriptures.

[133] Matthew 26:26–30.

[134] Q 5:75.

أبدانهما، ثمّ يرميان بقلّةٍ بولاً وتغوُّطاً. وهذا ممّا لا يجوز على الإلهيّة. ثمّ قوله في الخمر: "أشربه معكم جديداً في ملكوت أبي" يناقض قوله للزنادقة: "في القيامة لا يتزوّجون و[لا يزوَّجون]، لكن[152] يكونون كملائكة الله"، لأنّ ملائكة الله لا يشربون، وهو || قد أخبر أنه يشرب الخمر مع تلاميذه هناك. و228

{130} ومن الخرافات المضحكة التي في الإنجيل قوله في الفصل الخامس والستين أنّ يهوذا الإسخريوطي لمّا جاء بالشرطة من عند رؤساء الكهنة ليقبضوا على يسوع، جرّد بعض أصحاب يسوع سيفه، فضرب عبد رئيس الكهنة، فقطع أذنه. فأمره يسوع بالكفّ وقال: "كلّ من[153] أخذ بالسيف، بالسيف يهلك".

{131} قلت: وفي هذا الكلام أضحوكة وأكذوبة. أمّا الأضحوكة، فقوله إنّ التلميذ ضرب عبد رئيس الكهنة، فقطع أذنه. أفكان هذا الضارب مهندساً فكر وقدر ونظر واعتبر بالبركار حتى إنّما قطع أذنه؟ هذا ممّا يستبعد أن يتّفق. ولكن قوم قليلو[154] العقول يصدّقون بالخرافات. ثم بتقدير صحّة هذا هكذا يكون انتصار الأصحاب لأنبيائهم؟ أين هذه الضربة من ضربات عليّ بن أبي طالب لجبابرة الجاهليّة التي كانت تَقُدُّ الفارسَ والفرس وضربات غيره من الصحابة كالزبير وطلحة والمقداد وغيرهم؟ هؤلاء كانوا الأنصار! وجدير بمن تكون ضرْبته[155] ناصرةً غايتَها قطع أذن عبدٍ أن يسلم لليهود، فيفعلون به ما أرادوا؟

[152] ك: وكلن. [153] ش ك: كلمن. [154] ش ك: قليلوا. [155] ش ك: ضربه.

sustained by it, thereafter they discard a small quantity by urination and defecation. However, this is among those things which are inconceivable with regard to divinity. Furthermore, his statement regarding wine: 'I drink it with you anew in the kingdom of my Father' contradicts his statement to the Sadducees: 'In the resurrection people shall neither marry nor [be given in marriage], but they shall be like the angels of God,'[135] because the angels of God do not drink,[136] while he has declared that there he would drink wine 228a
together with his disciples.

{130} Among the amusing fairy tales found in the Gospel is (the evangelist's) report in chapter sixty-five, that when Judas Iscariot brought a group of guards from the high priests in order to seize Jesus, one of the companions of Jesus unsheathed his sword, struck the high priest's servant, and cut off his ear. Yet Jesus commanded him to desist and said: 'Whoever takes hold of a sword—it is by the sword that he shall perish.'[137]

{131} I say: This account includes both an amusing element and a lie. As for the amusing element, it is his saying that the disciple struck the high priest's servant and cut off his ear. So, was this striker a geometrician who examined, measured, inspected, and appraised (his target) with a pair of compasses until finally he cut only his ear? This is something that is unlikely to happen by accident. However, people of little intelligence give credence to fairy tales. Supposing this to be correct, is this how the aid of the companions towards their prophets should be? Where is this blow in comparison to the blows of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib against the tyrants of the pre-Islamic times, which would cleave asunder horseman and horse, and in comparison to the blows of other companions such as al-Zubayr [b. al-ʿAwwām], Ṭalḥa [b. ʿUbayd Allāh], al-Miqdād [b. ʿAmr] and others? These were indeed the helpers! Also, does it befit anyone whose blow is capable of hitting the target, i.e. of cutting off the ear of a servant, that their companion [i.e. Jesus] be handed over to the Jews so that they may do to him whatever they want?

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135 Matthew 22:30. See also Mark 12:25 and Luke 20:35–36.
136 This has been discussed earlier. See *Taʿlīq*, §§ 112–118.
137 Matthew 26:51–52.

{132} فإن قيل: المسيح لم يكن صاحب سيف ولا حرب، وإنّما كان سلطانه بالآيات الإلهيّة والحجج البرهانيّة، ومحمّد إنّما كان صاحب سيف لا صاحب آية. فلهذا أظهرت قوّته في السيف. ولولاه لما قام ناموسه. وهكذا يقرّرون القدح في شريعة الإسلام بهذه الشبه.[156]

{133} والجواب: أمّا قولكم إنّ محمّداً لم يكن صاحب آية إلهيّة، فغير صحيح، وآياته أكثر من أن تحصى: كانشقاق القمر، وتسليم الحجر والشجر، وتسبيح الحصى[157] في كفّيه، ونبع الماء من بين أصابعه،[158] وإشباع الخلق الكثير من طعام يسير كما نقلتم عن المسيح، وآيات كثيرة دوّنها أهل العلم في دواوين.[159] ومن أعظمها القرآن الذي أخرس الألسنة الفصاح بعد التحدّي والاقتراح. فافتضحوا غاية الافتضاح ولجأوا[160] إلى الحرب والكفاح.

{134} قال بعض علمائنا: "في القرآن ألفان ومائتان واثنان وعشرون معجزاً."[161] قال: "لأنّ جميع القرآن ستّة آلاف وستّمائة وستّون آية. والمعجز هو الأمر الممكن المقرون بالتحدّي الخالي عن المعارض. ورأينا الله سبحانه وتعالى ينزل[162] في تحدّي الكفّار بالقرآن حتى تحدّاهم[163] بسورة منه."[164] قال: "ورأينا أقصر || سورة في القرآن ثلاث آيات وهي سورة الكوثر. فوجب أن يكون كلّ ثلاث آيات من القرآن معجزاً تاماً، لأنه تحدّى به فأعجز."

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[156] ك هـ: حاشية. هذه العبارة فيها غضاضة على المسيح صلوات الله عليه وعلى نبينا غفر الله للشيخ نجم الدين. [157] ش ك: الحصا. [158] ش: اصبعيه. [159] ش: دواين. [160] ش: ولجاء. [161] ش هـ: مطلب في بيان مقدار إعجاز القرآن. [162] ك: تنزل. [163] ك: عداهم. [164] ك هـ: حاشية. التحدي بالدال المهملة وهو الدعاء، ومنه حداء الإبل يعني دعاء، ومنه الخداء وهو دعاء الإبل للسير بما تحدا لها. والله أعلم.

{132} If it is said: 'Christ was neither a swordbearer nor a warior, but his authority was exercised only by divine signs and decisive proofs, while Muḥammad was only a swordbearer, not a master of any sign. Therefore his power became apparent by the sword. And if it had not been for (the sword), his Law would not have been established.' And thus (the Christians) are determined to impugn the Islamic religion through the use of these specious arguments.

{133} The response must be as follows: As for your allegation that Muḥammad was not the master of any divine sign, this is not correct, for his signs are too many to be numbered, such as the moon being split apart, stones and trees greeting (him), the pebbles in his palms praising (God), the water pouring forth from between his fingers, the satiating of many people from a small quantity of food, just as you have related from Christ, and many other signs that the people of knowledge have recorded in their works.[138] The greatest of them is the Qur'an, which silenced the eloquent tongues after a challenge had been issued to them to produce its like and a demand had impertinently been made (by them for proofs of the Prophet's truthfulness). Thus they were utterly disgraced and resorted to warfare and strife.

{134} One of our scholars said: 'In the Qur'an there are two thousand, two hundred and twenty-two miracles.' He said: 'Because the totality of the Qur'an is six thousand, six hundred and sixty-six verses. And a miracle is (defined as) a possible thing that is coupled with a challenge and is free from anything meeting the challenge. And we see that God, Glorified and Exalted is He, sends down (verses) challenging the unbelievers by the Qur'an, until He finally challenges them to [produce even] one *sūra* from it.'[139] He further said: 'We see that the shortest *sūra* of the Qur'an consists of three verses, and 228b
this is *sūrat al-Kawthar*. Therefore, it is necessary that every three verses of the Qur'an constitute an entire miracle, because He [i.e. God or the Qur'an] challenged them to produce the like of it and made them incapable of doing so.'[140]

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[138] Works such as Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's *Kitāb al-shifā'* (ed. M.A. Qara 'Alī et al., Damascus, 1972) and Ibn Ẓafar al-Ṣiqillī's *Khayr al-bishar bi-khayr al-bashar* (eds. L. Choukri and K. Abouri, Rabat, 2008).

[139] See Q 2:23–24 and Q 10:38.

[140] Although I have not been able to identify this particular scholar cited by Ṭūfī, the presentation of *sūrat al-Kawthar* as the shortest *sūra* and an example of a *mu'jiza* (miracle) is prevalent in a number of classical sources written on the inimitability of the Qur'an (*i'jāz al-Qur'ān*). One such explanation, for instance, is attributed to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/936) in Bāqillānī's *I'jāz al-Qur'ān* (ed. S.A. Ṣaqar, Cairo, 1954, p. 386).

{135} ثم من معجزاته ما تواتر التواتر الحقيقيّ كالقرآن، ومنها ما تواتر التواتر المعنويّ كالمشترك الكليّ بين كلّ ما نقل عنه من المعجزات كما في شجاعة عليّ وسخاء حاتم.

{136} فإن قيل: تواتره عند المسلمين لا يكفي، لأنهم متّهمون.

{137} فالجواب[165] من وجهين:

{138} **أحدهما** أنّ عدد التواتر لا يُتّهم، لأنه لا يجوز عليهم الكذب عادةً. ولهذا لا يشترط عدالتهم ولا إسلامهم، لأنّ الاعتماد على كثرتهم لا على عدالتهم.

{139} **الوجه الثاني** أنّ اليهود اشترطوا في عدد التواتر أن[166] لا يجمعهم دين واحد. وإنّما اشترطوا هذا الشرط، لأنّ المسلمين والنصارى سلّموا لهم نبوّة موسى وآياته.[167] فأمنوا غائلة هذا الشرط. فاعتبروه ليعطّلوا به على المسلمين والنصارى ويقولون لكلّ من الطائفتين: "معجزات نبيّكم إنّما تواترت عندكم، وأنتم أهل دين واحد. فلا يعتبر ذلك حتى يوافقكم عليه أهل دين آخر". وهذا من مكر اليهود وخبثهم. عليهم اللعنة ولهم سوء الدار! ونحن نمنع اعتبار هذا الشرط في التواتر، ولا حجّة لهم على اعتباره.

{140} فنقول: إن اعتبرتم أنتم أيضاً هذا الشرط، سقطت لكم آيات كثيرة للمسيح لم يتواتر إلاّ عندكم، كإطعام أربعة آلاف من معيّن[168] خبزات، وكإبراء الذين كانت بهم الأنفس النجسة وغير ذلك. وما

[165] ش هـ: مطلب في بيان شرط التواتر عند اليهود. [166] ش: لان. [167] ش: وكتابه. [168] ش: خبز.

{135} Moreover, among his miracles are those that were transmitted verbatim via multiple channels (*tawātur ḥaqīqī*) such as the Qur'an, as well as those of his miracles that were transmitted by meaning via multiple channels (*tawātur maʿnawī*), such as the common, essential meaning shared by (the narrations about) the miracles that have been related from him, just as it is the case regarding (the narrations about) ʿAlī's courage and Ḥātam's generosity.

{136} If it is then said: Its being reported via multiple channels of transmission among the Muslims does not suffice, because they are suspect [in terms of fabricating those reports].

{137} The response can be given in two ways:

{138} **The first way** is that the number (of the narrators) of transmissions by *tawātur* cannot be suspected (of fabrication), because it is generally inconceivable that they could all conspire to lie. Therefore, their being upright or Muslim is not a condition, because the reliance is upon their being numerous, not upon their uprightness.

{139} **The second way** is that the Jews imposed a condition regarding the number (of the narrators) of transmissions by *tawātur*, that they should not all come from one religion. However, they imposed this condition only because the Muslims and the Christians concede to them the prophethood of Moses and his signs. So they felt safe from the consequences of this condition. They gave weight to this condition in order to thereby obstruct the Muslims and the Christians, and say to each of the two communities: 'The miracles of your Prophet are reported by *tawātur* (multiple channels of transmission) only among yourselves, while you are people of one religion alone. This cannot be given weight until the people of another religion agree with you in it.' This is one of the deceptions of the Jews and a manifestation of their wickedness. Upon them be the curse (of God), and theirs be an evil abode! We refuse to give weight to this condition with regard to *tawātur* (transmission via multiple channels), for they have no justification for giving it weight.

{140} Thus, we say (to the Christians): If you also give weight to this condition, then many signs of Christ that have only been reported by *tawātur* among yourselves become void for you, such as the feeding of four thousand people with a certain number of loaves of bread, the healing of those

تواتر عندنا من معجزاته، كإحياء الموتى ونحوه، فإنّا تواتر بواسطة نبيّنا وكتابنا. والذي أخبر به نبيّنا وكتابنا أنه نبيّ ذو معجزات. إنّما هو عبد الله وروحه وكلمته المخلوق بقدرته الذي نصّ على البشارة بنبيّنا عليه السلام، لا الذي تزعمون أنه ابن الله أو الله نفسه، والذي تزعمون أنه كذّب نبيّنا وحذّركم منه. وحينئذ الذي ندّعيه ونعترف به غير الذي تدّعونه في الذات والصفة. فما اتّفقنا نحن وأنتم على تواتر شيء من معجزات المسيح. وحينئذ يبقى تواتر معجزاته عندكم فقط. والتقدير أنّكم تشترطون للتواتر أن لا يجمع أهله دين واحد، فما تواتر للمسيح معجز أصلاً. وإن لم تعتبروا هذا الشرط للتواتر تثبت معجزات نبيّنا بتواترها عندنا كما تثبت معجزات المسيح بتواترها عندكم، وذلك مقصودنا. ويلزمكم الانقياد لما نقوله من نبوّة محمّد عليه السلام. وأمّا نحن، فإنّنا نصدّق بالمسيح صلوات الله عليه على ما وصفه به كتابنا. فلا يلزمنا من التصديق به نقض ولا ردّ ولا تجدّد انقياد، لأنّا بحمد الله منقادون للحقّ || بدون المناظرة والإلزام. و229

{141} وأمّا قولكم: "إنّ محمّداً كان صاحب سيف"، فصحيح ونحن لا ننكر ذلك. ولكن أنتم لجهلكم[169] اعتقدتم أنّ ظهور النبيّ بالسيف نقصٌ، وإنّما هو غاية الكمال. وذلك لوجهين:

[169] ش: بجهلكم.

who were possessed by impure spirits, and other miracles. But all of his miracles which were reported by *tawātur* among us, such as raising the dead and the like, were only reported by *tawātur* by means of our Prophet and our scripture. And what our Prophet and our scripture report is that (Jesus) is a prophet, who has been endowed with miracles. He is only a servant of God, His spirit and His word, who has been created by His omnipotence, and who made specific statements of glad tidings with regard to our Prophet, peace be upon him, but (what our Prophet reports) is not the same as what you claim, namely, that he is the Son of God or God Himself, nor is it something else that you claim, namely, that he declared our Prophet to be a liar and warned you about him. In this case, then that which we maintain and profess is other than that which you maintain, in both its essence and characteristics. For we and you do not agree that any of the miracles of Christ has been transmitted by *tawātur*. In this case then, the transmission of his miracles by *tawātur* is maintained amongst yourselves only. Hence, the assumption being that you impose a condition for transmission by *tawātur* that (the narrators) should not all come from one religion, then no miracle at all has been reported about Christ by *tawātur*. And if you do not give weight to this condition for *tawātur*, then the miracles of our Prophet are established as fact by their being reported by *tawātur* among us, just as the miracles of Christ are established as fact by their being reported by *tawātur* among you, and this is what we intend to prove. So, you are compelled to submit to what we believe to be true regarding the prophethood of Muḥammad, peace be upon him. As for us, we indeed confirm Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him, according to what our scripture ascribes to him. Thus, by confirming him we are not compelled to contradict, refute, nor renew (our) submission (to Muḥammad, peace be upon him), because, by the praise of God, we are submissive to the truth without any disputation 229a
that compells us to accept the argument (*ilzām*).[141]

{141} As for your statement that 'Muḥammad was a swordbearer', this is correct and we do not deny it. However, due to your ignorance, you firmly believe that the appearance of a prophet with a sword is a defect, while it is nothing less than the utmost degree of perfection. This is the case for two reasons:

[141] As a dialectical method, *ilzām* is a frequently used strategy in polemical literature. It consists of contrasting various claims or aspects of the opponent's views or beliefs in order to show their incompatibility and inconsistency with each other. Ṭūfī provides a more extensive discussion on the miracles of the Prophet and the meaning of *tawātur* in his *Intiṣārāt* (vol. II, pp. 535–585).

{142} **أحدهما** أنّ النبوّة عبادة وطاعة. والعبادة إذا كانت بالقلب والبدن كانت أكمل من أن يكون بالقلب فقط أو بالبدن فقط، لأنّ القلب والبدن جميعاً مخلوقان لله تعالى.[170] فاستغراق العبادة لهما أكمل من انفراد أحدهما بها. فمحمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم عبد الله وأطاعه بالإيمان بما نزّل على قلبه من الآيات، وعبده ببدنه بما جدّ فيه واجتهد من الأمور الجهاديّات. فبهذا يظهر كماله وشرفه على المسيح وغيره من الرسل.

{143} **الوجه الثاني** أنّ دين الله وشعائره[171] أعزّ الأشياء وأشرفها وأعظمها وأعلاها وأفخمها. فإقامته بالعزّة والقهر والاستيلاء أولى وأنسب من إقامته بالذلّ والمسكنة واحتمال الضيم والصغار. ولمّا صار لمحمّد عليه السلام تلميذ واحد وهو عمّه حمزة بن عبد المطّلب منعه من جبابرة العرب وضرب أبا جهل بالقوس ففلق هامته، وكان أبو جهل سيّد أهل الوادي. وتلاميذ المسيح، لمّا أفلح[172] بعضهم وذبّ عنه، ضرب عبداً فثمنه ثمن عباءة فقطع أذنه، كأنه أراد أن يجعلها هِنْدازة قبّع أو كمّة. ولهذا، لما كانت الزكاة تنبِئ عن ذلّ آخِذها وعزّ معطيها، نزّه الله تعالى منصب رسوله عنها وحرّمها عليه وعوّضه عنها الخُمس من الغنيمة التي تنبِئ عن عزّة آخذها وذلّ من أُخِذَت منه. ووجه الحكمة في ذلك أنه عليه السلام لما أعزّ دين الله بالجهاد فيه، أعزّه الله بتنزيهه عمّا لا يرضيه. والله أعلم.

{144} ومن ذلك في الفصل السادس والستّين ذكر أنّ بطرس لمّا قُبِض على المسيح سئل عنه وقيل: "أنت من أصحابه!" فأنكره ثلاث مرّات قبل صياح الديك بمقتضى وعد المسيح له بذلك.

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[170] ك: سبحانه. [171] ش: وشرائعه. [172] ش: أقلح.

{142} **The first reason** is that prophethood is a case of worship and obedience. Worship performed by the heart as well as the body is more perfect than when it is performed by the heart only or by the body only, because the heart and the body together are two creations of God, Exalted is He. Therefore, worship comprising of both of them is more perfect than one of them being singled out therein. And Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, worshipped God and obeyed Him out of belief in all the signs that were sent down upon his heart, and he also worshipped Him with his body in whatever he strove for earnestly and exerted himself in the matters of warfare. In this way his perfection and eminence above Christ and other messengers becomes apparent.

{143} **The second reason** is that the religion of God and His rites are the most honourable, most elevated, most supreme, most exalted and most magnificent of all things. Accordingly, to establish it by might, subjugation and conquest is worthier and more appropriate than to establish it by humiliation, misery, suffering injury and lowliness. And when it came to pass that Muḥammad, peace be upon him, had one single disciple, namely, his paternal uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, he [i.e. Ḥamza] protected him from the tyrants among the Arabs, and hit Abū Jahl with a bow and split the top of his head, though Abū Jahl was the master of the people of the valley. Yet, (look at) the disciples of Christ; when one of them was fortunate enough to have the opportunity to defend him, he hit a servant—and his price is the price of a cloak—and then cut off his ear, as if he wanted to make him a measuring cubit for hats or caps. And therefore, since the *zakāt* indicates the inferiority of its receiver and the superiority of its giver, God, Exalted is He, declared the rank of His messenger to be above receiving it, made it unlawful for him and recompensed him for it with the fifth part of all booty[142] which indicates the superiority of the one who takes it and the inferiority of the one it is taken from. The element of wisdom therein is the fact that since (the Prophet), peace be upon him, made the religion of God superior by fighting for it, God gave him superiority by declaring him to be above whatever does not please him. And God knows best.

{144} Among other things, in chapter sixty-six, (Matthew) mentions that when Christ was arrested, Peter was asked about him and was told: 'You are one of his companions!' But he denied it three times before the crowing of the cock, in conformity with Christ prophesying that.[143]

[142] See Q 8:41.
[143] Matthew 26:69–75.

{145} وهو من أخصّ[173] تلاميذه والمشفق عليه. وإذا قيس ضعف هذا التلميذ وجوره عن معلّمه إلى أبي بكر وعمر وعثمان بن مظعون وغيرهم من الصحابة الذين كانوا في أوّل الإسلام والشوكة لقريش يقاتلونهم[174] دون رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم حتى تَمَزَّقَ شعر أبي بكر دونه وهو يقول: "أتقتلون رجلاً أن يقول ربّي الله؟" وجري دم عمر وفُقئت عين عثمان، وجد بينهما بون عظيم. فلو استحيى النصارى لم يذكروا لأنفسهم ديناً بين الأديان. وإنّما ||كان لهم دين، فحرّفوه، وضلّوا عنه، وأخطأوه. ظ229

{146} ومن ذلك[175] أنه ذكر في الفصل السابع والستّين أنّ اليهود صلبوا المسيح. واتّفقت على ذلك الأناجيل الأربعة، وأجمع عليه النصارى.

{147} وهو كذب ومحال، لأنّ المسيح إمّا أن يقال: هو الله، أو ابن الله، أو رسول الله وعبده. فإن كان هو الله فيكفي النصارى في الجواب أنّ كلّ من سمع ذلك عنهم سخر منهم وضحك على لحاهم حيث سفّهوا ربّ السماوات حتى ألجأ نفسه إلى الصلب، وقد كان له عنه مندوحة بقدرته المتّفقة[176] عليها الكاملة، فلا شيء يعجزها. ويتّجه على هذا قول المسلمين: إنه لم يصلب وإنّما ألقي شَبَهُه على الذي أسلمه أو على بعض أعدائه، إذ البارئ سبحانه قديم لا يتأتّى صلبُه ولا لحوق أذى له على الإطلاق دائماً ولا مؤقّتاً. وإن كان ابن الله فالكلام كذلك، إذ الواحد من المخلوقين

[173] ش: بعض. [174] ش: يقاتلهم. [175] ش هـ: صلبوا المسيح. [176] ش ك: المتفق.

{145} Yet he was his most distinguished disciple and the one who cared most for him. When the weakness of this disciple and his wrongful act against his teacher is compared to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn and other companions—who, in the beginning of Islam when the power was with Quraysh, used to fight them, shielding the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, until the hair of Abū Bakr got torn out before him while he was saying: 'Are you killing a man because he says, "God is my Lord"?',[144] the blood of ʿUmar flowed, and the eye of ʿUthmān was gouged out—then a great difference can be seen between the two. Thus, if the Christians had shame, they would not regard theirs to be a religion among the religions. On the contrary; they had a religion but they altered it, strayed 229b
from it and erred against it.

{146} Among other things, (Matthew) mentions in chapter sixty-seven that the Jews crucified Christ.[145] The four Gospels are in agreement upon it[146] and the Christians have reached a consensus about it.

{147} This, however, is a lie and an absurdity, whether it is said that Christ is God, the Son of God or the messenger of God and His servant. For if he is God, it is sufficient to reply to the Christians that whoever hears such a thing from them will ridicule them and laugh in their faces, as they make a fool of the Lord of the Heavens to such an extent that (they say) He has compelled Himself to be crucified even though He had ample freedom to avoid this, due to His agreed-upon perfect omnipotence, which can never be incapacitated. The Muslim opinion is directed against this, affirming, rather that (Christ) was not crucified, but instead his likeness was cast upon the one who betrayed him or upon one of his enemies,[147] since the Maker, Glorified is He, is eternally pre-existent, and neither His crucifixion nor the attachment of any harm to Him in any respect, be it permanent or temporary, is feasible. And if (Christ) is the Son of God, the answer is the same, for every human being will exhaust their dignity, property and power

144 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba" 6, "Manāqib al-Anṣār" 29, "Tafsīr Ghāfir" 1.

145 Matthew 27:35.

146 See Mark 15:24–25; Luke 23:33 and John 19:18–23.

147 The Qur'an rejects the claim that Jesus was crucified at the hands of the Jews: 'They killed him not, nor crucified him, but it appeared so unto them (*wa-lākin shubbiha lahum*) […] Nay, God took him up unto Himself' (Q 4:157–158). Inspired by these verses, the mainstream Muslim tradition has maintained that Jesus did not die on the cross. The prevalent explanation offered is that someone else, who was made to bear Jesus' likeness, died in his place on the cross, while Jesus was raised to heaven by divine intervention.

يستفرغ جاهه وماله وقوّته في خلاص ابنه من ضرب عشرة أسواط. فما ظنّك بالله الذي إنقاذُ من أراد إنقاذه عنده أيسر الأشياء؟ وقد سبق هذا البحث بعينه.

{148} وإن كان رسول الله فنقول: لا شكّ أنّ المسيح لما ظهر على يده من الكرامات وخوارق العادات ولكونه كان آية في نفسه ظهر واشتهر حتى صار أشهر من الشمس والقمر، وسار ذكره ونُبْلُه[177] حتى صار أَسْيَر في الآفاق من مثل. فصلبه بلا شكّ يجب أن يكون مشهوراً كشهرته بحيث لا يختلف فيه إنسان من العالم كما لم يختلفوا في وجوده من غير بشر وفي أنه أحيا[178] الموتى وأبرأ الأكمه والأبرص. فلمّا رأينا المسلمين على كثرتهم يخالفونكم في صلبه حتى جماعةً من علماء أهل الكتاب أهل العلم الأوّل والمطّلعين على دقيقه وجليله كعبد الله بن سلام وكعب الأحبار[179] ووهب بن منبّه، علمنا أنّما تدّعونه من صلبه خرافة من الخرافات وأكذوبة من الأكاذيب، لأنّ مثل هذه الواقعة العظيمة لا تحتمل مثل هذا الخلاف. وأكثر ما عند النصارى جواباً عن هذا أن يقولوا: إنّ محمّداً استملى من القصّاص وعلماء العرب وغيرهم أنّ عيسى لم يصلب. وكانت له شوكة، فلم يجسر أحد يخالفه. ثمّ استمرّ على ذلك المسلمون تقليداً.

[177] ش ك: ونبل. [178] ش: يحيي؛ ك: احيى. [179] ش: الحبر.

to save their son from receiving a beating of ten lashes. What then do you think about God, for Whom rescuing whomever He wants to rescue is the easiest thing to do? This very same topic has already been investigated.[148]

{148} If (Christ) is a messenger of God, then we say: There is no doubt that because of those miracles and supernatural events which appeared at his hand, and because he was a sign in himself, Christ manifested himself and became well-known until he became more widely known than the sun and the moon, and his reputation and nobleness spread widely until they became more widespread in distant lands than a proverb. Therefore, without doubt, it is necessary that his crucifixion be as well-known as his fame so that no man in all the world would disagree about it, just as they do not disagree about his coming into existence without a human (father), his raising the dead, and his curing those born blind and the lepers. However, when we see that the Muslims in their great numbers disagree with you regarding his crucifixion, including even a group from among the scholars of the People of the Book, the people of earlier knowledge [i.e. revelation], who were acquainted with its subtleties and splendours, such as ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām [d. 43/663–664],[149] Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [d. ca. 32–35/652–653][150] and Wahb b. Munabbih [d. 110/728 or 114/732],[151] we come to know that his crucifixion, which you allege to be true, is only a fairy tale and a lie, because it is inconceivable that such a tremendous event should be the subject of such disagreement.[152] What the Christians offer as a response to this is mostly to say that Muḥammad took from the dictations of the storytellers, the scholars of the Arabs and others that Jesus was not crucified. Since the power lay with him, no one dared to oppose him. Then, the Muslims adhered to that out of blind imitation.

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[148] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 26.

[149] A Jew of Medina who embraced Islam during the Prophet's time and thus became one of his companions. As Horovitz writes, 'In Muslim tradition he has become the typical representative of that group of Jewish scribes which honored the truth, admitting that Muḥammad was the Prophet predicted in the Torah, and protecting him from the intrigues of their co-religionists' (J. Horovitz, "'Abd Allāh b. Salām", *EI*^{2}, vol. I/1, p. 52).

[150] He was a Yemenite Jewish convert to Islam. On his life and role, see Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets*, pp. 89–92; M. Perlmann, "A Legendary Story of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār's Conversion to Islam", *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume: Studies in History and Philology*, New York, 1953, pp. 85–99; M. Perlmann, "Another Kaʿb al-Aḥbār Story", *JQR*, 45 (1954), pp. 48–58; M. Schmitz, "Kaʿb al-Aḥbār", *EI*^{2}, vol. IV, pp. 316–317.

[151] Information about his life and work was provided earlier. See § 17.

[152] The crucifixion is factually unsubstantiated, according to Ṭūfī. In his opinion, the existence of disagreement about the crucifixion illustrates the unreliability of the claim. See also Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, pp. 64–65.

{149} لكن يقال لهم في الجواب: هذا اعتذار باطل، لأنّ صلبه قد بيّنّا أنه من القضايا التي يلزمها التواتر القاطع الذي لا يقبل الخلاف ولا يخفى عن أحد. ففرض خفاء مثل هذا على مُملٍ أو مستملٍ أو كاتب || أو أمّيّ محال عادةً، كخفاء طوفان نوح وناقة صالح ونار الخليل وعصا[180] موسى وولادة 230 و المسيح من غير بشر. وهل موته في الشهرة إلاّ كمولده؟ فهلاّ وقع الخطأ في مولده؟ وقيل: إنّكم معشر النصارى تكذبون أنه ولد لا من بشر، بل هو ابن[181] يوسف بن داود النجّاري الذي خطب مريم وهي حامل بالمسيح. ولو قال لكم قائل هذا ونازعكم ما وجدتم سبيلاً إلى إثباته، لأنه كان يطعن فيما عندكم من النقل، ويدّعي تحريفه وعدم الوثوق به ويقول: "أنا لم يأتني في كتابي ما يصدّقكم. ووجود إنسان من غير بشر محال عادةً، فلا يكون." فبماذا كنتم تثبتونه؟ وهل كان يكون عندكم إلاّ دعوى مجرّدة عن برهان مشترك أو مقترنة ببرهان تختصّ بكم كالإنجيل ونحوه؟ ولو لم يأت كتابنا ونبيّنا بما يوافق ما عندكم في مولد المسيح لنازعناكم فيه كما نازعناكم في صلبه. فلمّا وافقكم محمّد عليه السلام في مولده وخالفكم في سبب وفاته، دلّ على صحّة ما وافق عليه وبطلان ما خالفتموه فيه.

[180] ش ك: عصى. [181] ش: بن.

{149} It can be said to them in response: This is an invalid excuse because, as we have already explained, (Christ's) crucifixion is one of the issues that necessitate a definite *tawātur* (transmission via multiple channels) which neither admits opposition nor remains hidden from anyone. Hence, to assume that something like this remains hidden to the one who dictates, or the one who receives the dictation, or else to a literate, or an illiterate, 230a
is generally absurd, just as it would be absurd for the flood of Noah, the camel of Ṣāliḥ, the fire of al-Khalīl [i.e. Abraham], the staff of Moses, or the birth of Christ from no human (father) to remain hidden. Is his death, in terms of fame, not like his birth? And did not an error occur regarding his birth? For it is said: 'Verily you, O community of Christians, tell the lie that he was born of no human (father). Rather, he was the son of Joseph, son of David the carpenter, who proposed to Mary while she was pregnant with Christ.'[153] If someone were to say this to you and to dispute with you, you would not find any means to prove (the virginal birth), because such a person would discredit whatever report you had, and would assert it to have been altered and to be unreliable, saying: 'As for me, in my scripture, nothing that gives credence to what you say has reached me. And a man's coming into existence without a human (father) is normally inconceivable and hence cannot be.' So, how can you prove it? Could you offer anything but an allegation that is stripped of any universally shared evidence or one that is coupled with some evidence which is peculiar only to you, such as the Gospel or its like? Had not our scripture and our Prophet brought us something that agrees with what you hold regarding the birth of Christ, we would have disputed with you concerning it, just as we dispute with you on the matter of his crucifixion. Therefore, when Muḥammad, peace be upon him, agreed with you regarding (Christ's) birth, but opposed you regarding the cause of his death, he indicated the soundness of what he agreed with and the invalidity of what you opposed him on.[154]

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[153] See Matthew 1:16; John 1:45 and 6:42.

[154] Ṭūfī's point here reflects the underlying principle of the mainstream Muslim opposition to the crucifixion: that the objection is primarily founded upon the Qur'anic denial. The Qur'an does speak about prophets being tortured or killed by their communities. In theory, therefore, it would not have been a problem for the Muslims to accept the crucifixion story, had it not been rejected by the Qur'an, as pointed out in a recent study: 'Muslims would see the 'death' of Jesus in the context of the economy of deliverance of prophets by God, an approach in which definite historical facts are hard to verify, and in any case not the overriding consideration. However, crucifixion need not necessarily pose a problem for Islam, which has its own martyrological tradition' (N. Solomon, R. Harris and T. Winter, "Jesus in Christian, Jewish and Muslim Thought", *Abraham's Children: Jews, Christians and Muslims*

{150} وأيضاً[182] فهب[183] أنّ محمداً عليه السلام كان جبّاراً صاحب سيف ولم يكن نبياً. أفيشكّ عاقل في أنّ من أقام هذا الناموس المؤبّد والدين المخلّد يكون حكيماً؟ هذا ممّا لا يشكّ فيه من له أدنى عقل. فإذا ثبت أنه حكيم، فما الباعث له على أن يحكي شيئاً ليس منه على يقين خشية أن يكون خبره غير مطابق فيتنفّر عنه من يعلم ذلك ولو في الباطن إن لم يمكنه في الظاهر؟ بل الحكمة كانت تقتضي أن لا يحكي إلاّ ما يعلمه، وما لا يعلمه يدعه، كما ترك كثيراً من القصص لم يتعرّض لها والتفاصيل التي هي مذكورة في التوراة من أمر العالم وفي الإنجيل من أمر المسيح. وهب أنه كان صاحب شوكة يحتمي الناس مخالفته في الظاهر. لكن الحكيم لا يقتصر على مراعاة ظاهر حاله، بل على ظاهره وباطنه.[184]

{151} فتبيّن بهذا البرهان القاطع المذكور أنّ عيسى لم يصلب، وإنّما ألقي شبهُه على بعض أعدائه. يقال: إنه يهوذا الإسخريوطي الذي أسلمه ودلّ عليه، والمسلمون سمّوه يودا. وذلك، لأنهم

[182] ش + وأيضا. [183] ش – فهب. [184] ش هـ: مطلب في عدم صلب عيسى.

in Conversation, eds. N. Solomon, R. Harris and T. Winter, London, 2005, p. 111).

{150} Besides, suppose that Muḥammad, peace be upon him, was a tyrant swordbearer, but not a prophet. Even then, would an intelligent person doubt that the one who has established this perpetual law and everlasting religion, was a wise man? This is something that no one with the least bit of intelligence could doubt. Since it is proven that he was a wise man, then what would be his incentive to narrate something that he was not absolutely certain of, when there is fear that his information would not be in conformity with reality, and thus whoever recognised this would turn away from him inwardly at least, if he were unable to do so outwardly?[155] Wisdom requires that one should narrate only what he knows, and leave whatever he does not know, just as (the Prophet) passed over many of the stories to which he did not object, and many of the details which had been mentioned in the Torah concerning the world, and in the Gospel concerning Christ. Further, suppose that he was a master of power that people guarded themselves from opposing outwardly. A wise man, however, does not confine himself to considering the outward aspect of his state only, but rather he considers both its outward as well as its inward.

{151} It becomes clear by the aforementioned decisive and definite piece of evidence that Jesus was not crucified, but rather his likeness was cast upon one of his enemies.[156] It is said that this was Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him

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[155] This argument against the crucifixion is related to preaching strategies. Would a wise man, such as the Prophet, jeopardise his position before his listeners by narrating something that is not true? Thus the denial of the crucifixion actually illustrates the degree of the Prophet's certainty on this matter and his reliability. Ṭūfī's line of reasoning bears resemblance to the analysis of ʿAbd al-Jabbār, who also reflects upon the consequences of the denial of the crucifixion. In ʿAbd al-Jabbār's view, to accept the crucifixion would have been an extra bonus for the Prophet, as it could easily be used as an argument against both the Christians and the Jews, for the crucifixion contradicts Jesus' divinity on the one hand, while on the other it rebukes those who committed such an act. Despite its advantages, the Prophet did not accept this claim. Therefore, ʿAbd al-Jabbar concludes that the denial of the crucifixion is a sign of Muḥammad's prophethood, for it proves that he drew his information from a divine origin (revelation), and not from Jewish or Christian sources which claim the opposite (ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Tathbīt dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿA.-K. ʿUthmān, Beirut, 1966 vol. I, pp. 122–123). Ultimately, for ʿAbd al-Jabbār as well as for Ṭūfī, the rejection of the crucifixion shows the Prophet's strong conviction in the truthfulness of the information he conveyed. It would have been easier for him to accept such a claim. Nevertheless, he did the opposite, which demonstrates the reliability of his report.

[156] This interpretation seems to resonate with early Christian Gnostic writings which held that Jesus did not die in reality but only in appearance. It was Simon, a man of Cyrene, who was crucified, having been transfigured into Jesus' likeness, while Jesus was 'rejoicing in the height' (Robinson, *Christ in Islam and Christianity*, p. 111; see also G. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'ān*, London, 1965, p. 110). A clear link between the Muslim and Gnostic interpretations of

لمّا ربطوا المسيح في الجبل وأرادوا رفعه، أظلمت الأرض ظلمةً شديدةً. وقد نصّ في الإنجيل على وجود هذه الظلمة وأنها كانت ثلاث ساعات من الساعة السادسة إلى الساعة[185] التاسعة. فأرسل الله ملائكة أطلقوا المسيح وربطوا || مكانه عدوّه وألقي عليه شبهه. ثم رفع المسيح على ظهر غمامة نزلت إليه. ثم انكشفت الظلمة ويودا مصلوب! فجعل يقول لهم: "المسيح أُطلِق ورُبِطْتُ مكانه، وأنا صاحبكم"، ويذكر لهم العلامات التي يعرفونها بينه وبينهم. وهم يرون عليه شبه المسيح، فيزدادون عليه حَيْفاً، ويقولون: "قاتله الله! ما أعلمه بسرّنا"، يعتقدونه[186] المسيح.[187] ظ230

{152} نعم، اختلف المسلمون في أنّ المسيح توفّي حَتْفَ أنفه قبل أن يرفع أم لا على قولين. أشبهها

[185] ش – الساعة. [186] ش: نعتقدونه. [187] ش هـ: مطلب في أنّ اشتبه وفاة عيسى عند المسلمين.

the crucifixion event cannot be documented. Yet, the transfiguration of Jesus, as attested by the Gospels (Matthew 17:1–2; Mark 9:2–3 and Luke 9:28–29), has attracted Muslim attention since earliest times. In particular, the fact that his enemies could not recognise Jesus and felt the need for a guide (Judas Iscariot) to identify him is seen as a significant support for the Muslim rejection of the crucifixion (see Qarāfī, *Ajwiba*, pp. 186–187, 193 and Būṣirī, *Makhraj*, pp. 180, 181). However, there is no reference to this in Ṭūfī's writings. The idea of substitution on the cross has been widely accepted among Muslim exegetes, although there is no unanimous agreement regarding the identity of the crucified person. According to one opinion, it was one of Jesus' disciples who volunteered to sacrifice himself on behalf of his master, while according to another it was Judas Iscariot who was crucified as a punishment for his betrayal (for a thorough analysis of various commentaries, such as Ṭabarī, Zamakhsharī, Rāzī, Bayḍāwī and Ibn Kathīr, on Q 4:157 (*shubbiha lahum*), see M. Ayoub, "Towards an Islamic Christology, II: The Death of Jesus, Reality or Delusion (A Study of the Death of Jesus in Tafsīr Literature)", *MW*, 70/2 (1980), pp. 94–103; Robinson, *Christ in Islam*, pp. 125–141). What really mattered for Muslim theologians was not to identify the crucified person, but rather to establish that Jesus was not the one who died on the cross. His deliverance was regarded as one of the many miracles bestowed upon him by the grace of God. Qarāfī, for instance, equates it to his miracle of raising the dead (*Ajwiba*, p. 183).

and indicated him; while the Muslims call him Yūdā. And this is the case, because when they bound Christ (on the gibbet) on the hill, and intended to lift him up, the earth darkened with pitch-darkness. Indeed, the existence of this darkness is established in the Gospel, as well as the fact that it lasted for three hours, from the sixth hour until the ninth hour.[157] Then, God sent angels who released Jesus and bound in his place his enemy, upon whom (Jesus') likeness was cast. Thereafter, Christ was raised upon a cloud that had descended to him. Subsequently, the darkness withdrew, and Judas was the crucified one! And he began to tell them: 'Christ was released, and I was bound in his place; I am your friend,' and to mention to them the signs that they knew were only between him and themselves. However, they were seeing upon him the likeness of Christ, so they misjudged him even more, and said: 'May God curse him! How well he knows our secrets!'—believing he was Christ.[158] 230b

{152} Indeed, the Muslims have disagreed upon whether Christ died a natural death before he ascended to heaven or not, taking two opinions.[159] The more likely of the two is that he died and remained so for three days, and it

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[157] Matthew 27:45.

[158] Following the traditional Muslim understanding of the crucifixion, Ṭūfī denies that Jesus was ever crucified and adopts the theory of substitution. The Qur'anic phrase, '*shubbiha lahum*' (it appeared so unto them), is crucial for Ṭūfī. In addition to the Qur'an, he includes the Gospel account (Matthew 27:45) as evidence for his version of the story. As to the identity of the crucified person, in the *Ishārāt* (vol. II, pp. 65–66) he appears either as one of Christ's disciples, whose act is seen as a gift and ransom for Christ, or as his enemy Judas Iscariot, who deserved such punishment for his betrayal. In the *Ta'līq* (§§ 147,151 and 353) and the *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, pp. 345–347), however, the crucified person is always identified with one of Christ's enemies, specifically with Judas.

[159] What happened to Jesus, if he was not crucified? In the words of the Qur'an, 'God took him up unto Himself' (Q 4:158). But how and when did this happen? Did he ever die? These are challenging questions that Muslim theologians had to wrestle with. Their response resulted in many variant interpretations of the verse: 'God said, "O Jesus! I am gathering you (*mutawaffīka*) and causing you to ascend (*rāfi'uka*) unto Me"' (Q 3:55). Also verse 5:117, in which Jesus says: 'I was a witness of them while I dwelt among them, and when You took me, You were the Watcher over them' has attracted their attention. But what is the meaning of *tawaffī*? When the word is taken to mean 'cause to die' or 'receive through death', the discussion is mainly focused on the sequence of these two acts, i.e. the 'death' and 'ascension'. Did Jesus die first and then ascend to heaven or was he first made to ascend and will die in the future after his second coming? (On various interpretations of *tawaffī* in medieval commentaries, see Ayoub, "Towards an Islamic Christology, II", pp. 103–109; Robinson, *Christ in Islam*, pp. 117–126). There are various ways of interpreting *tawaffī*. Among the medieval exegetes, Ibn Taymiyya reads it as 'completion' and 'receiving', which he classifies in three categories: (1) sleep, (2) death, and (3) Jesus' ascension to heaven with both his body and soul

أنه توفّي[188] وبقي ثلاثة أيّام، وقيل أربعين يوماً، تصلّي[189] عليه الملائكة في السماء. ثم أحياه الله، وأمره بالرجوع إلى تلاميذه ليعهد إليهم ما يريد، لأنّ اليهود أعجلوه عن ذلك.

{153} فإن قيل: أجمعت الأمم الثلاث على وجود الصلب وقد وافقتم على أنّ المسيح توفّي. والصلب الذي ندّعيه[190] سبب صالح للوفاة التي اعترفتم بها. فوجب أن يكون قد صلب.

{154} قلنا: هذا خطأ ومغالطة. الأمم الثلاث اتّفقت على الصلب واختلفت في عين المصلوب. فأنتم واليهود قلتم هو المسيح، أولئك لحلاوة الظفر، وأنتم لحلاوة[191] الشناعة والتعدّي عليهم. ونحن نقول: إنه يهوذا أو غيره من أعاديه.[192] فأين الاتّفاق؟ ولا يلزم من اعترافنا بموته أن يكون بسبب الصلب

[188] ش هـ: أقول إنّ الأشبه عندي أنه ما توفي بل رفعه الله حياً، ثم ينزل ويتوفّى بعد. وقد بيّنه رسولنا محمّد صلى الله عليه وسلم. وهذا ما ذهب إليه المحقّقون من أهل الإسلام، كما حقّقنا في محلّه. ولي الدين. ك هـ: حاشية. قوله "أشبهها أنه توفّي"، إن أراد من حيث لفظ القرآن يُسلم. وإن أراد من حيث التحقيق فلا يسلم، لأنّ الله تعالى لا يجمع على العبد موتين من عمر. وقد أجمع المسلمون على أنه بعد نزوله من السماء وإقامته في الأرض يموت. والله أعلم. [189] ش: يصلي. [190] ش: تدعيه. [191] ش: لجلاوه. [192] ك: اعدآيه.

(Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, p. 307; Ibn Taymiyya, *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, p. 185). While Ibn Taymiyya understands Jesus' *tawaffī* as a separate category different from that of sleep and death, Ibn Kathīr, on the other hand, considers it to have happened through sleep (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. II, p. 72).

is also said for forty days, whilst angels were invoking God's blessing upon him in heaven. Thereafter, God revived him and commanded him to return to his disciples in order to enjoin upon them what he desired, for the Jews had hastened him such that they prevented him from doing so.[160]

{153} If it is said: The three faith communities have reached consensus that a crucifixion took place, and you have indeed agreed that Christ died. Yet the crucifixion we allege can be a proper cause for the death which you admit. Therefore, it is necessary to affirm that he was crucified.

{154} We say: This is an error and a fallacy. The three faith communities are in agreement regarding the crucifixion, but in disagreement about the identity of the crucified. So, you and the Jews say he is Christ—they because of the sweetness of triumph, and you because of the sweetness of their disgrace and your enmity towards them.[161] But we say: the crucified one was Judas or another one of (Jesus') enemies. So, where is the agreement? Our admission of his death does not necessarily mean that its cause is the crucifixion which

[160] Ṭūfī's explanation about Jesus' fate is a peculiar one, the traces of which one may also find in the commentaries of Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr. In an interpretation attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, *innī mutawaffīka* (Q 3:55) is understood as *innī mumītuka* (I will cause you to die). Moreover, a report attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih, through the authority of Ibn Isḥāq, states that 'God caused Jesus to die (*tawaffā*) for three hours of the day, after which He raised him to Himself.' Yet another report of Ibn Isḥāq—this time presented as a view attributed to the Christians—claims that God caused Jesus to die for seven hours (Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, vol. III, p. 357; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. I, p. 366). According to Ibn Isḥāq, after the completion of his mission, Jesus was raised to heaven where some of his human attributes were removed and he became both human and angel, heavenly and earthly. Then, he was resurrected and sent down to his disciples in order to disperse them over the earth as missionaries for God, a task which he had been unable to complete before (Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet*, p. 210). This version of the story, namely, that Jesus was saved from the crucifixion by God, taken to heaven by natural death, returned to earth (after three or seven hours) in order to complete his prophetic mission, and then ascended to heaven again until his last coming, appears to have continued attracting the attention of subsequent authors. For instance, this is also mentioned by ʿUlaymī (d. 968/1521), two centuries after Ṭūfī, in his history of Jerusalem and Hebron (ʿUlaymī, *Uns*, vol. I, p. 166). The idea of natural death is also favoured by some modern Muslim thinkers, such as Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥasan al-Ḥillī, Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Aḥmad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī and Rashīd Riḍā, who have interpreted Jesus' ascension and return metaphorically, meaning a spiritual ascension or elevation to a higher status, rather than bodily ascension (see Ayoub, "Towards an Islamic Christology, II", pp. 110, 112). They do not mind ascribing natural death to Jesus, yet none of them appears to mention or argue for Jesus' resurrection and his immediate return as expressed by Ṭūfī and other medieval authors.

[161] See also Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, pp. 63, 65–66.

الذي ادّعيتموه، لأنّ البرهان قام على بطلان ذلك. وأيضاً فإنّ أسباب الموت كثيرة، والصلب لم يتعيّن سبباً.

{155} ومن ذلك حكايتهم عنه أنه قال وهو في الخشبة: "إلهي إلهي،[193] لم تركتني؟"

{156} فإنه يدلّ على أنه عبد مألوه، ويدلّ على تخليطهم في الإنجيل ومناقضتهم فيه، لأنهم زعموا أنه جاد بنفسه في إنقاذ النوع الإنسانيّ من كيد الشيطان. فكيف يبخل بنفسه الآن؟

{157} وذكر أنّ يوسف تلميذ المسيح استوهب جسد المسيح من فيلاطس الذي تولّى برجاله صلب المسيح، فوهبه له، فذهب فدفنه، ثم أنّ المسيح قام من الأموات بعد ثلاثة أيّام.

{158} قلت: إنّما دفن المصلوب الذي[194] ألقي عليه شبه عيسى لاعتقادهم أنه هو. ولو تركوه لا يدفنوه لعاد إليهم المسيح وذاك مصلوب واتّضح الحقّ، ولكن أراد الله سبحانه وقوع هذا الإبهام بين العالم. فكان دفن التلميذ للمصلوب كما قال أبو العلاء في الرافضة: "ما في العزي

[193] ش ك: الاهى الاهى. [194] ش: التى.

you allege, because decisive evidence has been furnished for the invalidity thereof [i.e. crucifixion]. Moreover, the causes of death are numerous, and crucifixion is not distinguished as a cause.

{155} Among other things, there is a report about (Christ) that he said while he was on the gibbet: 'My Lord, my Lord, why have you forsaken me?'[162]

{156} This indicates that he was a servant who worshipped God, and it also suggests that the Christians have created confusion and contradiction in the Gospel, because they also claim that he sacrificed himself in order to save the human species from the deceit of the Devil. How, then, is he reluctant to let his life go now?[163]

{157} (Matthew) also mentions that Joseph [of Arimathea], a disciple of Christ, requested the body of Christ from Pilate, who together with his men had undertaken the crucifixion of Christ. So, he gave it to (Joseph), and he went and buried him.[164] Thereafter, (he also mentions) that Christ rose from the dead after three days.[165]

{158} I say: The crucified one, whom the likeness of Jesus had been cast upon, was buried because of their conviction that he was (Christ), but had they left him without burying him, then Christ would have returned to them and there would have been another crucified person, and the truth would have thus come out. However, God, Glorified is He, intended the emergence of this ambiguity among the people. So, the disciple's burying the crucified one was like what Abū al-ʿAlāʾ [al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057)] said concerning the Rāfiḍa: 'There is no one to be blamed but Mughīra,[166] and God knows best

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[162] See Matthew 27:46.

[163] Ṭūfī has used this argument earlier. See *Taʿlīq*, §§ 26–27.

[164] See Matthew 27:57–60.

[165] See Matthew 28:6.

[166] Perhaps this is a reference to the so-called 'first Gnostic of Islam', Mughīra b. Saʿīd (d. 119/736) among the Ghulāt Rāfiḍīs. For a detailed account of his teachings, see S. Wasserstrom, "The Moving Finger Writes: Mughīra B. Saʿīd's Islamic Gnosis and the Myths of Its Rejection", *HR*, 25/1 (1985), pp. 1–29. As reported by heresiographers, Mughīra and some of his followers claimed not to die and elaborated the theory of *rajʿa*, i.e. the return of the Imām (Wasserstrom, p. 8). Maʿarrī's criticism might be related to this aspect of Mughīra's teaching, although I have not been able to find the quote in his writings (such as *Risālat al-ghufrān* and *Rasāʾil al-Maʿarrī*).

سوى المغيرة[195] والله أعلم بالسريرة". وإنّما المسيح عاد من السماء ليعهد إلى تلاميذه، فتوهّموه قد قام من القبر.

{159} فإن[196] قيل: لو كان الأمر هكذا لوجب أن تبقى جثّة المصلوب في القبر، وليس كذلك. || فدلّ على أنها كانت جثّة عيسى عادت إليها روحُه، ثمّ قام. و231

{160} قلنا: قد قيل: إنّ أصحاب عيسى سرقوا تلك الجثّة من القبر لاعتقادهم أنها جثّة عيسى، أو ليؤذوا الحَرَس الذين كانوا عليها من اليهود نكايةً[197] فيهم. فيحتمل أنهم فعلوا ذلك، وطَمُّوا الجثّة في موضع آخر. لمّا عاد المسيح وعلموا برجوعه لم يشكّوا في أنّ روحه عاد إلى تلك الجثّة لاعتقادهم أنها جثّته، وبقيت تلك مدفونةً أكلها التراب. ويحتمل أنّ اليهود سرقوا تلك الجثّة وأتّهموا[198] بها أصحاب عيسى لعلم اليهود بأنّ عيسى سيُبعَث، لأنهم كانوا يعرفون أنه رسول الله، ولكن أنكروه عناداً كما أنكروا محمّداً عليه السلام. وفعلوا ذلك خشية أن تُفقَد الجثّة وهم يعتقدونها جثّة المسيح، فيظهر للملِك أنهم تعصّبوا على صلب نبيّ، فينتقم عليهم، أو لئلاّ يظهر للناس صدق المسيح فيما أخبر من بعثه بعد موته، فيَهْرَع الناس إلى دينه وما كان عليه، واليهود ما كانوا يؤثرون ذلك. ثم إنهم دفنوا تلك الجثّة وتركوها نسياً منسياً. كلّ هذا محتمل،

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[195] ش: ما فى العرى سوى المغره؛ ك: ما فى العزى سوا المغيره. [196] ش: فلو. [197] ش: مكانه. [198] ش: وَابهموا؛ ك: واهموا.

the inner content of the heart.' Although Christ returned from heaven only to enjoin upon his disciples (what he had intended), they were under the illusion that he had risen from the grave.

{159} Then, if it is said: If the case were so, it would have been necessary for the corpse of the crucified one to have remained in the grave, but it was not so. Hence, it indicates that it was the corpse of Jesus to which his spirit had returned, and he had thereafter risen. 231a

{160} We say: It has been said that the companions of Jesus stole that corpse from the grave because of their conviction that it was the corpse of Jesus, or in order to trouble those Jewish guards who were established to guard over it, out of defiance towards them. It is possible that (the companions of Jesus) did it, and inhumed the corpse in another place. When Christ returned and they learned about his return, they had no doubt that (Christ's) spirit had returned to that corpse because of their conviction that it was his corpse, while that one remained buried, eaten by the earth. It is also possible that the Jews stole that corpse and accused the companions of Jesus of stealing it, for the Jews knew that Jesus would be resurrected, because they were aware of the fact that he was a messenger of God, although they denied him obstinately just as they denied Muḥammad, peace be upon him. Perhaps (the Jews) also did this out of fear that the corpse might be lost, being convinced that it was the corpse of Christ, and then (on Christ's return) it would become apparent to the king that they had leagued together for the crucifixion of a prophet, and so he might take revenge on them. It is also possible that (the Jews) did this lest the truthfulness of Christ regarding whatever he had related about his resurrection after his death should become apparent to the people, and the people should then hasten to his religion and to his teachings, an eventuality the Jews could not have tolerated.[167] Therefore, they buried that corpse and left it in utter oblivion. All this is possible, and the Christian affirmation stands in opposition to the

[167] Ṭūfī might be inspired by the subsequent passage in Matthew 27:62–66: 'The next day, that is, after the day of Preparation, the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered before Pilate and said, "Sir, we remember how that impostor said, while he was still alive, 'After three days I will rise.' Therefore order the tomb to be made secure until the third day, lest his disciples go and steal him away and tell the people, 'He has risen from the dead,' and the last fraud will be worse than the first." Pilate said to them, "You have a guard of soldiers. Go, make it as secure as you can." So they went and made the tomb secure by sealing the stone and setting a guard.'

وإثبات النصارى معارَض بنفي اليهود، والطائفتان عندنا كذبة متّهمون، هؤلاء في التفريط في المسيح، وهؤلاء في الإفراط فيه. والله أعلم.

{161} هذا آخر **التعليق على إنجيل متّى**.

Jewish rejection, while both groups, according to our opinion, are convicted liars, the latter for neglecting Christ and the former for exceeding the due bounds with regard to him. And God knows best.[168]

{161} This is the end of the *Critical Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*.

[168] Ṭūfī's discussion over the body of the crucified seems to indicate his familiarity with Jewish anti-Christian polemics regarding the fate of Jesus' body. As early as the second century an early Church father, Justin Martyr (ca. 100–165), writes about a Jewish claim that Jesus' body was stolen by his disciples in order to make it appear as if he had risen from the dead (Justin Martyr, "Dialogue of Justin, Philosopher and Martyr, with Trypho, a Jew", *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, eds. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, Edinburgh, 1996, vol. I, p. 253, in chapter CVIII). The same is repeated by Tertullian (ca. 160–230) who in addition reports another Jewish allegation that Jesus' body was removed by the gardener of the cemetery 'lest his lettuces should be trampled by the throng of visitors' (Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, tr. T.R. Glover, London, 1966, p. 299 in chapter XXX). Similarly, the *Tol'doth Yeshu*, a popular text among medieval Jews, writes that 'the body was taken out of the tomb by the gardener, who threw it into the garden's water-channel,' but adds that it was subsequently 'found in the garden, in the very spot where it had been thrown by the gardener' and was 'dragged through the streets tied to the tail of a horse' in order to expose the deception publicly (D. Ford and M. Higton eds., *Oxford Readers: Jesus*, New York, 2002, p. 148).

[التعليق على إنجيل مرقش][1]

{162} ولنشرع الآن في **التعليق على إنجيل مرقش**.

{163} فمن ذلك قوله في مقدّمته حكايةً عن كتاب إشعيا النبيّ: "هو ذا، أنا مرسل مَلاَكِي[2] أمام وجهك ليسهّل طريقك قدّامك. صوت صارخ في البرّيّة: اعدّوا طريق الربّ وسهّلوا سبله."

{164} قلت: المراد بالصارخ يوحنّا المعمدانيّ، كان يسكن البرّ، وطعامه الجراد وعسل البرّ، ولباسه وبر الإبل، ومنطقته من آدم على حقوبه. وكان يعمّد الناس في نهر الأردن. والمراد بالربّ الله سبحانه وتعالى[3] لا المسيح، لأنّ طرق الشرائع هي سبيل الله سبحانه وتعالى، والرسل فيها مستخدمون متعبّدون بالسعي في إقامتها. وقد سبقت الأدلّة على أنّ المسيح لا يجوز أن يكون رباً.

{165} ومن ذلك حكاية عن روح القدس لمّا جاءه كالحمامة.

{166} وقد سبقت وجه دلالتها في **التعليق على إنجيل متّى**.

{167} ومن ذلك قوله في الفصل الخامس للمخلَّع: "قد غفرتُ لك خطاياك"، حتى قال الكتبة: "ما هذا التجديف؟ من يقدر أن يغفر الخطايا إلاّ الله الواحد؟" فقال يسوع: "أيّما[4] أيسر،[5] أن يقال

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[1] ش هـ: مطلب في إنجيل مرقش؛ ك هـ: مرقش. [2] ش ك: املاكى. [3] ك – وتعالى. [4] ش: انما. [5] ش: أبشر.

[Critical Commentary on the Gospel of Mark]

{162} Let us now commence the *Critical Commentary on the Gospel of Mark*.

{163} Among other things, there is (Mark's) statement in the prologue, quoting from the Book of Isaiah, the prophet: 'Behold, I send my messenger ahead of you in order to make your way easy before you! A voice of one crying out in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord, and make His paths easy.'[1]

{164} I say: What is meant by the 'one crying out' is John the Baptist; he used to dwell in the desert, his food was locusts and wild honey, his clothes were made from camel hair, and his girdle had come down from Adam over long stretches of time. He used to baptise people in the River Jordan. And what is meant by 'the Lord' is God, Glorified and Exalted is He, not Christ, because the ways of the revealed laws are the paths of God, Glorified and Exalted is He, while the messengers are servants therein who devote their endeavour to establishing them [i.e. the revealed laws]. The proofs that Christ cannot be the Lord have already been mentioned earlier.

{165} Among other things, there is a quotation from the Holy Spirit when it came to him in the likeness of a dove.[2]

{166} What is implied by this has already been mentioned in the *Critical Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*.[3]

{167} Among other things, there is his statement in chapter five, uttered to the paralysed man:[4] 'I have indeed forgiven you your sins,' upon which the scribes said: 'What is this blasphemy! Who is able to forgive sins but the One God?' Then Jesus said: 'Which is easier, to say to the paralysed man, "I have indeed forgiven you your sins", or to say, "Arise, take up your bed and go?" 231b

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[1] Mark 1:2–3. See also Isaiah 40:3.
[2] 'You are my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased.' (Mark 1:11).
[3] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 33–34.
[4] *Mukhallaʿ* could be also translated as 'epileptic'.

للمخلّع: قد غفرتُ لك خطاياك، أو يقال: قم فاحمل سريرك واذهب؟ || لتعلموا أنّ السلطان لابن الإنسان على الأرض أن يغفر الخطايا". ثم أبرأ المخلّع، فقام يحمل سريره. ظ231

{168} قلت: حملت النصارى والكتبة حيث ظنّوا أن هذا الكلام من المسيح يقتضي إلهيّته، وليس كذلك. بل رسل الله سبحانه في الأرض يبلّغون عن الله ما يوحي به إليهم. فهم بمنزلة نوّابه في خلقه ووكلائه. يجوز أن يقول لهم: "احكموا بما رأيتم، فإنّكم لا تحكمون إلاّ حقاً"، أو أنهم إذا أخطأوا نبّههم. وأحكامهم في الأصل مستندة إلى الله سبحانه. فمن الجائز أنّ المسيح أوحي إليه في تلك الحال أنّ خطايا المخلّع قد غفرت. فأخبر بها مضيفاً إلى نفسه الفعل بناءً على أنّ حكمه حكم الله وحكم الله حكمه، أو أنه كان مأذوناً له في الإحكام بناءً على تأييده بالعصمة. فأضاف الفعل إلى نفسه، لأنه المستقلّ في الأرض بالحكم ومستنيبه في السماء.

{169} ويحتمل أنه قال ذلك بنيّة التبليغ عن الله أو مصرّحاً بالتبليغ عنه فقال: "إنّ الله يقول: قد غفرتُ لك خطاياك." فخفي لفظ "التبليغ" عنهم لكثرة الجمع أو خفاء صوت المسيح. ويحتمل أنّ لفظه "قد غفرتُ لك خطاياك" على صيغة ما لم يسمّ فاعله. بذلك أنّ لفظ إنجيل لوقا: "مغفورة لك خطاياك"، وهو على صيغة ما لم يسمّ فاعله. ثم لما كان الفاعل مجملاً متردّداً بين الله والمسيح، والكتبة شديدي العناد له يتمنّون له العثرات حتى يقتلوه بها، كما صرّح به الإنجيل حين قبضوا عليه وقالوا: "قد استغنيتم عن الشهود عليه، ها هو قد جدّف"، حملوا لفظه على أنه هو الفاعل الغافر. ووافقهم النصارى على

This is so that you may know that the Son of Man has the authority on earth to forgive sins.' Then, he healed the paralysed man, and he arose, taking up his bed.[5]

{168} I say: The Christians and the scribes are ignorant insofar as they assume that this statement of Christ necessarily requires his divinity, for this is not so. On the contrary, the messengers of God, the Glorified, on earth convey from God what He reveals unto them. Thus, they are in the position of His deputies among His creation, and His representatives. It is conceivable that He would say to them: 'Judge according to your opinion, for verily you do not judge except justly,' or when they make a mistake He would alert them to it. So, their judgements actually rely on God, Glorified is He. Consequently, it is conceivable that it was revealed to Christ at that moment that the sins of the paralysed man had been forgiven. Thus, (Christ) informed him about it, attributing the act to himself on the basis that his own judgement is the judgement of God and the judgement of God is his judgement. It is also conceivable that he was authorised to pass judgement on the basis of his being supported by infallibility. Hence, he attributed the act to himself, because he alone on earth possessed the right to judge, while He Who appointed him as a deputy is in heaven.

{169} It is also possible that (Jesus) said this with the intention of conveying information from God, or declaring that he was conveying this from Him, and therefore he said: 'God says: I have indeed forgiven you your sins.' But then the expression 'conveying' remained unknown to them, because the crowd was large or Christ's voice was low. It is also possible that his expression was: 'Your sins have indeed been forgiven you,' following a form where the doer of the act is not designated [i.e. the passive form]. This is how the expression in the Gospel of Luke is (written): 'Your sins are forgiven you,'[6] thus following a form where the doer of the act is not designated. Then, since 'the doer of the act' was ambiguous, shifting between God and Christ, and since the scribes, his fierce opponents, were hoping he would slip up, so that they might kill him for it—just as the Gospels mention explicitly when they arrested him and said: 'Indeed, you have no need for witnesses

[5] See Mark 2:5–12.
[6] Luke 5:20.

هذا الفهم لغلوّهم في المسيح واعتقادهم إلهيّته. وإنّما أراد المسيح بالفاعل الغافر الله سبحانه. لكن هذا الاحتمال يردّه قوله: "لتنظروا[6] أنّ السلطان لابن الإنسان أن يغفر الخطايا". فيبقى الاحتمالات الأخر، ومعها لا يصحّ الحكم بأنّ من صحّ أن يتولّى غَفْرَ الذنوب كان إلهاً على الإطلاق، بل شرط أن يكون مستقلاً لا حاكم فوقه. ثمّ قد ضمّن كلامه ما يزيل ابنيّته،[7] وهو قوله: "إنّ السلطان لابن الإنسان أن يغفر". فإنه نبّه بكونه ابن الإنسان على أنه ليس إلهاً ولا ابن إله، وإلاّ لا ينسب إليه. والله أعلم.

{170} ومن ذلك في الفصل السادس لمّا قال له الفريسيّون: "قد فعل أصحابك يوم السبت ما لا يحلّ"، قال لهم: "من أجل الإنسان كان السبت، ولم يخلق الإنسان لأجل السبت. وابن البشر هو ربّ السبت".

{171} قلت: قد يتوهّمون أنّ معنى قوله: "ابن البشر ربّ السبت" || أي أنه الإله الذي شرعه وأوجبه. و232
وليس كذلك، وإنّما معناه: "إنّي رسول الله صاحب شريعة مستقلّة كموسى. فمن جهتي يعلم تحريمه أو تحليله، لأنّي الواسطة بينكم وبين الله ووحيه. وأنا لم يوح إليّ تحريمه، فهو حلال لي". فمن هذه الجهة صحّ أن يقول: "أنا ربّ السبت"، لا من جهة أنه الإله الأصليّ الشارع. كيف، وهو يقول: "ابن البشر هو ربّ السبت" تنبيهًا على أن ليس مراده ما فهموه.

[6] ش: ليتظروا. [7] ك: لبسه.

against him; behold, he has indeed blasphemed'[7]—they interpreted his expression to mean that he was the doer of the act of forgiveness. The Christians agree with them upon this understanding, because of their excess regarding Christ and their belief in his divinity. However, by 'the doer of the act' of forgiveness Christ only meant God, Glorified is He. But this possibility is ruled out by his words: 'that you may perceive that the Son of Man has authority to forgive sins.' Yet the other possibilities remain, and in light of these it is not right to conclude that anyone who rightly assumes the responsibility of forgiving sins is a god in any respect, but rather it is a condition that he be independent, and that no other judge exist above him. Moreover, his speech contains that which precludes his (divine) sonship, namely, his words: 'that the Son of Man has the authority to forgive.' Thus, he indicates by the fact of his being the Son of Man, that he is neither a god nor the son of a god; otherwise it [i.e. the title 'the Son of Man'] would not have been attributed to him. And God knows best.

{170} Among other things, in chapter six (it is mentioned that) when the Pharisees told him: 'Your companions have indeed done what is not lawful on the day of Sabbath',[8] he said to them: 'For the sake of man was the Sabbath established, and man was not created for the sake of the Sabbath. And the Son of Man is the Lord of the Sabbath.'[9]

{171} I say: Perhaps they are under the illusion that the meaning of his words, 'the Son of Man is the Lord of the Sabbath,' is that he is the god who pre- 232a
scribed it and made it obligatory. However, this is not so, rather its meaning is only: 'Verily, I am a messenger of God, possessor of an autonomous revealed law (*sharīʿa*), just like Moses. Thus, it is through my agency that (the Sabbath's) unlawfulness or lawfulness is known, for I am the intermediary between you and God and His revelation. And to me its unlawfulness has not been revealed, thus it is lawful for me.' So, from this perspective it is right for him to say: 'I am the Lord of the Sabbath,' and not that he is the primal law-giving god. How could this be when he says: 'the Son of Man is the Lord of the Sabbath,' indicating that what he meant is not what they understood?

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[7] Matthew 26:65. See also Mark 14:63–64 and John 10:33.
[8] Mark 2:24.
[9] Mark 2:27–28.

{172} ومن ذلك في آخر الفصل السابع منه قال: "والذين كانت بهم عاهات وأرواح نجسة كانوا إذا رأوه سقطوا قدّامه قائلين: أنت هو ابن الله".

{173} والمراد عبد الله تجوّزاً[8] عنه بلفظ الابن بدليل ما سبق تقريره[9] في **التعليق على إنجيل متّى**.

{174} ومن ذلك في آخر الفصل الثالث عشر منه أنه لمّا أحيا[10] الصبيّة بنت رئيس الجماعة، فتعجّب الناس منه وقالوا: "من أين له هذا القوّة والحكمة؟ أليس هذا ابن النجّار ابن[11] مريم أخا[12] يعقوب ويوسا ويهوذا وشمعون؟ أليس إخوته عندنا؟" وكانوا يشكّون فيه. فقال لهم يسوع: "أليس يهان نبيّ إلاّ في بلدته وعند أنسابه وبيته؟" ولم يصنع هناك قوّةً واحدةً غير مرضى قليلين[13] أبرأهم،[14] وعجب من قلّة إيمانهم.

{175} قلت: هذا تصريح منه بأنه نبيّ، لأنّ معنى كلامه: "لا يهان نبيّ إلاّ في بلده، وأنا نبيّ قد أهنت في بلدي".

{176} فإن قيل: المسيح له جهة ناسوت هو بها نبيّ، وجهة لاهوت هو بها إله.

{177} قلنا: قد سبق جواب هذا في الكلام على إنجيل متّى. ثمّ[15] يلزمكم على هذا أن يكون الإله مركّباً أو يكون نصف إنسان، وهو باطل عند العقلاء أجمعين إلاّ المجسّمة والحلوليّة. وهم طائفة منكم أو مثلكم، لا عبرة بهم.

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[8] ك: تجوزوا. [9] ش: تقرره. [10] ش ك: احيى. [11] ش: بن. [12] ش ك: اخو. [13] ش ك: قليل. [14] ش: اثارهم.
[15] ك: لم.

{172} Among other things, at the end of chapter seven of (his Gospel Mark) says: 'As for those who had diseases and unclean spirits, whenever they saw him, they fell down before him saying: "You are the Son of God".'[10]

{173} What is meant here is the 'servant of God,' employing the expression 'son' as a metaphor for (Jesus), as determined previously in the *Critical Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*.[11]

{174} Among other things, at the end of chapter thirteen of (Mark's Gospel it is reported that) when (Jesus) resuscitated a little girl, the daughter of the community leader,[12] the people marvelled at him and said: 'From where has he this power and wisdom? Is not this the son of the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of Jacob, Joses, Judas and Simon? Are not his brothers amongst us?' They had misgivings concerning him. Then Jesus said to them: 'Is a prophet despised anywhere but in his hometown, among his own kin and in his own house?' He did no mighty work there, save the few sick people he healed, and he marvelled at the scantiness of their faith.[13]

{175} I say: This is an explicit declaration from him that he is a prophet, because the meaning of his speech is: 'A prophet is nowhere despised but in his hometown, and I am a prophet, who has indeed been despised in his hometown.'

{176} If it is said: Christ has a human nature by which he is a prophet, and a divine nature by which he is a god.

{177} We say: We have already addressed this while discussing the Gospel of Matthew.[14] Moreover, this compels you to believe that the god be composite or that he be half human, which is absurd according to all intelligent people, save the anthropomorphists and incarnationists. They are a sect from among you or like you, who deserve no attention.

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[10] Mark 3:10–11.
[11] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 36–40, 63, 81.
[12] Mark 5:38–43.
[13] Mark 6:2–6.
[14] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 37–40.

{178} ومن ذلك في الفصل الثامن عشر منه ذكر في سياق إنكار الكتبة والفريسيّين على تلاميذه أَكْلهم بدون غسل أيديهم: "لا ينجّس الإنسان ما دخل فاه ثم خرج، إنما ينجّسه ما خرج من فيه".

{179} وقد سبق الكلام عليه في إنجيل متّى.

{180} ومن ذلك في الفصل الثامن والعشرين منه ذكر سؤال الفريسيّين للمسيح عن طلاق الرجل امرأته.

{181} وقد سبق ذكره في الأربعين من إنجيل متّى. وبين الإنجيلين في هذه القصّة وغيرها تفاوت كثير في اللفظ، وهذا يدلّ على أنّ هذه الأناجيل رويت بالمعنى مع تقادم عهدها وتعريبها || من العجميّ إلى العربيّ وتداول النسّاخ والأزمنة لها. وهذا يقتضي أنها صارت ممسوخةً. وإذا كان المسلمون قد وقع بينهم خلاف عظيم لأجل رواية ستّة بينهم بالمعنى مع قرب المدّة وقصر الأمد واختلف علماؤهم في جواز الرواية بالمعنى اختلافاً شديداً حذراً من استحالة الأحكام، فما ظنّك بهذه الأناجيل مع طول مدّتها واختلاف لغاتها ورقومها؟ ظ232

{178} Among other things, in chapter eighteen of (Mark's Gospel), it is mentioned within the context of the scribes' and Pharisees' disapproval of his disciples' eating without washing their hands (that Christ said): 'It is not what enters his mouth and then comes out that defiles a man, but only what comes out of his mouth defiles him.'[15]

{179} We have already discussed this with respect to the Gospel of Matthew.[16]

{180} Among other things, in chapter twenty-eight of (Mark's Gospel), there is an account of the Pharisees asking Christ about a man divorcing his wife.[17]

{181} We have already mentioned this while commenting on chapter forty of the Gospel of Matthew.[18] With regard to this story and others, there are many verbal inconsistencies between the two Gospels, indicating that these Gospels were transmitted by meaning (rather than verbatim), in addition to the fact that they belong to the ancient past, and were translated from a 232b
foreign language into Arabic and then passed on by different copyists and at different times. Thus it is not surprising that they have become distorted. So, when great disagreement has occurred even among the Muslims due to the transmission of the Sunna among them by meaning, despite the proximity of the period and the brevity of time,[19] and when even these scholars strongly disagreed regarding the permissibility of transmission by meaning out of concern that the rulings might change, what then is one to think of these Gospels, in light of the remoteness of the period [in which they were written] and the divergences of their languages and editions?[20]

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[15] See Mark 7:15.

[16] See Matthew 15:11; Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 82–91.

[17] See Mark 10:2–9.

[18] See Matthew 19:3–9; Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 104–108.

[19] In general Ṭūfī seems to be concerned about the presence of disagreement within religion. He writes that if someone from the *ahl al-dhimma* were drawn towards Islam, deep disagreement and difference of opinion in religious matters may still deter him from embracing Islam, for conflict is disliked by human nature (see Ṭūfī, *Risāla fī riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa*, ed. A. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Sāyiḥ, Cairo, 1993, p. 39).

[20] In his apology (*Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 328), Ṭūfī further says that the *ahl al-kitāb* rely on 'writing' (*khaṭṭ*) rather than 'memory' (*ḥifẓ*), and on the transmission of the 'meaning' (*maʿnā*) rather than the 'word' (*lafẓ*). By juxtaposing the Christian scripture and the corpus of the Sunna in Muslim tradition, Ṭūfī shares similar views to Ibn Taymiyya, who also regards the Gospels to be of the same status as the *ḥadīth* collections. They transmit parts of Christ's speech and his deeds in a similar fashion to the works of the *ḥadīth* collectors, the biographers, and the narrators of the Prophet's campaigns (Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's*

{182} ومن ذلك في الفصل التاسع والعشرين لمّا قال لرجل: "بع كلّ ما[16] لك وأعطه للمساكين واكنِزْه[17] في السماء"، فصعب على الرجل، فقال له بطرس: "ها نحن قد تركنا كلّ شيء وتبعناك". فقال يسوع: "الحقّ أقول لكم إنه ليس أحد ترك بيوتاً أو إخوةً أو أخواتٍ أو أباً أو أماً أو امرأةً أو بنين أو حقلاً لأجلي ولأجل بشارتي إلاّ وهو يأخذ مائة ضعف الآن في هذا الزمان منازل وإخوة وأخوات وأب وأمّ وبنين في الشدائد وفي الدهر الآتي[18] الحياة المؤبّدة. أوّلون كثيرون[19] يكونون[20] آخرين، وآخرون أوّلين".

{183} قلت: قد أخبر المسيح هاهنا بأنّ من ترك شيئاً من متاع الدنيا لأجله يعطى أضعافه في الآخرة. وهذا يناقض ما حكوا عنه في إنجيل متّى وفي الثامن والثلاثين من هذا الإنجيل في سبعة[21] إخوة الذين تزوّجوا امرأةً واحدةً تترى حيث قال لهم: "لا نكاح في الآخرة، بل يكونون كالملائكة". فأحد الكلامين باطل عنه قطعاً، ومختلق عليه جزماً، إمّا هذا وإمّا ذاك. وأياً ما كان،[22] فإنه يسقط الوثوق بهذه الأناجيل لوقوع الكذب عليه فيها. وأيضاً فإنّ بعض النصارى قدح في صدق محمّد عليه السلام بإخباره بالنكاح في الجنّة. وهذا يردّ عليه، لأنّ هذا نصّ المسيح في الإنجيل أنّ من ترك زوجه لأجله أخذ أضعافها في الحياة الدائمة.

{184} ومن ذلك في الفصل الثاني والثلاثين لمّا قربوا من يروشليم أرسل اثنين من تلاميذه ليأتياه بحمار يركبه، وقال:[23] "قولا إنّ الربّ يحتاج إليه".

[16] ش ك: كلما. [17] ش: واكثره. [18] ش ك + في. [19] ش ك: كثير. [20] ش: يكونو. [21] ك: السبعة. [22] ك – وأيا ما كان. [23] ك: فقال.

Response, p. 235). What is more, they also bear a resemblance to the *ḥadīth* collections, in that although they contain true statements of the Prophet, some of these *ḥadīths* are in fact weak and inaccurate reports (ibid., p. 229). In both their genre and the means of transmission, the Gospels are seen as parallel to the Sunna, the second source of textual authority for Muslims, but not to the Qur'an, the divine word.

{182} Among other things, in chapter twenty-nine (it is mentioned that) when (Jesus) said to a man: 'Sell everything you have and give it to the poor, thus you shall treasure it in heaven,' this was hard on the man,[21] then Peter said to (Jesus): 'Look, we have left everything behind, and have followed you.' And Jesus said to him: 'Truly I say to you that there is no one who has left houses, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or fields, for my sake and for the sake of my glad tidings,[22] but he shall receive a hundredfold now in this time of hardship: houses, brothers, sisters, father, mother and children, and in the age to come he shall receive eternal life. Many that are first shall be last, and the last first.'[23]

{183} I say: Christ has declared here that whoever leaves anything from the commodities of this world for his sake will be given it manifold in the Hereafter. But this contradicts that which they narrate about him in the Gospel of Matthew[24] and in (chapter) thirty-eight of this Gospel[25] regarding the seven brothers who married the same woman one after another, when he said to them: 'There is no marriage in the Hereafter; rather they shall be like the angels.' Therefore, one of the two statements from him is definitely false and an absolute fabrication about him, either this one or that. But whichever it is, confidence in these Gospels has been lost, because a lie about (Christ) has occurred therein. Moreover, a certain Christian has impugned the truthfulness of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, regarding the information he gave about marriage in Paradise. Yet this present case refutes him, because this is a literal quotation from Christ in the Gospel stating that whoever leaves his wife for his sake will receive many like her in the everlasting life.

{184} Among other things, in chapter thirty-two, (it is mentioned that) when (Jesus and his companions) approached Jerusalem, he sent two of his disciples in order to bring him a donkey to ride and said: 'Say that the lord needs it'.[26]

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[21] See Mark 10:21–22.
[22] Or 'my Gospel'.
[23] Mark 10:28–31.
[24] See Matthew 22:23–30.
[25] See Mark 12:18–25.
[26] Mark 11:1–3.

{185} ومعنى ذلك: "إنّ السيّد يحتاج إليه"، لأنهم كانوا يسمّون السيّد رباً. وتقديره أنّ السيّد مأخوذ من السودد والسيادة وهي الرياسة، والربّ هو المربّي، ولا شكّ أنّ رئيس القوم يربّيهم وينظر في مصالحهم كتربية المربّي لمن يربّيه. ويدلّ على ذلك قولهم في أثناء هذه القصّة: "مبارك[24] الآتي باسم الربّ"، يعني المسيح، هو الآتي باسم الله وليس للعالم إلاّ ربّ واحد. فتعيّن || أنّ الربّ إذا 233و يسمّى به المسيح فمعناه السيّد، وإذا سمّي به الله سبحانه فهو الإله.

{186} ومن ذلك في التاسع والثلاثين لمّا سأله الكاتب أن يوصّيه، فقال له: "أوّل الوصايا: اسمع يا إسرائيل! الربّ إلهنا،[25] الربّ واحد هو."

{187} فانظروا إلى المسيح صلوات الله عليه كيف أتى في هذا الكلام بالتوحيد الذي لا لبس فيه ولا غبرة عليه. فإنه أخبر بأنّ إلهه[26] وإله غيره واحد. هو أخبر بوحدانيّته وبأنه غير له، لأنه أضافه إليه، والإضافة توجب تغاير المضاف والمضاف إليه. وهذا منافٍ لرأي النصارى، لأنّ من يقول: "المسيح هو الله" فمنافاته له ظاهرة. ومن يقول: "هو ابنه" يقول هو أقنوم لذاته جوهراً أو صفةً، على ما سبق تقريره في أوائل هذا **التعليق**، بناءً على قولهم في الثالوث. فقد بان بهذا النصّ الثابت عندهم الصحيح أنهم ليسوا على دين المسيح، وأنّ المسلمين أحقّ برأي عيسى صلوات الله عليه ودينه وما أتى به من أصول الشريعة منهم.[27] فللّه الحمد على ذلك دائماً.

[24] ش: منازل. [25] ش ك: الاهنا. [26] ش ك: الاهه. [27] ش: بينهم.

{185} This means: 'the master needs it', because they used to refer to a 'master' by the name 'lord'. Its implication is that the word 'master' is derived from 'chiefdom' and 'mastery', which means 'leadership', while the word 'lord' signifies 'educator', however, there is no doubt that the leader of the people educates them and looks after their interests just as an educator educates those whom he educates. This is indicated by their words in the course of this account: 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord',[27] meaning Christ, for he is the one who comes in the name of God, and the world has but one Lord. Thus, it becomes clear that whenever Christ is 233a
named 'lord', then its meaning is 'master', while whenever God, the Glorified, is named by it, then it means 'deity'.

{186} Among other things, in chapter thirty-nine, (it is mentioned that) when the scribe asked (Christ) to advise him, (Christ) answered him: 'The first of the commandments is: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord is our God, the Lord is one indeed".'[28]

{187} Look how Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him, presents in this statement a confirmation of the unity of God without any ambiguity or fault. Thus, he declares that his God and the God of others is one. (Christ) declares (God's) oneness and that he himself is other than (God), because he connected (the noun 'God') to himself in the genitive construction (evidenced in his saying 'our God'), and a genitive construction necessitates the differentiation between the governing noun (*muḍāf*) and the governed noun (*muḍāf ilayh*). This is incompatible with the Christian view, because if one claims that 'Christ is God', the incompatibility of his statement with (Christ's statement) is manifest. And whoever claims that 'he is (God's) son', also claims that he is a hypostasis of (God's) essence by substance or by attribute, as has been established previously in the first parts of this *Critical Commentary*, based on their views regarding the Trinity.[29] Thus, it has become evident through this scriptural text, which is confirmed among them and regarded as authentic, that they are not following Christ's religion and that the Muslims have a better claim to the view of Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him, his religion and whatever he has brought from the principles of the revealed religion than (the Christians). And praise be to God for this forever.

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[27] Mark 11:9.
[28] See Deuteronomy 6:4 and Mark 12:28–29.
[29] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 8–11.

{188} ومن ذلك في الفصل الرابع والأربعين ذكر أنّ المسيح كان في بيت عنيا[28] في بيت شمعان الأبرص متّكئاً، فجاءت امرأة معها طيب كثير الثمن، فطيّبت[29] به المسيح. فأنكر عليها التلاميذ وقالوا: "لو بِيعَ وتُصدّق به على المساكين لكان أولى". فقال المسيح: "دعوها! نعمّا فعلت! المساكين عندكم في كلّ حين، وأنا لست عندكم في كلّ حين. وإنها[30] طيّبت[31] جسدي لدفني. الحقّ أقول لكم إنّ كلّ مكان يُكرَز[32] فيه بهذا[33] الإنجيل في جميع العالم يُنطق بما صنعت هذه تذكرةً[34] لها".

{189} قلت: فقوله "هذا الإنجيل" إشارة إلى ماذا؟ إن كان إشارة إلى إنجيل كان موجوداً في حياة المسيح فذاك لا يعرف بين النصارى، ولا يعرف بينهم إلاّ هذه الأناجيل الأربعة. وحينئذ نقول لهم: هاتوا هذا الإنجيل[35] المشار إليه لنوافقكم عليه، فإنّ الحقّ فيه. وأمّا هذه الأناجيل فهي مبدّلة محرّفة تارةً من جهة العناد والتعصّب، وتارة من جهة الرواية بالمعنى، وتارة من جهة نقلها من لغة إلى لغة، وتارة من فساد تأويلكم لها. وإن كان إشارة إلى هذه الأناجيل فهذه لم تكن موجودةً على عهد المسيح، بل أوّل إنجيل صنّف كان بعد صعود المسيح بثمان سنين، وآخرها صنّف بعده نحو إلى ثلاثين سنة.

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[28] ش ك: في بيت عينا. [29] ش: فطيب. [30] ك: انما. [31] ش ك: طيب. [32] ش: تكرز. [33] ش ك: هذا. [34] ش ك: بذكره. [35] ش هـ: مطلب في بيان تصنيف الأناجيل.

{188} Among other things, in chapter forty-four, it is mentioned that Christ was in Bethany in the house of Simon the leper reclining, and a woman with an expensive perfume came and perfumed Christ with it. The disciples scolded her, saying: 'Had it been sold and the money given to the needy, it would have been more appropriate'. Then Christ said: 'Leave her alone! How well she has done! The needy are among you all the time, but I am not among you all the time. She has perfumed my body for my burial. Truly I tell you, wherever this Gospel is preached in the whole world, what this woman has done shall be spoken of, in memory of her.'[30]

{189} I say: What does his statement, 'this Gospel,' allude to? If it is an allusion to a Gospel which existed in the lifetime of Christ, then that is not acknowledged among the Christians, for nothing is acknowledged by them but these four Gospels. In that case, we say to them: Give us this Gospel that is alluded to (in this verse), so that we may agree with you upon it, for the truth is in it. As for these Gospels (we observe today), they have been changed and altered at times through wilfulness and fanaticism, at times by way of transmission by meaning, at other times by translation from one language to another, and yet at other times by your corrupt interpretation of them.[31] Yet if it is an allusion to these Gospels, then they did not exist during the time of Christ, but rather, the first Gospel was compiled eighty years after the ascension of Christ and the last of them was compiled about thirty years

[30] See Mark 14:3–9.

[31] In his later work Ṭūfī differentiates between, as he calls it, *taḥrīf tabdīl* (textual alteration) and *taḥrīf taʾwīl* (erroneous interpretation). He underlines that there are two different opinions among the Muslim scholars, some of whom take *taḥrīf* to mean 'textual alteration', whilst others refer to 'misinterpretation'. In the secondary literature, very often Ibn Ḥazm is presented as the champion of the former and Ghazzālī of the latter, although both approaches already existed and developed simultaneously from the very beginning of Muslim-Christian theological encounters. Yet earlier Muslim polemicists tackled this question and put emphasis either on the former position or the latter. Ṭūfī nevertheless prefers a synthesis of the two, holding some parts of the text as subject to alteration and yet regarding others as a result of incorrect interpretation (Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. I, p. 278; vol. II, p. 107). Thus, he differentiates between taking 'words out of their context' (*ʿan mawāḍiʿih*) (Q 5:13) and changing 'words from their places' (*min baʿḍ mawāḍiʿih*) (Q 5:41), the former referring to *taḥrīf taʾwīl* and the latter to *taḥrīf tabdīl* (ibid., vol. II, p. 108). In this subtle categorisation, he seems to follow a similar approach to that of his teacher Ibn Taymiyya who, relying on the Qur'anic verses 4:46 and 3:78, also held that alteration (*taḥrīf*) meant two separate things: 'tampering with revelation and distorting through false interpretation,' namely, *taḥrīf al-lafẓ* and *taḥrīf al-maʿnā* (see Memon, *Ibn Taimīya's Struggle*, p. 95; and for a detailed analysis of Ibn Taymiyya's assessment of *taḥrīf*, see Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, pp. 112–120).

فأين كانت عند المسيح حتى يشير إليها؟ فإذا تأمّلت هذا || البحث علمت أنّ لفظة "هذا" في هذا ظ233
الكلام منحولة على المسيح زادها بعض المتعصّبين الجاهلين منهم، حمله تعصّبه[36] على زيادتها لتوهّم أنّ الأناجيل ثابتة بنصّ المسيح، ومنعه جهله من إدراك ظهور خيانته وكذبه لمن بعده. وإذا ثبت أنها منحولة لا أصل لها سقط الوثوق بهذه الأناجيل لجواز أنها أو أكثرها منحول مختلق.

{190} فإن قيل: ليست هذه اللفظة منحولة ولا مختلقة على المسيح، بل هي من كلامه وإشارته بها إلى نفس الكلام الذي هي فيه من قصّة المرأة المذكورة. وسمّي ذلك الكلام وإن قلّ إنجيلاً لأنه بعض الإنجيل إطلاقاً لاسم الكلّ على البعض مجازاً، كما تسمّون أنتم بعض القرآن قرآناً.

[36] ش: بعضه.

after that one.[32] So where did Christ have them such that he could allude to them? In sum, if you reflect upon this discussion, you will realise that the 233b
expression 'this' in this statement is falsely attributed to Christ, having been inserted by some fanatic ignoramus from among (the Christians), whose fanaticism induced him to insert it under the illusion that the Gospels were established by Christ's direct words, while his ignorance prevented him from perceiving his obvious betrayal and deceit towards those after him. Therefore, once it is proven that this is a false attribution without any basis, confidence in these Gospels is lost, due to the possibility that they may be in their entirety or for the greater part a false attribution (to Christ) and a fabrication.[33]

{190} If it is said: This expression is neither a false attribution to, nor a fabrication about Christ, but rather, it is from his words and by it he alludes to the very statement which contains the story of the above-mentioned woman. Despite its brevity this statement is called by the name 'Gospel,' for it is part of the Gospel, in that one applies the name of the whole to part of it metaphorically, just as you call parts of the Qur'an by the name 'Qur'an'.

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[32] See also Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 66. This appears to be an approximate date supported by many Muslim authors. For instance, according to Dimashqī, the time gap between Jesus and the evangelists was 'a hundred years and more,' and between Jesus and Paul 'about a hundred and fifty years' (Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic*, pp. 394, 396, 402).

[33] The process of religious corruption in Christianity is a continuous theme in Ṭūfī's thought. Throughout his work he intends to establish a link between the deformation of Christ's true message in the formative period of Christianity and the subsequent developments in Church history. This conforms to other Muslim sources in which anti-Pauline accounts form only the first stage of a long history of aberration and alteration. In the writings of Qarāfī (*Ajwiba*, pp. 327–328), Dimashqī (Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic*, pp. 172, 182, 184, 210, 212, 266, 288, 428, 432) and before them those of ʿAbd al-Jabbār, Christian deviation is portrayed as a gradual process (a translation of ʿAbd al-Jabbār's relevant text is found in S.M. Stern's "'Abd al-Jabbār's Account of how Christ's Religion was Falsified by the Adoption of Roman Customs", *JTS*, 19 (1968), pp. 134, 134–145; on ʿAbd al-Jabbār's narratives on Paul, Constantine and early developments in Christianity, see G.S. Reynolds, *A Muslim Theologian in the Sectarian Milieu: ʿAbd al-Jabbār and the Critique of Christian Origins*, Leiden, 2004, pp. 163–174). According to these authors, Christ's religion was not altered all at once, but gradually in stages. Differences of opinion about Christ first appeared among Jesus' early followers, because of Paul's deceitful activities. This was followed by the emergence of several diverse Gospels, the whole process reaching its apogee when Constantine forcefully imposed his corrupt understanding of Christianity upon his subjects and established the Christian creed in the Council of Nicea, they conclude. Ṭūfī does not refer to these details. Nevertheless, he maintains that the Christian faith was deformed and its scriptures were corrupted throughout history.

{191} قلت: هذا لا يصحّ، لأنّ الإنجيل عندكم هو قُبالة المصحف عندنا. وهما من الأسماء المركّبة التي لا تُطلَق[37] على جزءها اسم كلّها، كاليد والرجل والرأس والظهر ونحوها من الأعضاء المركّبة. فلا يقال لبعض الإنجيل إنجيل، ولا لبعض المصحف مصحف، كما لا يقال لبعض اليد يد، ولا لبعض الرأس رأس. وأمّا القرآن، فهو باعتبار اشتقاقه في لغة العرب من الأسماء البسيطة التي تطلق[38] على جزءها اسم كلّها، كالشحم واللحم والعظم والعِرْق والعَصَب، لأنّ اشتقاق القرآن من القرء وهو الجمع، لأنه جمع الكلام أو القصص والأحكام. فكلّ ما[39] كان جامعاً بشيء من ذلك كان قرآناً وإن كان جزءاً يسيراً منه. فلهذا قيل لبعض القرآن قرآن، كما قيل لبعض الشحم شحم، ولبعض اللحم لحم، ولبعض الماء ماء، ونحو ذلك.

{192} فإن قيل: بل الإنجيل هو نظير القرآن عندكم وبذلك نزل كتابكم حيث قال فيه في غير موضع: ﴿وَأَنْزَلَ التَّوْرَاةَ وَالإِنْجِيلَ مِنْ قَبْلُ هُدىً للنَّاسِ وَأَنْزَلَ الْفُرْقَانَ﴾، وفي موضع آخر: ﴿وَعْدًا عَلَيْهِ حَقاً فِي التَّوْرَاةِ وَالإِنْجِيلِ[40] وَالْقُرْآنِ﴾. وإذا كان الإنجيل قبالة القرآن لا المصحف جاز أن يطلق على بعضه اسم كلّه كالقرآن. وحينئذ يصحّ أن يكون هذا من المسيح إشارةً إلى كلامه ذلك بعينه سمّاه إنجيلاً وإن كان بعض الإنجيل.

{193} قلت: هذا وهم وغلط،[41] لأنّ الإنجيل الذي نثبته نحن قريناً[42] للقرآن عندنا ليس هذا الذي بأيديكم، بل كتاب أنزل على عيسى كالتوراة على موسى، وذلك ليس موجوداً عندكم. وإن

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[37] ش ك: تصدق. [38] ش ك: تصدق. [39] ش ك: فكلما. [40] ش – من قبل هدى للناس وانزل الفرقان وفي موضع آخر وعدا عليه حقا في التوراة والإنجيل. [41] ش هـ: قوله "قلت هذا وهم وغلط"، أقول: لا شكّ أن المصاحف عندنا أربعة: مصحف عثمان، ومصحف حفصة، ومصحف مسعود، ومصحف أبيّ. وإن التوراة ثلاثة نسخة عند النصارى أي نسخة الحكماء [...] السبعين ونسخة عند اليهود ونسخة عند السامرة. وإنّ الإنجيل أربعة: إنجيل متّى وإنجيل مرقش وإنجيل لوقا وإنجيل يوحنّا. ولا شكّ أنّ التحريف وقع في التوراة والإنجيل كما أخبر الله تعالى عنه في القرآن. ولا شكّ أنّ التوراة المنقسمة إلى ثلاثة هي التي أنزلت على موسى، وكذا الإنجيل المنقسم إلى أربعة هو الذي أنزل على عيسى. هذا هو الإنصاف. ولي الدين. [42] ش: قريبا.

{191} I say: This is incorrect, for the Gospel you possess is the counterpart of the *Muṣḥaf* we possess.[34] And they both belong to the class of complex nouns in which the name of its whole cannot be applied to part of it, such as the nouns 'hand', 'leg', 'head', 'back' and similar complex organs. Thus, part of the Gospel cannot be called 'Gospel', neither can part of the *Muṣḥaf* be called '*Muṣḥaf*', just like part of a hand cannot be called 'hand', or part of the head cannot be called 'head'. As for the Qur'an, with respect to its derivation in the Arabic language, it belongs to the [class of] simple nouns in which the name of its whole can be applied to part of it, such as [the nouns] 'fat', 'meat', 'bone', 'vein' and 'nerve', because the Qur'an is derived from the root *qar'* (qāf-rā'-hamza) which means 'to bring together', since it is a collection of statements, stories and rulings. So, whenever someone brings anything of these together, it is a 'Qur'an', even if it is a small portion of it. Therefore, a part of the Qur'an is called Qur'an, just as part of the fat is called fat, part of the meat is called meat, part of water is called water, and the like.

{192} If it is said: Rather, the Gospel is the equivalent of the Qur'an you possess, and by that name your scripture was brought down, as it says in it in a number of places: 'And He has sent down the Torah and the Gospel aforetime, as a guidance for mankind. And He has sent down the Criterion (*Furqān*)',[35] and in another place: 'A promise which is binding on Him in the Torah and the Gospel and the Qur'an.'[36] And since the Gospel is the counterpart of the Qur'an, not of the *Muṣḥaf*, it is permitted that the name of the whole be applied to part of it, as in the case of the Qur'an. In that case, it is correct that the expression 'this' originates from Christ as an allusion to that very statement of his which he called a 'Gospel', even if it is part of the Gospel.

{193} I say: This is delusion and error, because the Gospel we acknowledge to be associated with the Qur'an we possess is not this one which is in your hands, but rather it is a scripture sent down to Jesus, just as the Torah was sent down to Moses, and that one is not in your possession. But if you bring that one to us, we will agree with you upon it, for we know that it

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[34] *Muṣḥaf* (pl. *maṣāḥif*) literally signifies a volume bound between two covers. As a term it is generally used in reference to a copy of the Qur'ān.

[35] Q 3:3–4.

[36] Q 9:111.

جئتمونا به وافقناكم عليه، لأنّا نعلم أنه لا يخالف ما عندنا، لأنّ الجميع حقّ من عند الله. وأمّا هذا الإنجيل الذي بأيديكم، فهو كما ترونه، لم ينزل على المسيح، وإنّما صنّف بعده على هيئة التاريخ لمولد المسيح وصعوده وسيرة له. || فالذي نعترف نحن به لا تجدونه أنتم حتى تسمّونه بسيطاً ولا مركّباً، والذي تجدونه لا نسلّم لكم بساطته. فلا سبيل لكم إذن إلى إثبات دعواكم. و234

{194} فإن قيل: الإنجيل هو كلام المسيح الذي كان يقوله لتلاميذه وللناس غيرهم، وهو في ضمن هذه الأناجيل الأربعة. وحينئذ يجوز أنه علم أنّ كلامه سيدوّن[43] بعده مضموناً إليه شرح سيرته وتاريخ مولده وصلبه وأنه يسمّى إنجيلاً. فوقعت الإشارة بقوله "هذا" إلى مجموع كلامه الذي علم أنه سيدوّن[44] ويسمّى إنجيلاً، وتلك إشارة صحيحة.

{195} قلت: هذا أصلح من سؤالكم الأوّل مع أنه لا ينفعكم.

{196} أمّا **أولاً** فلأنّ قولكم: "إنّ الإنجيل هو كلام المسيح" بناءً على رأيكم من أنّ المسيح هو الله فهو المتكلّم الموحي إلى جميع الأنبياء، أو[45] أنه ابن الله فهو يتصرّف في ملك أبيه باطّلاعه على أسرار لاهوته، لأنه هو وأبوه وروح القدس جميعاً إله واحد كما أنتم مصرّحون به. ونحن قد أبطلنا ذلك ومنعناكموه، ومع منع الأصل لا يثبت الفرع.

{197} وأمّا **ثانياً** فإنّ قولكم: "علم أنّ كلامه سيدوّن[46] فإشارة إليه" بناءً أيضاً على أنّ المسيح إله، أو ابن الإله وأنه يعلم الغيب، لا يخفى عليه شيء ممّا كان أو يكون. وهذا أيضاً ممنوع عندنا؛ بل إنّما نعتقده عبد الله ورسوله لا يعلم من الغيب إلاّ ما اطلعه الله عليه، كما قال في القرآن المقدّس: ﴿عَالِمُ

[43] ش: سيبدون. [44] ش: سيبدون. [45] ش: و. [46] ش: سيبدون.

does not disagree with what we possess, because all of them contain the truth from God. As for this Gospel which is in your hands, and which is as you see, it was not sent down to Christ, but rather it was compiled only after him in the mode of a historical account about the birth of Christ and his ascension and as a biography of him. However, (the Gospel) we *do* 234a
recognise, you cannot find extant, so that you may call it 'simple' rather than 'complex', while the one you do find in your hands, *we* do not concede to you its simple character. Consequently, there is no way for you to prove your allegation.

{194} If it is said: The Gospel is the very speech of Christ which he used to utter to his disciples and other people and it is contained within these four Gospels. In this case, it is conceivable that he knew that his speech would be put into writing after him, to which would be added an explanation of his conduct and a historical account of his birth and crucifixion, and that it would be called a 'Gospel'. Thus, the allusion in his word 'this' refers to the totality of his speech which he knew would be put into writing and which would be called a 'Gospel', and that is a valid allusion.

{195} I say: This is sounder than your first objection, despite the fact that it does not give you any benefit.

{196} **Firstly**, this is so because your statement, 'the Gospel is the very speech of Christ,' is in accordance with your opinion that Christ is God Himself, hence he is the one who speaks and sends revelation to all the prophets; or that he is the Son of God and therefore he acts freely over the dominion of his Father by being acquainted with the secrets of His divinity, because he, his Father and the Holy Spirit are all together one god, as you openly declare. However, we have already proved this to be invalid and have rejected it, and if the root is rejected, the branch cannot endure.

{197} **Secondly**, your statement, 'he knew that his speech would be put into writing, hence this is an allusion to it', is also in accordance with (your opinion) that Christ is a god or the Son of God and that he knows the Unseen, therefore nothing of what has happened or will happen is hidden to him. However, we also reject this; rather, we believe he is only a servant of God and His messenger who does not know anything of the Unseen except what God has informed him about, as He says in the Holy Qur'an: '(God is) the Knower of the Unseen, and He does not disclose

الْغَيْبِ فَلاَ يُظْهِرُ عَلَى غَيْبِهِ أَحَداً إِلاَّ مَنِ ارْتَضَى مِنْ رَسُولٍ﴾، وقوله: ﴿وَلاَ يُحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلاَّ بِمَا شَاءَ﴾.

{198} وأمّا **ثالثاً** فإنّا بتقدير أن نسلّم لكم أنّ الإنجيل هو كلام عيسى، لكن قد رأيتم ما خالطه من كلام الإنجيليّين مع اختلاف عباراته، وما قد أريناكم من الدخل والتناقض فيه عند من ينصف منكم ومن غيركم ولا يتعصّب.[47] وما هذا شأنه لا يبقى به وثوق بحيث يبنى عليه فروع شريعة فضلاً عن أن يبنى عليه أصول شريعة، يقتتل الناس عليها بالسيوف نحو ألف سنة. فعلى هذا التقدير نبقى متشككين[48] في لفظة "هذا" المذكورة. لا يعلم هل هي من كلام المسيح أو منحولة عليه. وكفى بالشكّ ضلالاً.

{199} ومن ذلك قوله في الفصل الثامن والأربعين وهو الآخر منه: "ومن بعد ما كلّمهم الربّ يسوع ارتفع إلى السماء وجلس عن يمين الله."

[47] ش: ولا نتعصب. [48] ش ك: مشككين.

His secret to anyone save a messenger He has chosen,'[37] as well as His words: 'while they encompass nothing of His knowledge save what He wills.'[38]

{198} **Thirdly**, supposing that we concede to you that the Gospel is the very speech of Jesus, still you see that the speech of the Evangelists has become mingled with it, as observed from the divergences between its many expressions and the corruption and contradiction therein which we have shown to you and which is evident to the eyes of every honest person who is not a fanatic among you and others.[39] And if something has this character, one cannot place confidence in it to the degree that the *subsidiary* (precepts) of a divine religion could be built upon it, let alone the *principal* (teachings) of a divine religion, over which people have been fighting each other with swords for almost a thousand years. It is despite this supposition [i.e. the acceptance of the Gospel as the very speech of Jesus] that we remain sceptical with regard to the aforementioned expression, 'this'. It cannot be known whether it is the speech of Christ or falsely attributed to him. And doubt is enough of an error.

{199} Among other things, there is (Mark's) statement in chapter forty-eight, which is the last chapter of (this Gospel): 'And after the Lord Jesus had spoken to them, he ascended to heaven and sat at God's right side.'[40]

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[37] Q 72:26–27.

[38] Q 2:255.

[39] Ṭūfī's main goal is to underline that, as a product of human endeavour, i.e. being neither the word of God nor Christ, the canonical Gospels are not infallible (*maʿṣūm*). In fact, the contradictions (*tanāquḍ*) and inconsistencies (*tahāfut*) between the Gospels prove the lack of textual purity (Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, pp. 67–68). In his criticism of the Christian scripture Ṭūfī refers to the contradictory remarks within the Gospels, one of the favoured strategies adopted by many Muslim polemicists. Some authors even wrote specific works covering contradictions within the Christian scriptures. For instance, ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbdallāh al-Juwaynī's (d. 478/1085) *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fī bayān mā waqaʿa fī al-Tawrāt wa-al-Injīl min al-tabdīl* is one of them (the work was critically edited and translated into French by M. Allard in *Textes Apologétiques de Ğuwainī*, Beirut, 1968, pp. 38–83). Ibn Ḥazm (*Faṣl*, vol. II, pp. 27–200), Jaʿfarī (Masʿūdī, *Disputatio*, pp. 43–71), Qarāfī (*Ajwiba*, pp. 110–121) and Būṣīrī (*Makhraj*, pp. 198–201) also list various examples of contradictory reports and statements found in the Gospels.

[40] Mark 16:19.

{200} قلت: فهذا يقتضي أنهما اثنان. فأين قولهم: "الأب والابن وروح القدس إله واحد"؟ هذا مناقض ومحال.

{201} ومن الاختلاف في الأناجيل || قصّة إنكار بطرس للمسيح قبل أن يصيح الديك. فإنّ في ظ234
إنجيل متّى ولوقا ويوحنّا: "إنّك ستنكرني[49] قبل أن يصيح الديك ثلاث مرّات"، وحكوا الأمر كذلك. وفي إنجيل مرقش: "ستنكرني[50] قبل أن يصيح الديك مرّتين ثلاث مرّات"، وحكى الأمر كذلك. وهذه قصّة واحدة والجمع بين لفظيها اللذين رويت بهما غير ممكن. وبدون هذا يسقط الوثوق بالكتاب. وأين هذا من القرآن الذي على وجه الأرض! له ألوف من الحفّاظ وبه ألوف من النسخ. لا يختلف الجميع في حرف واحد منه. ولو لم يكن على صحّة دين الإسلام دليل إلاّ هذا لكفاه. ويحكى أنّ هُلاوُو ملك التتار لمّا ظهر على أرض المسلمين من العراق والعجم أحبّ النظر في الأديان على جهة الترجيح بالامتحان. فسلك إلى ذلك طريقين جيّدتين دلّتا على ذكائه وجودة فطنته.[51]

[49] ش: ستذكرني. [50] ش: ستذكرني. [51] ش ك: فطرته.

{200} I say: Consequently, this requires that they are two. But how different is their statement: 'The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one God'? This is inconsistent and inconceivable.

{201} One of the discrepancies found in the Gospels is the story of Peter's denial of Christ before the crowing of the cock. In the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John it is: 'You will deny me three times before the cock crows',[41] and they narrated the event thus. However, in the Gospel of Mark it is: 'You will deny me three times before the cock crows twice',[42] and he narrated the event thus. Now, this is the same story, yet to reconcile the two wordings in which it was reported is impossible. So, without this, confidence in the scripture is lost. How different this is from the Qur'an that exists on the face of this earth! It has thousands of memorisers and it exists in thousands of copies. None of them differs from another, even by one single letter. If there were no other proof for the authenticity of the religion of Islam, this would suffice for it.[43] Further, it is narrated that when Hülegü [ruled 1256–1265], king of the Tatars,[44] conquered the Muslim lands of Iraq and Persia, he wished to examine the (local) religions by way of determining which one was preferable by a test. He proceeded to do that in two excellent ways that demonstrated his acumen and the eminence of his sagacity.[45] 234b

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[41] Matthew 26:34; Luke 22:34; John 13:38.

[42] Mark 14:30.

[43] Ṭūfī's reasoning is straightforward: the existence of contradictions in the Gospel illustrates its lack of authenticity; and the failure to preserve the original form of the scripture results in religious deviation. In his opinion, scriptural uniformity indicates the truthfulness of religion and *vice versa*. Only Islam deserves to be regarded as the true religion, for only the Qur'an reaches such a standard—not even a single letter differs among thousands of copies—whilst Christianity with its altered scripture falls short.

[44] Mongol emperor and grandson of Genghis Khan. On Hülegü's life and reign, see Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Ḵẖāns", pp. 340–355. He is well-known for his benevolence towards Christians, although he was an adherent of Shamanism who later converted to Buddhism. His special respect towards Christianity is largely attributed to his wife, Doquz Hatun's influence, who was a Nestorian Christian. During the sack of Baghdad, for instance, the Christians were spared from massacre (Niewöhner, *Veritas sive Varietas*, p. 222; Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Ḵẖāns", pp. 348, 354–355).

[45] In its structure this story resembles the literary form of Christian apologetics in Arabic which is referred to by S.H. Griffith as 'the monk in the emir's *majlis*' (S.F. Griffith, "The Monk in the Emir's *Majlis*: Reflections on a Popular Genre of Christian Literary Apologetics in Arabic in the Early Islamic Period", *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam*, eds. H. Lazarus Yafeh et al., Wiesbaden, 1999, pp. 13–65). In Ṭūfī's story, however, it is the Muslim *ʿālim* who is in the *majlis* of the emperor, Hülegü, a non-Muslim who had good relations with the Christians. In the Christian texts, the 'monk' is intended to delight the Christian reader with the superiority of Christianity, while in the Hülegü story it is the

{202} **إحداها** أنه استدعى بالتوراة والإنجيل والقرآن. ثم أخذ من كلّ واحد كراساً، فأخفاه. ثم استدعى بثلاثة من رؤساء علماء الملل الثلاث، فأعطى كلّ واحد كتابه وأمره أن يقرأه من أوّله إلى آخره. فاليهوديّ والنصرانيّ قرآ إلى الآخر ولم يتنبّها لما ذهب، والمسلم لمّا جاء إلى الموضع المفقود وقف. فقال: "ما لك؟" فقال: "ذهب من هاهنا كذا وكذا". فقال الملك: "هؤلاء أضبط لدينهم من هؤلاء".

{203} **الطريقة الثانية** أنه سأل عن الأنبياء الثلاثة ما صنعوا. فقيل له: "موسى صعد الجبل وجاء من الله بكتاب، وعيسى صعد ولم ينزل إلى الآن، ومحمّد صعد وعاد في ليلته." فقال: "هذا وصل إلى أستاذه فقضى شغله وعاد، وذاك صعد فلم يقض شغلاً، والآخَر لم يصعد أصلاً. والذي[52] قضى شغله وعاد هو الهادي"[53] أو كما قال. وهذا وإن كان فيه تجاهل على الأنبياء – لأنّا نعتقد شرفهم وصدقهم، ولا نفرّق بين أحد منهم – لكنّه مع عامّيته استخرج استخراجاً حسّياً.

[52] ك: فالدى. [53] ش: الهادر؛ ك: الهاذر.

Muslim reader who is given the pleasure of the religious triumph. This genre is identified by S.H. Griffith as 'the *mutakallim* in the emperor's *majlis*'. One of the early examples is the account of Wāṣil al-Dimashqī's debate with the Byzantine emperor Leo III and other Christians in his court (the text was published, translated into English and analysed by Griffith in his article: "Bashīr/Bēsēr: Boon Companion of the Byzantine Emperor Leo III; the Islamic Recension of his Story in *Leiden Oriental MS* 951 (2)", *LM*, 103 (1990), pp. 293–327).

{202} **The first way** was that Hülegü called for the Torah, the Gospel and the Qur'an to be brought for examination. Then, he took a fascicle away from each of them and concealed it. Thereafter, he summoned three of the leading scholars among the three religions for trial, gave each of them his own scripture and commanded him to recite it from beginning to end. The Jew and the Christian recited (their own scriptures) till the end and did not notice what had been removed, while the Muslim stopped when he reached the missing passage. (Hülegü) said: 'What is the matter?' And he said: 'Such-and-such has been removed from here.' Then, the king said: '(Muslims) are more scrupulous in their religion than (Jews and Christians).'[46]

{203} **The second way** was that (Hülegü) inquired about what the three prophets had done. He was told: 'Moses ascended a mountain and returned with a Book from God, Jesus ascended but has not come down yet, while Muḥammad ascended and returned in the very same night.' Then, he said: '(Muḥammad) reached his Master, fulfilled his duty and returned, while (Jesus) ascended but has not fulfilled a duty yet, and (Moses) never actually ascended. It is the one who fulfilled his duty and returned who is the guide to the right path,' or similar words. Even though there is in this man that which betrays ignorance with regard to the prophets—for we believe in their honour and their truthfulness, and make no distinction between any of them—(Hülegü) despite his vulgarity, came instinctively to a sound conclusion.[47]

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[46] This is an important point for Ṭūfī, as it encapsulates his idea that the originality and preservation of scripture reveals the authenticity of a religion. Islam, he understands, is unique in its perfect preservation of the scripture, while both Judaism and Christianity have failed in this regard. Bearing in mind that the sack of Baghdad in 656/1258 had a devastating effect on Muslims, the story must have been intended to ease the psychological blow they felt. After the destruction of the Baghdad caliphate and the killing of the caliph, al-Musta'ṣim, as A. Bausani describes, 'For the first time in the history of Islam a great part of the Muslim world found itself under the rule of a non-Muslim power—and not only non-Muslim, but one which, to begin with, was in general *anti*-Muslim' (A. Bausani, "Religion under the Mongols", *The Cambridge History of Iran. Volume V: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J.A. Boyle, Cambridge, 1968, p. 538). The story in a way represents a subtle reaction to the destruction of thousands of books that were thrown into rivers, certainly among them many Qur'an manuscripts. The message was clear: no matter what happens to the written form of the Qur'an, nothing will erase it from the hearts of the believers.

[47] We are not able to determine what source(s) Ṭūfī drew this story from, yet one is tempted to regard it as a Muslim response to the 'relativist atmosphere' that prevailed in Baghdad shortly after the Mongol invasion. Mongol rulers were known for their interest in different religions and traditions. Some of them showed reverence to multiple religions, while others were eager to found a new 'universal' religion. In this, as F. Niewöhner deems it,

{204} ليت النصارى وفّقوا لبعضه. ولكنّهم شرعوا في خرافات يكفيهم أنّ عقلاء العالم بأسرهم[54] بمجرّد سماعها يلعنونهم وينفرون منها. وإذا سلّوا أنفسَهم عن ذلك وعزّوها قالوا: "نحن على الملّة المسيحيّة". يا مساكين! الملّة المسيحيّة حقّ، ولكن لستم على شيء منها. وإنّ || المسيح أشدّ عداوةً لكم عند 235و الله منه لليهود، لأنّكم غلوتم فيه حتى أعطيتموه ما لا يستحقّ، وأولئك فرّطوا فيه حتى منعوه ما يستحقّه. وجاء الإسلام فيه بالعدل والقسط، لا إفراط ولا تفريط. ﴿فَقُطِعَ دابِرُ الْقَوْمِ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا وَالْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعالَمِينَ﴾.

{205} هذا آخر **التعليق على إنجيل مرقش**.

[54] ك – بأسرهم.

'chaos', the interreligious debate created an atmosphere in which people accepted 'reason' as the common ground for the correctness of a religion (Niewöhner, *Veritas sive Varietas*, pp. 223–224). Stories such as this may have appeared as a critique of this relativist approach, trying to emphasise the importance of the scripture. 'It is the unmodified scripture which confirms the true religion,' was the message that this perhaps fictitious story aimed to convey, representing perfect material for Ṭūfī's position.

{204} If only the Christians were as successful as to reach even part of this conclusion. Such are the fairy tales they have introduced that all intelligent people of the world, on merely hearing them, eschew them and curse the Christians. But, they make themselves forget this and console themselves, saying: 'We are following Christianity'. O miserable ones! Christianity is true, but you are not following anything of it. Truly, Christ will be more hostile 235a
towards you in the presence of God than he will be towards the Jews, because you exceeded the proper bounds with regard to him until you bestowed on him a status he did not deserve, while (the Jews) neglected him until they deprived him of the position he rightly deserved. However, Islam brought justice and fairness in regard to him, with neither excess nor neglect.[48] 'So, of the people who did wrong the last remnant was cut off. Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds!'[49]

{205} This is the end of the *Critical Commentary on the Gospel of Mark*.

[48] For a similar analysis, see Ṭūfī, *Ḥallāl*, f. 22a.
[49] Q 6:45.

[التعليق على إنجيل لوقا][1]

{206} وهذا حين الشروع في **التعليق على إنجيل لوقا**.

{207} فمن ذلك قوله في مقدّمته في صفة يحيى بن[2] زكريّا لمّا بشّره به جبريل: "يكون عظيماً قدّام الربّ، لا يشرب خمراً ولا مسكراً، ويمتلئ من روح القدس"، وفي آخر المقدّمة: "وامتلأ زكريّا أبوه من روح القدس".

{208} قلت: ففي هذا الكلام شناعة ونقض على النصارى. أمّا الشناعة، فإنّ ملك الربّ وصف ابن زكريّا بأنه لا يشرب الخمر على جهة المدح له، والأناجيل تضمّنت أنّ المسيح ملأ الكأس وقال: "هذا دمي، وما عدت أشرب عصير الكرمة حتى أصل إلى ملكوت السماوات" أو معنى هذا الكلام، وقد سبق وصرّح فيه بأنه شرب الخمر. وهذا يدلّ على أنّ يحيى بن زكريّا أفضل من المسيح، لأنّ دين المسيح ترك الدنيا وشهواتها. وقد زهد يحيى منها فيما لم يزهد فيه المسيح. وهم لا يقولون بهذا ولا نحن. وإنّما ألزمناهم إلزاماً.

{209} وأمّا النقض، فإنّ الإنجيل قد تضمّن أنّ ابن زكريّا امتلأ من روح القدس في بطن أمّه وهذا أبلغ من المسيح، لأنّ الأناجيل تضمّنت أنّ روح القدس إنّما جاء المسيح لمّا اعتمد من يوحنّا المعمدانيّ. وكذلك تضمّن الإنجيل[3] امتلاء زكريّا من روح القدس. فيلزم النصارى أن يكون زكريّا وابنه إلهين أو

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[1] ش هـ: مطلب فى تعليق انجيل لوقا؛ ك هـ: لوقا. [2] ك: ابن. [3] ش: الاناجيل.

[Critical Commentary on the Gospel of Luke]

{206} Now it is time to begin the *Critical Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*.

{207} Among other things, there is (Luke's) statement in the prologue (of his Gospel) with regard to the description of John, son of Zechariah, when Gabriel brought (Zechariah) the glad tidings of his birth: 'He shall be great before the Lord, drink neither wine nor intoxicating drink, and he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit,'[1] and in the end of the prologue: 'And his father Zechariah was filled with the Holy Spirit.'[2]

{208} I say: This statement contains a disgrace and a refutation of the Christians. As for the disgrace, the angel of the Lord describes the son of Zechariah as someone who would not drink wine, in a manner of praising him, while the Gospels include the statement that Christ filled his cup and said: 'This is my blood, and I shall not drink the juice of the vine again until I reach the Kingdom of Heaven'[3] or something to this effect, which has already been mentioned[4] and in which he explicitly declared that he drank wine. This indicates that John, son of Zechariah, was more virtuous than Christ, because the religion of Christ consists of renouncing the world and its desires. Consequently, John would have abstained from it in instances where Christ did not abstain from it. Yet they do not claim this, nor do we. Hence we have indeed compelled them to accept our argument (*ilzām*).

{209} As for the refutation, the Gospel includes the statement that the son of Zechariah became filled with the Holy Spirit in the womb of his mother, which is more impressive than the case of Christ, since the Gospels relate that the Holy Spirit only came to Christ when he was baptised by John the Baptist.[5] Likewise, the Gospel includes (the account of) Zechariah's becoming filled with the Holy Spirit. Thus, the Christians are compelled

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[1] Luke 1:15.
[2] Luke 1:67.
[3] Matthew 26:28–29. See also Mark 14:24–25; Luke 22:18–20.
[4] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§128–129.
[5] See Matthew 3:16–17; Mark 1:9–10; Luke 3:21–22; John 1:32–33.

ابنين[4] للإله لمشاركتها المسيح في روح القدس، ولا فرق بينها وبين المسيح في ذلك إلاّ أنّ المسيح ولد لغير بشر وظهر على يديه من الآيات ما ظهر. وليس ذلك بفرق مؤثّر من حيث الأبوّة والبنوّة، بل من حيث ظهور المعجزات التي يختصّ الله تعالى بها من يشاء من خلقه. بل أبلغ من هذا أنه ذكر في الفصل الثالث أنّ شمعان كان يحلّ[5] عليه روح القدس. فيلزم أن يكون ابن الله.[6]

{210} ومن ذلك حكايته أنّ ملك الربّ لمّا جاء مريم خافت منه، فقال: "لا تخافي يا مريم! قد ظفرت بنعمة من عند الله. وأنت تقبلين حبَلاً[7] وتلدين ابناً، ويدعى اسمه يسوع. يكون عظيماً، و"ابن العليّ" يدعى. ويعطيه || الربّ كرسيّ داود أبيه.[8] ويملك على بيت[9] يعقوب إلى الأبد، ولا يكون لملكه ظ235
انقضاء".

{211} قلت: أمّا قوله "وابن العليّ يدعى"، فيحتمل وجهين: **أحدهما** ما سبق الدليل عليه من أنّ المراد بالابن العبد. **والثاني** أن يكون تشنيعاً على من يعتقد فيه البنوّة بغير معنى العبودية. ويكون التقدير أنه يعظّم[10] قدره وشهرته وارتفاعَ محلّه، يفتتن به بعضَ العالم حتى يدعوه[11] ابن الله، على أنّ هذا الكلام في هذا الفصل متهافت مع ما في الإنجيل من صلب اليهود للمسيح وإهانتهم له. فأين ملكه على بني يعقوب إلى الأبد، إن أريد بذلك حقيقته فهو مكابرة للحسّ؟ فإنّ المسيح الآن عند الله

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[4] ش ك: ابنان. [5] ك: تحل. [6] ك هـ: حاشية. قلت: ويلزم أن يكون النصارى كلّهم أبناء الله، لأنهم يزعمون أن روح القدس تحلّ على بطاركهم وقسوسهم واساقفهم. [7] ش: جبلا. [8] ش: ابنه. [9] ش هـ: بني صوابه. [10] ش ك: يعظمه. [11] ش: يدعونه.

to accept that Zechariah and his son should be two gods or two sons of God, due to their sharing the Holy Spirit with Christ, without any difference between the two and Christ therein, except that Christ was born without a human (father) and that at his hands there appeared whatever signs did appear. However, the latter is not a defining difference with respect to fatherhood and sonship, but rather, it is with respect to the appearance of miracles whereby God, the Exalted, confers distinction upon whoever He wishes among His creation. And even more impressive than this is what is mentioned in chapter three, that the Holy Spirit used to descend upon Simeon.[6] Consequently, it necessitates that he too should be the Son of God.

{210} Among other things, there is (Luke's) narration that when the angel of the Lord came to Mary, she was afraid of him, and [the angel] said: 'Do not be afraid, O Mary! You have indeed won favour with God. You shall conceive and give birth to a son, and he shall be called Jesus. He shall be great, and the "Son of the Highest" he shall be called. The Lord shall give him the throne of 235b
David, his father. And he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there shall be no termination'.[7]

{211} I say: As for his statement, 'and the "Son of the Highest" he shall be called,' it can be interpreted in two ways. **The first** consists of what has previously been indicated, which is that what is meant by 'son' is 'servant'. **The second** is that it is a condemnation of whoever believes that 'sonship' with respect to him has not the meaning of 'servanthood'. For the assumption (implicit in this statement) is that (the angel of the Lord) glorifies (Jesus') rank, fame and the loftiness of his station, thereby misguiding some of mankind until they eventually call him the 'Son of God'. Moreover, this statement in this chapter is incompatible with what is found in the Gospel about the Jews crucifying and despising Christ. So, where is his 'reign over the children of Jacob forever', if thereby the literal sense of the statement is meant, which would make it an obvious offense against what is perceived by the senses?[8] For Christ is now in the presence of God, Glorified is He, while the children of Jacob, among them the Jews and the Christians, are at war,

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[6] Luke 2:25–27.
[7] Luke 1:30–33.
[8] In other words, this clearly contradicts reality.

سبحانه، وبنو يعقوب منهم اليهود والنصارى وبينهم الحروب، والملك يجب أن يكون دولته ساكنةً ورعيّته متّفقةً. وإن أريد أنّ اسمه في البنوّة باقٍ إلى الأبد، فهذا يشاركه فيه جميع الأنبياء. وكذلك إن أريد به أنّ له ملّة وشريعة باقية على زعم أصحابها إلى الأبد.

{212} وقوله: "يعطيه الربّ كرسيّ داود أبيه"[12] منافٍ لما سبق من إنكار المسيح أبوّة داود حيث احتجّ بقوله: "قال الربّ لربّي". ثم إن أريد بكرسيّ داود ملكه، فالمسيح لم يملك، وإنّما كان فقيراً سائحاً يدعو[13] إلى طريق الحقّ. واليهود من الكهنة والكتبة والفريسيّين يعاندونه، وهو يفرّ منهم من مكان إلى مكان حتى صلبوه في آخر الأمر، وتقرّبوا بقتله إلى الله على زعمكم. وإن أريد بكرسيّ داود مسكنه ودار ملكه، فتلك بيت المقدس، والنصارى عنها بمَعْزِل. وإن أريد بكرسيّه أرض الروم والإفرنج ودار مملكة النصارى كقسطنطينيّة ونحوها، فليس ذلك كرسياً لداود، ولا هؤلاء على ملّة المسيح حتى يصحّ بهم هذا الخبر. فهذا كلام منتحل لا أصل له. وأيضاً استقرار ملك النصارى في الروم ليس لأجل المسيح، وإنّما هو بإخبار إسحاق ودعائه أن ذلك يكون[14] في ولده العيص الذي هو أبو الروم كما ذكر في التوراة.

{213} ومن ذلك قوله في الفصل الثاني حكايةً عن ملك الربّ أنه قال للرعاة: "ابشروا، فقد ولد لكم اليوم مخلّص الذي هو المسيح الربّ".

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[12] ش: ابنه. [13] ش ك: يدعوا. [14] ش – يكون.

although it is imperative for a sovereign that his realm be peaceful and his subjects united. But if it means that his name in [the ranks of] prophethood will last forever, then all the prophets share this with him. Likewise, if it is meant thereby that he has a religion and a revealed law which, in accordance with the claims of their followers, will last forever, (then this too is shared with other prophets).

{212} His statement, 'the Lord shall give him the throne of David, his father,' is in contradiction with what has been mentioned before, (about the Gospel report) that Christ denied David's fatherhood, adducing (David's) words, 'the Lord said to my lord,' as an argument for his denial.[9] Moreover, if by 'the throne of David' his reign is meant, then Christ never reigned, but rather he was only a poor and an itinerant ascetic calling to the path of truth. Yet the Jews—the priests, scribes and the Pharisees—were opposing him while he fled from them from one place to another, until they crucified him at the very end, and by killing him they drew near to God, according to your claim. However, if by 'the throne of David' his place of habitation and the abode of his reign are meant, then that is Jerusalem, but the Christians are separated from it. But if by his throne is meant the lands of the Byzantines and Franks and the abode of the Christian realm such as Constantinople and the like, then that is not a throne of David, nor do these people follow Christ's religion, so that this report could accurately be applied to them. Therefore, this is a falsely ascribed statement without any basis. Furthermore, the establishment of Christian reign among the Byzantines is not because of Christ, but rather it is due to Isaac's report and prayer that this would happen to his son Esau,[10] who is the father of the Byzantines, as mentioned in the Torah.[11]

{213} Among other things, there is (Luke's account) in chapter two, quoting from the angel of the Lord that he said to the shepherds: 'Rejoice at these glad tidings, for a child has been born to you today, a Saviour, the one who is Christ the Lord.'[12]

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[9] Matthew 22:41–46. See also Mark 12:36; Luke 20:42. This was discussed in *Ta'līq*, §§ 119–121.

[10] He is referring to Genesis 27:38–40.

[11] The names of Esau's sons are mentioned in Genesis 36:1–43.

[12] Luke 2:10–11.

{214} قلت: وقد بيّنّا غير موضع أنّ الربّ لفظ مشترك في لسانهم بين الإله والسيّد المعظّم. فقوله "المسيح || الربّ" يعني السيّد. وقول الرعاة: "امضوا بنا إلى بيت لحم لننظر الكلام الذي أعلمنا و236 به الربّ" يعني ملائكة الربّ وهو الإله. وقد قال بعض الفضلاء: "أكثر اختلاف العلماء من اشتراك الأسماء". فإذا كان اشتراك الأسماء مؤثّراً في أذهان العلماء حتى يختلفوا، فأحرى[15] أن يؤثّر في أذهان الجهّال حتى يضلّوا.

{215} ومن ذلك في هذا الفصل قال: إن سمعان رأى في الرؤيا من روح القدس أنه لا يرى الموت حتى يعاين المسيح الربّ. فأقبل بالروح إلى الهيكل عندما جاء بالطفل يسوع أبواه، يعني مريم ويوسف خطيبها.

{216} فليت شعري، إذا جعلوا المسيح ابن يوسف مجازاً للعلم بأنه ليس منه مع أهليّة يوسف للولادة الحقيقيّة، فما المانع من أن يجعلوه ابن الله مجازاً بمعنى عبداً لله ويغيّروا هذه العبارة الشنيعة التي غرّتهم بها هذه الأناجيل المختلقة المخترعة.

{217} وفي هذه النكتة ردّ على بعض النصارى حيث أنكر إخبار محمّد عليه السلام بأنّ أبوي يوسف لمّا اجتمعا به سجدا له، فقال: أمّ يوسف ماتت قبل ذلك بحين وإنّما كانت امرأة أبيه[16] لا أمّه. فيقال له: هذا إنجيلكم قد سمّى[17] يوسف بن داود أبا المسيح وقال في الفصل الرابع: "وكان أبواه يمضيان إلى يروشليم كلّ سنة. فتخلّف عنهما مرّةً. فرجعا فوجداه في الهيكل. فقالت له أمّه: يا بنيّ، ما صنعت بنا؟

[15] ك: فاحرا. [16] ش – أبيه. [17] ش ك: سما.

{214} I say: We have already explained in more than one place that 'Lord' is a homonymous term in their language, meaning 'god' and 'honoured master'. So, his words 'Christ the Lord' mean 'the master'. And the words of the 236a
shepherds: 'Let us go to Bethlehem in order to see the Word which the Lord made known to us'[13] mean 'the angels of the Lord,' that is to say, 'of God'. An erudite man has said: 'Most disagreements of the scholars stem from the homonymy of nouns.'[14] So, if the homonymy of nouns is able to induce the minds of the scholars to disagree, then it is even more likely to induce the minds of the ignorant to go astray.

{215} Among other things, in this chapter (Luke) says: 'Simeon truly saw in a dream from the Holy Spirit that he would not see death until he had seen Christ the Lord with his own eyes. Thus, guided by the Spirit, he turned towards the temple when the child Jesus was brought by his parents',[15] meaning Mary and Joseph, her fiancé.

{216} (The Christians) call Christ metaphorically 'the son of Joseph,' for they know that (Christ) was not from him, despite Joseph's ability for procreation. I wish I knew then what obstacle there is to calling him 'the son of God' metaphorically, meaning thereby a 'servant of God', and to changing the abominable interpretation to which these forged and invented Gospels have misled them.

{217} In this allusion (to the metaphorical use of 'parent') there is a refutation of a certain Christian, since he denied the narration of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, that when the parents of (the prophet) Joseph were reunited with him they prostrated before him, saying: 'Joseph's mother had died some time before that, and so it was another wife of his father, but not his mother.' One may respond (to this Christian): Look, your Gospel has called Joseph, the son of David, father of Christ, saying in chapter four: 'His parents used to go to Jerusalem every year. And he remained behind them once. Then they returned and found him in the temple. And his mother said to him: "O my little son, what have you done to us? I and your father—meaning Joseph her husband—have exerted ourselves in looking

[13] Luke 2:15.

[14] A similar quotation (*wa-qad qīla: akthar ikhtilāf al-ʿuqalāʾ min jihat ishtirāk al-asmāʾ*) is found in Ibn Taymiyya's *Tafsīr*, vol. III, p. 212.

[15] Luke 2:25–27.

أنا وأبوك – تعني يوسف زوجها – جهدنا في طلبك." وليس أباه بالإجماع، بل لما كان زوج أمّه سمّاه أباه مجازاً. فكذلك تلك. لما كانت زوجة أبيه سمّاها أمّه مجازاً.

{218} **فائدة:** وطعن هذا المصنّف بعينه في ما تضمّنه القرآن من قوله تعالى في قصّة زكريّا حيث بشّره الملك بيحيى: ﴿آيَتُكَ أَلاَّ تُكَلِّمَ النَّاسَ ثَلاثَةَ أَيَّامٍ إِلاَّ رَمْزاً﴾ بوجهين. **أحدهما** أنّ صمات زكريّا لم يكن على سبيل الآية والعلامة، بل على جهة العقوبة حيث لم يبادر إلى الإيمان بالبشرى، بل قال: ﴿أَنَّى يَكُونُ لِي غُلَامٌ وَقَدْ بَلَغَنِيَ الْكِبَرُ﴾. **الثاني** أنّ مدّة صماته لم يكن ثلاثة أيّام فقط، بل كان من حين البشرى إلى حين ولادة يحيى. وأورد عليه ما ذكر في إنجيل لوقا في مقدّمته: "قال زكريّا للملك:[18] "كيف أعلم هذا، وأنا شيخ وامّه قد طعنت في أيّامها؟" فقال الملك: "أنا جبريل الواقف قدّام الله. أُرسلتُ أكلّمك بهذا وأبشّرك. || ومن الآن تكون صامتاً لا تقدر تتكلّم إلى اليوم الذي يكون هذا، ظ236
لأنّك لم تؤمن بكلامي[19] الذي يتمّ في أوانه"."

{219} **والجواب عن الأوّل** أنّ صماته على جهة العقوبة لا ينافي كونه على جهة الآية والعلامة، إذ من الجائز أن تجعل عقوبتُه علَماً على حادث يتجرّد له خصوصاً. وجبريل أجابه بذلك في سياق قوله: "كيف أعلم هذا وأنا شيخ". فيدلّ على أنه ذكر له العلامة. ثم هذا منتقض بمريم. فإنها لمّا بشِّرت بالولد

[18] ش: الملك. [19] ك: كلامي.

for you".'[16] Yet (it is known that) he was not his father by consensus, but rather, because (Joseph) was the husband of his mother, (Jesus) called him his father metaphorically. So it is with the former case. Since she was the wife of his father, (the prophet Joseph) called her his mother metaphorically.[17]

{218} **Useful Note**: This (Christian) author has also attacked, in two ways, what the Qur'an contains in His words, Exalted is He, regarding the story of Zechariah, where the angel announces to him the glad tidings about John: 'Your sign is that you shall not speak to mankind for three days, except by gestures.'[18] **His first objection** is that Zechariah's muteness was not meant as a sign and token, but it was intended as a punishment, due to the fact that he did not hasten to believe in the glad tidings, but rather, he said: 'How can I have a son when age has overtaken me already?'[19] **His second objection** is that the period of his muteness was not only three days, but rather, it lasted from the time of the glad tidings until the time of John's birth. He cited against it what is mentioned in the prologue of the Gospel of Luke: 'Zechariah said to the angel: "How shall I know this, for I am an old man, and his mother is well advanced in age?" And the angel said: "I am Gabriel who stands before God. I am sent to speak to you about this and to announce to you glad tidings. And from now on you shall be mute and not able to speak 236b
until the day that this thing shall come to pass, because you did not believe in my speech which shall be fulfilled in its season".'[20]

{219} **Our response to the first objection** is that his muteness being meant as a punishment does not preclude its being meant as a sign and token, for it is conceivable that his punishment be made a token for an incident that would concern him exclusively. For Gabriel answered him thereby in the context of his words: 'How shall I know this, for I am an old man?' So, this indicates that (Gabriel) mentioned the token to (Zechariah). Moreover, this incident is rendered unsound by (the narration concerning) Mary. For when the glad tidings about the son were announced to her, she said: 'How can I

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[16] See Luke 2:41, 43 and 48.

[17] Ṭūfī will later refer to this discussion on Joseph's 'mother' several times (see *Ta'līq*, §§ 556, 563, 580–581 and 586–587). The same topic is discussed thoroughly in his apology for Islam, where he attacks the anonymous Christian author's arguments (see *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 312–320).

[18] Q 3:41.

[19] Q 3:40.

[20] Luke 1:18–20.

قالت: ﴿أَنَّىٰ يَكُونُ لِي وَلَدٌ وَلَمْ يَمْسَسْنِي بَشَرٌ﴾. نصّ على ذلك الإنجيل في هذه المقدّمة بعينها. فهلاّ عوقبت كما عوقب زكريّا ؟

{220} **والجواب عن الثاني** بعدم المنافاة أيضاً، لأنه أخبر ببعض مدّة صيامه. والقرآن إنمّا أتى بمجملات قضايا الأوّلين أو بعضِهم لا بتفاصيلها. فإن صحّ ما في الإنجيل، فهو زيادة مقبولة، على أنّا لا نحتجّ به، ولا هو عندنا معتمد خصوصاً. وقد بيّنّا وقوع التخليط فيه والتناقض، وكتابنا عندنا أوثق منه. ومن يقدح في نبوّة نبيّنا بمثل هذا ما يحصل له غرض، بل المرجع إلى أدلّة النبوّات وبراهينها.

{221} ومن ذلك في الفصل الرابع أنّ المسيح لمّا تخلّف عن أبويه بيروشليم رجعا فوجداه في الهيكل جالساً بين العلماء يسمع منهم ويسألهم. وكانوا مبهوتين من علمه وإجابته لهم.

{222} قلت: فظاهر سماعه منهم وسؤاله لهم أنمّا كان على جهة الاستفادة. وهذا ممّا يوجب السخريّة من عقول النصارى، لأنّ من يكون إلهاً كامل العلم والقدرة، أو ابنَ الإله مطّلعاً على أسرار أبيه، أيّ حاجة له إلى السماع من العلماء والسؤال لهم ؟

{223} قلت: ولهم أن يجيبوا عن هذا بجوابين:

have a son when no man has touched me?'[21] The Gospel mentions it literally in this very same prologue.[22] So, why was she not punished as Zechariah was punished?

{220} **Our response to the second objection** is that there is, again, no incompatibility (between the Qur'anic narrative and that of the Gospel), because (the Qur'an) informs us about part of the period of his muteness. The Qur'an gives only a summary of the affairs of the earlier communities or some of them, but not their complete details. If, therefore, what the Gospel contains is correct, then that is an acceptable addition, although we neither adduce it as an argument nor do we regard it as particularly reliable. We have already explained the presence of confusion therein and its internal contradiction, while our scripture, according to us, is more reliable than that [i.e. the Gospel]. So, whoever impugns the prophethood of our Prophet in this manner will not attain any goal, but rather, he will reach the authoritative source for the proofs and decisive evidences of the prophecies.[23]

{221} Among other things, in chapter four (it is narrated) that when Christ remained behind his parents in Jerusalem, they returned and found him in the temple sitting among the scholars, listening to them and asking them questions. And (the scholars) were astonished by his knowledge and his responses to them.[24]

{222} I say: The evident meaning of his listening to them and asking them questions is that it was only in the manner of seeking knowledge. This story is one of the things which necessarily make the Christian minds objects of ridicule, because if someone is a god with perfect knowledge and power, or else the Son of God well-informed of the secrets of his Father, what need would he have for listening to scholars and asking them questions?

{223} I say: They may have two responses to this:

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[21] Q 3:47. See also Q 19:20.

[22] See Luke 1:34.

[23] This is the same Christian author whose anti-Islamic polemic caused Ṭūfī to write his *Ṭa'līq* and *Intiṣārāt*. He will further discuss this subject in detail in the *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, pp. 305–312).

[24] Luke 2:46–47.

{224} **أحدهما:** لا نسلّم[20] أنه كان سؤال استفادة بل سؤال امتحان وإفادة، كما يمتحن المعلّم تلاميذه بمطارحتهم وإلقاء المسائل عليهم، بدليل قوله: "وكانوا مبهوتين من علمه وإجابته لهم". إذ[21] المستفيد لا يبهت له مفيدُه عادةً.

{225} **الثاني:** سلّمنا ذلك، لكنّه سألهم في صورة مستفيد ليَسُنّ لهم الأدبَ والتواضع وعدم استكبار العالم أن يتعلّم ممّن دونه، كما اعتمد من يوحنّا المعمدانيّ، وكما كان يشاور محمّد أصحابه وهو أعلم منهم عندكم.

{226} **والجواب عن الأوّل** أنّ ما ذكر من سماعه منهم وسؤاله لهم ظاهر في الاستفادة. وأمّا كونهم بهتوا منه || فهو من ذكائه وإدراكه لما يستفيده، كما يتعجّب المعلّم من الصبيّ الذكيّ ويتوسّم[22] فيه 237و النجابة أوّل ما يراه لذكائه وجَوْدة فهمه.

{227} **وعن الثاني** أنّ حمل سؤاله لهم على الأدب وشرع التواضع إنّما يصحّ بتقدير أنهم كانوا يعرفونه بالفضل والرياسة. وليس الأمر كذلك. بل إنّما كانوا يرونه صبياً متعلّماً. ولو عرفوه لما بهتوا وتعجّبوا منه، إذ الفضيلة لا تنكر لأهلها. وبهذا يظهر الفرق بين سؤاله للعلماء وبين تعمّده من يوحنّا ومشاورة محمّد لأصحابه، لأنّ يوحنّا كان يعرف المسيح بالرياسة والفضل ولهذا قال: "والذي يأتي بعدي أقوى منّي. ولا استحقّ أن أحلّ سيور حذائه"، وأصحاب محمّد كانوا قد بايعوه[23] وآمنوا به وعرفوا منصبه

[20] ش: يسلم. [21] ش: اذا. [22] ك: يتوهم. [23] ك: تابعوه.

{224} **Their first response**: We do not accept that these were questions for seeking knowledge, but rather, they were questions for testing and supplying knowledge, just as a teacher is wont to test his students by holding a discussion with them and posing questions to them, as indicated by his words: 'And they were astonished by his knowledge and his responses to them.' For a provider of knowledge is in general not astonished by a seeker of knowledge.

{225} **Their second response**: We accept that, but he asked them questions in the manner of a knowledge seeker in order to set them the example of good manners and humility, and the lack of arrogance on the part of a learned person to learn from those below him, just as he was baptised by John the Baptist and just as Muḥammad used to consult his companions, although he was more learned than they, according to your opinion.

{226} **Our counter-response to the first** is that what is mentioned about his listening to them and asking them questions is evidently in the manner of seeking knowledge. As for their being astonished by him, that was due 237a
to his acumen and his grasp of what he was learning, just as a teacher is wont to marvel at a sharp-witted child and discover excellence in him the first time he sees him, due to his acumen and the brilliance of his understanding.

{227} **Our counter-response to the second** is that to interpret his questions to them as (setting the example of) good manners and prescribing humility would be correct only if we assume they recognised in him the signs of merit and leadership. However, that was not the case. Rather, they saw him as a child who was learning. Had they recognised him, they would not have been astonished and marvelled at him, for merit cannot be denied to its worthy possessor. And hereby, the difference between his questions to the scholars and his baptism by John on the one hand, and Muḥammad's consulting with his companions on the other becomes evident, because John recognised in Christ the signs of leadership and merit, and therefore said: 'The one who is coming after me is more powerful than me. And I am not worthy to loosen the straps of his sandals,'[25] while the companions of Muḥammad pledged allegiance to him, believed in him, and recognised his eminence of rank and high merit. However, this story (about Christ) took

[25] Luke 3:16. See also Matthew 3:11.

وقدره. وهذه القصّة كانت قبل أن يتعمّد وينزل عليه روح القدس، وإنّما اعتقدوه معلّماً بعد نزول الروح عليه في جسد حمامة.

{228} ومن ذلك في الفصل العاشر أنه كان يخرج الشياطينَ من الناس، فكانت الشياطين تصرخ وتقول: "أنت هو المسيح ابن الله!" وكان ينهرهم ولا يدعهم ينطقون بهذا، لأنهم يعرفون[24] أنه المسيح.

{229} قلت: الآن حصحص الحقّ وتبيّن أنّ الشياطين هم الذين أوهموا[25] النصارى أنّ المسيح ابن الله ليضلّوهم. والشيطان[26] ليس بمأمون على الدين حتى يصدَّق فيه ويحتجّ بقوله. وهم أيضاً وضعوا على المسيح النطق بلفظ الأب والابن وما تصرَّف منها. وإلاّ، فالذي يقتضيه العلم أنّ المسيح لم ينطق بشيء من ذلك ولم يدّع غير العبوديّة. والدليل عليه أنه نهى[27] الشياطين أن تنطق بهذا، والنبيّ لا ينهى عن قول الحقّ ممّن صدر، فضلاً عن الله أو ابنه عندهم.

{230} ومن ذلك في الفصل التاسع عشر أنّ يسوع أحيا[28] ميتاً كان محمولاً على جنازة وكان وحيداً لأمّه. فخاف القوم ومجّدوا الله قائلين: "لقد قام فينا نبيّ عظيم. وتعاهد الله شعبه بصلاح".

{231} قلت: هذا هو الكلام الذي لا لبس فيه وهو أنّ القوم كانوا يعتقدونه نبياً ويقرّهم هو عليه. وبه يتبيّن أنّ مخاطبتهم له بالربّ وابن الله ونحوه الفاظٌ تعظيم. وكان من عادة الله سبحانه في بني إسرائيل أن يتعاهدهم بعد كلّ فترة بنبيّ يصلح شأنهم. وتعاهدهم بالمسيح. ففهموا أنه من جنس الأنبياء الذين سبقوه. ‖ ظ237

[24] ش: تعرّفوا. [25] ش: وهموا. [26] ش: والشياطين. [27] ش: ان نهي. [28] ش ك: احيى.

place before he was baptised and the Holy Spirit had descended upon him, while (the Christians) believe in his being a teacher only after the Holy Spirit descended upon him in the body of a dove.

{228} Among other things, in chapter ten (it is reported) that (Jesus) used to cast out devils from people, while the devils would cry out and say: 'You are Christ, the Son of God!' And he used to chide them and not let them speak so, for they knew he was Christ.[26]

{229} I say: Now the truth has come to light, and it has become clear that the devils are the ones who instilled in the Christians the delusion that Christ was the Son of God in order to lead them astray. The devil is not reliable in matters of religion that one might place trust in him or an argument be adduced upon his words. Moreover, (the devils) falsely attributed to Christ the utterance of such expressions as 'Father' and 'Son', and whatever is derived from these two. Otherwise, what knowledge requires is that Christ never uttered any such thing and never claimed anything other than servanthood. And the proof of it is that he forbade the devils to utter this, while a prophet does not forbid speaking the truth no matter from whom it originates, let alone when it concerns God or His Son, as is their opinion.

{230} Among other things, in chapter nineteen (it is mentioned) that Jesus resurrected a dead person who was being carried upon the bier and who was the only (son) of his mother. And the people were filled with fear and glorified God saying: 'A great prophet has truly risen among us. God has made a covenant with his people in goodness.'[27]

{231} I say: This is the statement which contains no confusion, and it means that the people used to believe him to be a prophet and he himself used to confirm it to them. Thereby it becomes clear that their addressing him by the titles of 'Lord' and the 'Son of God' and the like are expressions of honour. It was also from the customary practice of God, Glorified is He, towards the children of Israel to make a covenant after every interval of time by virtue of a prophet who would restore their state of affairs. So, He made a covenant with them through Christ. Therefore, they understood that he was from the kind of prophets who had preceded him. 237b

[26] Luke 4:41.
[27] Luke 7:12–16.

{232} ومن ذلك أنه ذكر في الفصل الرابع والعشرين أنّ المسيح أخرج الشياطين من إنسان وأمرهم أن يدخلوا في قطيع خنازير، فدخلوا. ثم وثب القطيع في البحر فغرقوا. وأنّ الرجل أراد أن يتبع المسيح فيكون معه. فقال له: "ارجع إلى بيتك واخبر بالذي صنع الله بك". فذهب الرجل ينادي في المدينة. وذكر في مواضع متعدّدة من الأناجيل أنّ المسيح كان إذا أبرأ ذا عاهةٍ وأشفى[29] مريضاً يقول له: "لا تخبر[30] أحداً بهذا".

{233} من ذلك في الفصل الخامس والعشرين من هذا الإنجيل أنه لمّا أحيا[31] بنت رئيس الجماعة أمر أبويها ألاّ يخبرا أحداً بما كان.

{234} وهذا تناقض، لا تظهر[32] له حكمة أن يقول لبعضهم: "اخبر بما رأيت"، ولبعضهم: "لا تخبر"، على أنّ للأنبياء أسراراً وفروقاً وحكماً لا تُطّلع عليها. لكن حكاية هذا عن المسيح مع أنه كان بسيط الكلام يضرب الأمثال ويبيّن علل الأمور محلُّ ريبة بلا شكّ. وما يُتّهم بهذا إلاّ جهّال النصارى وكذبتهم على الله ورسوله المسيح صلوات الله عليه.

{235} ومن ذلك في الفصل التاسع والعشرين قال لتلاميذه: "ماذا يقول الناس إنّي أنا ؟" قالو: "يوحنّا المعمدانيّ، وآخرون أليا، وآخرون نبيّ من الأوّلين." قال: "فما تقولون أنتم ؟" قال بطرس: "أنت المسيح ابن الله." فأمرهم أن لا يقولوا هذا لأحد.

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[29] ك: او سفى. [30] ش: لا يخبر. [31] ش: احيى. [32] ش: يظهر.

{232} Among other things, it is mentioned in chapter twenty-four that Christ cast out the devils from a man and commanded them to enter into a herd of swine, and so they did enter them. Then the herd leaped into the sea and were drowned.[28] And (it is mentioned) that the man wanted to follow Christ and be with him. But, (Christ) said to him: 'Return to your house and inform people of what God has done to you'. So, the man went proclaiming this to the city.[29] It is also mentioned in a number of places in the Gospels that whenever Christ healed someone crippled or cured a sick person he would say to them: 'Do not inform anyone of this'.

{233} Among other things, in chapter twenty-five of this Gospel (it is mentioned) that when he resurrected the daughter of the leader of the community, he commanded her parents not to inform anyone of what had happened.[30]

{234} This seems contradictory, for there is no apparent wisdom in him saying to some of them: 'Inform people of what you have seen,' and to some others: 'Do not inform anyone,' despite the fact that the prophets are in possession of impenetrable secrets, subtle distinctions and wisdoms. Yet to narrate this from Christ, in light of the fact that he was a man of plain speech, who expounded parables and explained the effective causes of things, is without a doubt a reason for suspicion. And no one is to be made responsible for this contradiction but the ignorant ones among the Christians, with their lying about God and His messenger, Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him.

{235} Among other things, in chapter twenty-nine (Jesus) says to his disciples: 'What do people say I am?' They said: 'John the Baptist, others say Elijah, yet others say one of the early prophets.' He said: 'But what do you say?' Peter said: 'You are Christ the Son of God.' And he commanded them not to say this to anyone.[31]

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[28] Luke 8:33.
[29] Luke 8:38–39.
[30] Luke 8:56.
[31] Luke 9:18–21.

{236} قلت: قد دلّ هذا الكلام على أنّ أحداً من أهل عصر المسيح لم يذهب وهمه إلى أنه الله ولا ابن الله. بل إنّما ظنّوه نبياً من الأنبياء يوحنّا أو غيره. ولو كان هذا صحيحاً لذهب إليه بعض أهل العصر، لأنّ المسيح يقول في غير موضع: "ما من مكتوم إلاّ سيُظهر، ولا خفيّ إلاّ سيُعلن".

{237} فأمّا قول بطرس: "أنت المسيح ابن الله" فلا يثبت، إذ لو ثبت أنه قال ذلك لم يكن المسيح يأمرهم بكتمه، إلاّ أنه[33] إمّا باطل فلا يقرّه عليه، أو حقّ فالمسيح إنّما أرسل ليظهر الحقَّ على الباطل ويجاهد بنفسه وبمن يتبعه ولا يخاف أحداً مع الله. كيف وقد كان ينكر عليهم ضعفَ إيمانهم ويقينهم؟ ثم إنه قد صرّح قبل هذا الوقت بأنه ابن الله مراراً كثيرة على ما نقلتم عنه. فما فائدة || الأمر بالكتمان 238 و
بعد الإعلان؟ ثم إنّ فائدة كتم الأمر التمكّن من إظهاره بعد إحكامه. وكون المسيح ابن الله ما نراه إلاّ خاملاً بين اليهود والمسلمين وطوائف من النصرانيّة. وليس يقول به إلاّ شرذمة قليلة منهم. فصار الأمر بكتمانه عبثاً. وبهذا يظهر الفرق بين هذه القضيّة وبين كلّ من كتم أمره من نبيّ وملك، لأنّ أولئك لمّا كتموا أمورهم أحكمت وظهرت، وهذا ليس كذلك، على أنّ قول بطرس: "أنت المسيح ابن الله" يحتمل أنّ معناه: "أنت عبد الله ورسوله"، كما قدّمناه من تأويل البنوّة على العبوديّة. ويكون بطرس قد اختار بعض أقوال الناس التي تنازعوها. وإنّما أمره المسيح بكتمان ذلك، لأنه أقرّ برسالته وصدّق بنبوّته، وفي الناس من كان يكذّبه في ذلك ولا يؤمن به. فكتم أمره حتى يشهد حاله. ولا جرم أنّ نبوّته ما خالف فيها إلاّ اليهود عليهم لعنة الله أجمعين.

[33] ش ك: لانه.

{236} I say: This statement indeed indicates that none of the contemporaries of Christ was led by their imagination to hold the opinion that he was God or the Son of God. Rather, they thought him to be only one of the prophets, like John or another one. However, if this statement were authentic, then some of his contemporaries would have held this opinion, because Christ says in more than one place: 'There is nothing hidden that shall not be made evident; nor anything concealed that shall not be made public.'[32]

{237} As for Peter's saying: 'You are Christ the Son of God', it is not established, for had it been established that he said that, then Christ would not have commanded them to hide it. It is either a falsehood and thus he would not acknowledge it to him, or it is true, and Christ was only sent in order to cause the truth to prevail over falsehood, and to strive by himself and with those who follow him and not to fear anyone besides God. How can this be when he had already criticised them for the weakness of their faith and belief? Moreover, before this time, he had explicitly declared many times that he was the Son of God, in accordance with what you transmit from him. Therefore, what is the benefit of hiding a matter after making it public? 238a
Furthermore, the benefit of hiding a matter is to be able to make it evident after consolidating it. As for Christ's being the Son of God, we find it to be an unknown position among the Jews, the Muslims and some sects of Christianity. No one claims it other than a party of (the Christians). Consequently, the issue of hiding it is a futile matter. And thus the difference between this affair and any prophet or angel who hides his matter, becomes evident, because when these hide their matters, the matters become consolidated and evident, while this affair is not like that. Yet Peter's saying: 'You are Christ the Son of God' may mean: 'You are a servant of God and His messenger,' just as we have previously interpreted 'sonship' as 'servanthood'. It is also possible that Peter might have chosen some of the sayings of the people over which they were at variance. And Christ commanded him to hide that only because (Peter) had confirmed his messengership and affirmed his prophethood, while among the people there were those who accused him of lying with regard to his prophetic mission and who did not believe in him. Therefore, (Christ) hid his affair until he himself would testify about his position. And verily no one has opposed his prophethood but the Jews, may God's curse be upon them all.

[32] Matthew 10:26; Mark 4:22; Luke 8:17 and 12:2.

{238} ومن ذلك في الفصل الثاني والثلاثين قال يوحنّا للمسيح: "يا معلّم، رأينا إنساناً يخرج الشياطين باسمك فمنعناه، لأنه لم يتبعنا". فقال: "لا تمنعوه، لأنّ كلّ من[34] ليس عليكم فهو معكم".

{239} وذكرت هذه القصّة في السابع والعشرين من إنجيل مرقش وقال فيها: "كلّ من[35] ليس هو معنا فهو علينا". وبين العبارتين بون بعيد. فإن لم يكن هذا التفاوت من قلم النسّاخ وإلاّ فهو قادح، لأنه تناقض. وتقريره أنّ كلّ واحد من الناس إمّا أن يكون معك، أو عليك، أو لا معك ولا عليك. فالطرفان حكمها معلوم. وأمّا الواسطة التي[36] لا لك ولا عليك فإنها على لفظ لوقا تكون لك، لأنها ليست[37] عليك، وعلى لفظ مرقش تكون عليك، لأنها ليست معك. فيلزم من هذا أن يكون بعض الناس في قضيّة واحدة من وجه واحد لك وعليك. ولفظ لوقا أشبه بسياق القضيّة. فأمّا قوله في الفصل التاسع والثلاثين: "من لم يكن معي فهو عليّ، ومن لا يجمع معي فهو يفرّق" فهو كلام صحيح مناسب لما في سياقه من القضيّة. وهي غير هذه.

{240} ومن ذلك في الثالث والخمسين: "إذا صنعت وليمة فلا تدع أحبّاءك ولا اغنياء جيرانك، لأنهم ربما كافئوك. ولكن أدع الضعفاء والمساكين الذين لا قدرة لهم على مكافأتك، لتكون مكافأتك في قيامة || الصدّقين". فسمع بعض الحاضرين ذلك فقال: "طوبى لمن يأكل خبزاً في ملكوت الله". ظ238

[34] ش ك: كلمن. [35] ش ك: كلمن. [36] ش ك: الذى. [37] ش ك: ليس.

{238} Among other things, in chapter thirty-two John says to Christ: 'O teacher, we have seen a man casting out devils in your name and we forbade him, because he did not follow us.' Then, (Christ) replied: 'Do not forbid him, for whoever is not against you is with you.'[33]

{239} This story is also mentioned in (chapter) twenty-seven of the Gospel of Mark, but there he says: 'Whoever is not with us is against us.'[34] Between the two expressions there is a considerable difference. Therefore, regardless of whether this incoherence is not from the pen of the copyists, or whether it is, it must be rejected as objectionable, for it is contradictory. And its import is that every single person is either with you or against you, or else he is neither with you nor against you. The rule regarding these two extremes is known. As for the intermediate position, which is neither with nor against you, according to Luke's wording, it means 'with you' because it is not 'against you,' while according to Mark's wording, it means 'against you', because it is not 'with you'. Thus, it necessarily follows from this that a given person is 'with you' as well as 'against you' with regard to one single case from one single perspective. Yet Luke's wording is more suitable to the context of the case. As for his saying in chapter thirty-nine: 'He who is not with me is against me, and he who does not gather with me scatters,'[35] it is an authentic statement befitting the context in which the case occurs, unlike the present case.[36]

{240} Among other things, in chapter fifty-three (Jesus says): 'When you make a banquet, do not invite your friends or your rich neighbours, for they may perhaps recompense you. Rather, invite the weak and the poor who have no power to recompense you, so that your recompense be at the resurrection of the righteous.' And one of the people present heard that and 238b
said: 'Blessed is he who shall eat bread in the kingdom of God.'[37]

[33] Luke 9:49–50.
[34] Mark 9:40.
[35] Luke 11:23.
[36] Ṭūfī repeats his views on the differencies between Mark's and Luke's version of this quotation in his *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, pp. 340–342).
[37] See Luke 14:12–15.

{241} قلت: فقد أقرّه المسيح على هذا ولم ينكره. فدلّ على أنّ الناس يأكلون في الآخرة. وهذا يناقض ما ذكر في سؤال الزنادقة له عن سبعة الإخوة الذين تزوّجوا امرأةً واحدةً تباعاً لمن يكون منهم في الآخرة. فقال: إنّ الناس هناك كالملائكة لا يتزوّجون، لأنّ من يأكل الخبز لا يكون كالملائكة. وإذا فارق الملائكة بأكل الخبز جاز أن يفارقهم بالنكاح والتزوّج.[38] فهذا تناقض ظاهر.

{242} ومن ذلك في الفصل الخامس والسبعين قوله: "وحينئذ ينظرون ابن الإنسان آتياً في السحابة بقوّات ومجد عظيم. فإذا بدأت[39] هذه تكون انظروا إلى فوق وارفعوا رؤوسكم، فإنّ خلاصكم قد دنا".

{243} قلت: قد سبق حكايتنا لصعود المسيح على غمامة. وقد أشار هو هاهنا إلى أنه يأتي فيها أو في مثلها. وهذا إشارة منه إلى نزوله في آخر الزمان لقتل الدجّال وكسر الصليب وقتل الخنزير ووضع الجزية عن[40] اليهود والنصارى كما سبق ذكره، وكما وعد به محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم. وأمّا قوله: "فإنّ خلاصكم قد دنا"، فهذا خطاب منه لمن كان في زمنه ممّن كان على ملّته من توحيد الله والتصديق بمحمّد عليه السلام بتقدير ظهوره. فأمّا هؤلاء الذين بدّلوا وحرّفوا وثلّثوا وخالفوا وصيّة المسيح وغيره في الإيمان بمحمّد عليه السلام، فإنّ خلاصهم[41] أيضاً يكون قد دنا لكن إلى جهنّم. أعاذنا الله منها!

[38] ش: التزويج. [39] ش ك: بدت. [40] ش ك: على. [41] ش: خلاصكم.

{241} I say: Christ indeed confirmed him regarding this and did not rebuke him. Consequently, this indicates that people will eat in the Hereafter. However, this stands in contradiction with what has been mentioned regarding the Sadducees' questioning him about the seven brothers who married the same woman in succession, as to whom she will belong in the Hereafter, whereupon he replied: 'People there are like the angels; they shall not marry,'[38] because whosoever eats bread cannot be like the angels. Yet, in the present case, since he distinguishes people from the angels by the act of eating bread, it is conceivable that he distinguish them by the acts of having intercourse and getting married. And this stands in clear contradiction to the former case.

{242} Among other things, in chapter seventy-five (Jesus) says: 'At that time they shall behold the Son of Man coming in a cloud with power and great glory. And when this begins to come to pass look up and raise your heads, for your salvation has drawn near.'[39]

{243} I say: Our account of Christ's ascension upon a cloud has been mentioned previously.[40] And here he himself alluded to the fact that he will come in it or something like it. This is an allusion to his descent at the end of time to kill the Antichrist, break the cross, kill the swine and remove the poll tax from Jews and Christians, as has been mentioned previously and as Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, has promised.[41] As for his saying: 'For your salvation has drawn near,' this is an address from him to those of his contemporaries who were following the tenets of his religion, such as the unity of God and the confirmation of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, in anticipation of his appearance. As for those who have changed and altered (the revelation), propounded the doctrine of the Trinity and opposed the instruction of Christ and others regarding belief in Muḥammad, peace be upon him, truly their liberation has also drawn near, but near to Hell. May God protect us from it!

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[38] See Matthew 22:23–30; Mark 12:18–25.

[39] Luke 21:27–28.

[40] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 151.

[41] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Buyūʿ" 102, "Maẓālim" 31, "Aḥādīth al-Anbiyāʾ" 52; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Īmān" 73; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Malāḥim" 14; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Fitan" 54; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Fitan" 33. See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 127.

{244} ومن ذلك قوله في الفصل الثاني والثمانين إنّ مريم المجدلانيّة ومريم أمّ يعقوب ومن معهما لمّا أخبرن[42] بأنّ المسيح قام من قبره بعد ثلاث حين وأخبرن[43] الرسل التلاميذ فكان هذا الكلام عندهم كالهزء، ولم يصدّقوه. وقام بطرس إلى القبر، فرأى الثياب موضوعةً، فتعجّب. وكذلك ذكر في إنجيل مرقش أنّ مريم لمّا أخبرت التلاميذ بقيام الربّ لم يصدّقوا.

{245} قلت: ما رأيت ولا سمعت بأجهل من النصارى ولا أقلّ من عقولهم. كيف يصدّقون مثل هذا؟ فلعن الله من ينسب مثل هذا إلى آحاد الأمم فضلاً عن التلاميذ والرسل المعصومين! فإنّ المسيح صلوات الله عليه تقدّم فأنذرهم، قبل أن يفعل به اليهود ما فعلوا، بما سيكون منه ومنهم غير مرّة. وقد شاهدوا منه الآيات والمعجزات، || وثبت صدقه. فكيف ينسبون بعد ذلك إلى أنهم 239و
يخبرون بوقوع أمر وعدهم بوقوعه غير مرّة، فيتّخذونه هزءاً،[44] ولا يصدّقونه؟ وهل الشاكّ والمتردّد في صدق ما يخبر به الصادق من الله أو رسله إلّا كافر؟ خصوصاً والمخبر عندهم إله والمخبرون به رسل. فعظمت الرزيّة من الطرفين، إذ نسبوا الرسل المعصومين إلى تكذيب الإله. فقبّح الله هذه العقول التي قد مرّت على هذه الفضائح نحو ألفي سنة من علمائهم وملوكهم وسوقتهم! ماكان فيهم بصير يتدبّرها، فيسترعوا رهبانٌ[45] إليها. ولكن قوم استخفّوا بدين الله، فاستخفّ الله بهم وجعلهم هزءةً للمستهزئين وسخرةً[46] للساخرين. ﴿وَكَانُوا أَحَقَّ بِهَا وَأَهْلَهَا﴾.

[42] ش: اخبرت. [43] ش: واخبرت. [44] ك: هزوا. [45] ش ك: رهابان. [46] ك: وسخربه.

{244} Among other things, in chapter eighty-two, (Luke) says that when Mary Magdalene, Mary mother of Jacob and whoever was with the two reported that Christ had risen from his tomb after three days and informed the apostles, the disciples, they took this statement to be a mockery and did not believe it. Yet Peter betook himself to the tomb, saw the clothes that had been laid down, and marvelled.[42] Likewise it is mentioned in the Gospel of Mark that when Mary informed the disciples about the rising of the Lord, they did not believe it.[43]

{245} I say: I have not seen or heard of anyone more ignorant than the Christians or of anyone with a lesser degree of intelligence than theirs. How can they believe something like this? May God curse anyone who attributes something like this to any individual, let alone to the disciples and the infallible messengers! Christ, may the blessings of God be upon him, had told them in advance and warned them—before the Jews did to him whatever they did—about what would surely happen to him and to them more than once. And they had already witnessed signs and miracles from him, and 239a
thus his truthfulness had been established. So, how can someone thereafter claim that [the disciples], despite being informed about the occurrence of a matter, the occurrence of which (Christ) had promised them more than once, took it for a mockery and did not believe it? Is the one who doubts and hesitates concerning the truthfulness of what the truthful person informs them about from God or from His messengers, anything other than an unbeliever? Especially when, according to their opinion, the informer is a god and the ones informed are the messengers. Hence, the damage is great on both sides, for they attributed to the infallible messengers giving the lie to God. May God put to shame those intellects which have passed on these disgraceful things for about two thousand years, whether they be scholars, kings or common people! There was no one perspicacious enough among them who would reflect on these disgraceful things, so that the monks could have been asked to be mindful of them. But some people despised the religion of God, and so God despised them and made them an object of ridicule for the mockers and a target of derision for the scoffers. 'For they were worthy of it and meet for it.'[44]

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[42] Luke 24:10–12.
[43] See Mark 16:9–11.
[44] Q 48:26.

{246} ولا يقال: إنّ تردّد التلاميذ ليس فيما أخبرهم به المسيح من قيامه من الأموات، بل في زمنه الذي[47] أخبرتهم فيه مريم، والشيء قد يعلم حقيقة وجوده ويجهل زمنه. لأنّا[48] نقول إنّ المسيح أخبرهم بقيامه بعد ثلاثة أيّام، وإخبار مريم لهم بذلك بعد ثلاثة أيّام. فالزمن معيّن، وقد كذّبوا به على ما نقلتم عنهم. فلزم المحذور.

{247} ومن ذلك في[49] الفصل الثالث والثمانين أنّ التلاميذ لمّا بلغهم قيام المسيح قام اثنان منهم يسيران[50] إلى عمواس. وهما يتحدّثان فيما كان من أمر المسيح إذ صار المسيح بينهما يماشيهما. وأخذ بأبصارهما عن معرفته. فقال لهما: "فيما تتحدّثان؟" قالا له: "في أمر يسوع الناصريّ. كان رجلاً نبياً قوياً بلأعمال والكلام قدّام الله وجميع الشعب. فأسلموه لحكم الموت".

{248} قلت: وكان المخاطب للمسيح سمعان بطرس، وقد سمّاه نبياً، والنبوّة تنافي الإلهيّة. فدلّ على أنه لم يكن إلهاً،[51] ولا كانوا يعتقدونه إلهاً ولا ابناً للإله. لأنّا علمنا بالاستقراء التامّ أنّ أحداً من الأنبياء لم يكن كذلك. والاستقراء التامّ يفيد العلم. فتبيّن بهذا أنّ النصارى ليسوا على دين المسيح ولا اعتقاد التلاميذ، بل هم هَمَل بلا راعٍ.[52] ﴿ضَلَّ سَعْيُهُمْ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَهُمْ يَحْسَبُونَ أَنَّهُمْ يُحْسِنُونَ صُنْعاً﴾.

{249} هذا آخر **التعليق على إنجيل لوقا**.

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[47] ش: التي. [48] ش: ولا. [49] ك – في. [50] ش: يشيران. [51] ش: الاهاً؛ ك – إلها. [52] ش: راعى؛ ك: رعاى.

{246} Furthermore, it cannot be said: 'The disciples' hesitation was not with regard to what Christ had informed them about his rising from the dead, but rather regarding its time about which Mary informed them, for the reality of a thing's existence may be known, but its time unknown.' This cannot be said because we say that Christ had informed them of his rising after three days, and Mary's informing them about it was after three days. Thus, the time was determined, yet they denied it, according to what you transmit about them. Therefore, this necessarily becomes an object of caution.[45]

{247} Among other things, in chapter eighty-three, (it is reported) that when the news about Christ's resurrection reached the disciples, two of them set out to travel to Emmaus. The two were talking about what had happened in the case of Christ when all of a sudden Christ appeared between the two of them, walking along with them. But their eyes were prevented from recognising him. Then, he said to them: 'What are you talking about?' They replied to him: 'About the case of Jesus the Nazarene. He was a man, a prophet, powerful in works and speech before God and all the people. Yet they handed him over to be sentenced to death.'[46]

{248} I say: The one addressing Christ was Simon Peter, who called him a prophet, and prophethood precludes divinity. This indicates that he was neither a god, nor did they believe him to be a god or a son of God. For we know by complete induction that not a single prophet was like that. And complete induction provides (epistemologically certain) knowledge. Therefore, it becomes clear by this that the Christians are neither upon the religion of Christ nor upon the belief of the disciples, but rather, they are an untended flock without a shepherd. 'Their effort goes astray in the life of the world, and yet they reckon that they do good work.'[47]

{249} This is the end of the *Critical Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*.

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[45] In other words, one must treat this passage in specific and the Gospels in general with caution, says Ṭūfī.

[46] See Luke 24:13–20.

[47] Q 18:103–104.

[التعليق على إنجيل يوحنّا][1]

{250} ولنشرع في **التعليق على إنجيل يوحنّا بن زبدي**.

{251} فمن ذلك قوله في فاتحته: "في البدء كان الكلمة، والكلمة كان عند الله، والله هو الكلمة. كان هذا قديماً عند الله. || كلّ به كان وبغيره لم يكن شيء ممّا كان". ظ239

{252} قلت: هذا الكلام من حجج النصارى التي يعتمدون عليها. وهو كلام بعضه صحيح وبعضه فاسد متهافت. وجدير بعقولهم أن يحتجّوا بمثله، فإنّ عقولهم دون عقول الصبيان. أمّا الصحيح منه[2] فقوله: "في البدء كان الكلمة". فإنّ كلام الله سبحانه صفة من صفاته، وهو عند المسلمين قديم بقدمه. وقوله: "والكلمة كان عند الله" صحيح أيضاً، لأنّ الكلمة صفته، والصفة قائمة بالموصوف. ويصحّ أن يُطلَق عليها لفظ العنديّة. وقوله: "كان هذا قديماً عند الله" هو معنى ما ذكر. وقوله: "كلّ به كان وبغيره لم يكن شيء ممّا كان" صحيح أيضاً، لأنّ الأشياء موجودة بإرادة الله وقدرته وأمره. فالإرادة تخصيص والقدرة مع الأمر تؤثّر، وفي القرآن المقدّس: ﴿إِنَّمَا أَمْرُهُ إِذَا أَرَادَ شَيْئاً أَنْ يَقُولَ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ﴾. فالكلمة

[1] ش هـ: مطلب فى تعليق انجيل يوحنّا. [2] ك – منه.

[Critical Commentary on the Gospel of John]

{250} Let us now commence the *Critical Commentary on the Gospel of John, son of Zebedee*.

{251} Among other things, there is (John's) statement in the prologue of his (Gospel): 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word. This was in pre-existence with God. Everything came into being by Him, and without Him nothing of what has come into being came into being.'[1] 239b

{252} I say: This statement is one of the arguments upon which the Christians rely. It is a statement, part of which is sound and part of which is wrong and incoherent.[2] It is apt for their minds to advance such a thing as an argument, for truly their minds are inferior to the minds of children. As for the correct part of it, it is his saying: 'In the beginning was the Word.' For truly, the speech of God, the Glorified, is one of His attributes, which according to the Muslims, is pre-existent through His pre-existence. His saying: 'and the Word was with God' is also correct, because the Word is His attribute, and an attribute (*ṣifa*) subsists in the one who is characterised by it (*mawṣūf*). Hence, it is correct to apply the expression of 'being with' (God) to it [i.e. the attribute, the Word]. Also, his saying: 'This was in pre-existence with God,' means what was mentioned. And his saying: 'Everything came into being by Him, and without Him nothing of what has come into being came into being,' is also correct, because things exist by the will of God, His power and command. Thus, the will is what specifies (the object to be created), while the power together with the command affects it [i.e. brings it into being], for in the Holy Qur'an (it is stated): 'But His command, when He wills a thing, is only that He says to it: Be! and it is.'[3] So, the Word, according to our opinion, is 'be,' and it is the imperative form of 'it was—it is' [i.e. the verb 'to be'] and by it Christ came into being. He was named a 'Word' only because

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[1] John 1:1–3.

[2] Ṭūfī's approach to the Johannine prologue contrasts with that of Ibn Ḥazm who rejects it in its totality and regards it as a lie and blasphemy (Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, vol. II, p. 161).

[3] Q 36:82.

عندنا هي "كن"، وهي أمر من "كان – يكون"، وبها كان المسيح. وإنّما سمّي كلمةً، لأنه أُوجِدَ بالكلمة. فكان[3] أحقّ بهذه التسمية من غيره، لأنّ تأثير القدرة كان فيه أظهر لكونه من غير بشر.

{253} فأمّا قولهم: "إنّ كلمة الله تجسّدت فصارت لحماً ودماً"، فلا نقول به. ولا يمكن في العقل أن يتجسّد الكلام. وقدرة الله إنّما تؤثّر في الممكنات لا في غيرها. ومن جوّز أنّ الكلمة تتجسّد حتى تصير إنساناً، فليجوّز أنها تتجسّد حتى تصير جماداً وحيواناً: ثوراً وحماراً وفرساً وكلباً وسَبُعاً وغيرها من أنواع الحيوان. ثم لتكن الحيوانات والجمادات آلهةً أو أبناء آلهة، لأنها أوجِدَت[4] بكلمة الله، وكلمة الله تجسّدت فاستحالت إلهاً!

{254} وأمّا المتهافت[5] منه فقوله: "والكلمة كان عند الله، والله هو الكلمة". وذلك لوجهين: **أحدهما** أنّ الكلمة[6] ليست هي الله. ودعوى أنها هي هو مكابرة وسفسطة، فإنّ الكلمة صفة المتكلّم، والصفة

[3] ش: وكان. [4] ك: وجدت. [5] ش هـ: قوله "وأما المتهافت"، أقول التهافت فيه، فإنّ هذا مثل ما قال أهل الإسلام في صفات الله عن أنها عينه أو زائدة أو هى بلا عين ولا غير، كما حقّق فى محلّه. ولي الدين. [6] ش – أن الكلمة.

he was brought into being by the Word. He was more worthy of this appellation than anyone else, because the affect of the (divine) power was more evident in him due to his being born from no human (father).[4]

{253} As for his saying: 'Truly, the Word of God became incarnate and turned into flesh and blood,'[5] we do not hold this opinion. Rationally, it is not possible for the Word to become incarnate. For the power of God affects only things that are possible (*mumkināt*), but not others that are impossible. And whoever admits that the Word may become incarnate by turning into a human being, should also admit that it could become incarnate by turning into an inanimate thing or into an animal, such as a bull, a donkey, a horse, a dog, a beast of prey or any other kind of animal. Consequently, the animals and inanimate things would come to be gods or sons of gods, because they are brought into existence by the Word of God, while the Word of God would become incarnate and transform itself into a god.

{254} As for the incoherent part of it, it is his saying: 'and the Word was with God, and God was the Word.'[6] This is so for two reasons. **Firstly**, the Word is not identical with God. So, any allegation that it is Him represents an act of obstinacy and sophistry, for the Word is an attribute of the one who speaks, and an attribute (*ṣifa*) is other than the one who is characterised by it (*mawṣūf*). Consequently, the Word is other than God. **Secondly**, this is a statement wherein diversity and unity are joined together in one single

[4] In the Qur'anic portrayal of Jesus, he 'was only a messenger of God, and His word which He conveyed unto Mary, and a spirit from Him' (Q 4:171). Yet the honorific titles of the 'Word of God' and 'Spirit from God' are not identical to those in Christian scriptures. As Ṭūfī points out elsewhere, Muslim exegetes have taken this title to refer to Jesus' miraculous conception. In other words, it is an allusion to his creation by the divine command 'be' (*kun*). In Qur'anic terminology, not only Jesus' creation, but the creation of the entire universe was subject to God's command 'be' (*kun*). 'He said *be* and it became,' is the general formula and pattern of God's creative power and activity. Yet this name is given specifically to Jesus in order to honour him due to his miraculous birth (Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 74). The earliest articulations of such an interpretation derive from a report by Qatāda (d. ca. 117/735), who says: 'the Word did not become Jesus, but it was through the Word that Jesus came into being,' and a parallel statement expressed by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal: 'through the Word Jesus came to existence, yet Jesus was not the Word' (Ibn Taymiyya, *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, pp. 59 and 60; see also Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Radd*, p. 58). Accordingly, Jesus is not regarded as identical with the Word of God, but rather, he is seen as the product of God's creative power put into action through His Word.

[5] John 1:14.

[6] John 1:1.

غير الموصوف. فالكلمة غير الله. **الثاني** أنّ هذا كلام جمع فيه بين التغاير والاتّحاد في قضيّة واحدة من جهة واحدة. هو تناقض محال. والوجهان اللّذان قرّرنا بهما التهافتَ في التحقيق واحد أو متلازمان.

{255} ومن ذلك قوله: "الله لم يره أحد قطّ. الابن الوحيد الذي هو في حضن أبيه هو خبّر."[7] وأظنّ هذا من كلام يوحنّا المعمدانيّ الذي هو يحيى بن زكريا.

{256} قلت: فقوله "الابن" قد بيّنّا فيما سبق أنّ المراد به "العبد" مجازاً. ووصفه || بالوحدة ليس معناه أنه ليس لله ابن غيره، بل معناه أنه وحيد في الرسالة إلى الناس، أي لا رسول معه في عصره مثله سواه. وقوله: "الذي هو في حضن أبيه" أي في رعايته وحياطته من الأعداء إلى الوقت المعلوم. وهو الذي يؤيّده بالقوى والمعجزات. فكلّ هذا يصلح أن يعبَّر عنه بالحضانة، لأنّ الله تعالى يتولّى من رسله ما يتولّى الحاضن من ولده. و240

{257} وكذلك قول يوحنّا عن المسيح: "إنه يأتي بعدي وهو قبلي كان." ليس المراد بذاته،[8] بل بالقوّة في علم الله وبشارات الأنبياء المتقدّمين، كما قال نبيّنا محمّد عليه السلام: "كنت نبياً وآدم بين الماء والطين".

{258} وقوله بعد هذا: "شهدت أنّ هذا هو ابن الله." قد سبق بيان تأويله بمعنى العبوديّة والرسالة.

[7] ش: خير. [8] ش: بداية.

case from one single perspective. It is self-contradictory and absurd. The two ways by which we have established the incoherence are in reality one and the same, or inseparable from one another.

{255} Among other things, there is his saying: 'No one has ever seen God. The only Son who is in the bosom of his Father, he has declared (Him).'[7] I think this is from the words of John the Baptist, i.e. Yaḥyā, son of Zakariyyā.

{256} I say: We have already explained earlier that the intended meaning of his saying 'the Son' is metaphorically 'the servant'. His being described by 240a
oneness does not mean that God has no son other than him, but rather, it means that he is alone in his messengership to the people, in that, there is no similar messenger beside him in his era other than him. And his saying: 'who is in the bosom (*ḥiḍn*) of his Father,' means that (Jesus) is under (God's) care and protection from enemies until the determined time. And (God) is the One Who supports him with powers and miracles. Therefore, it is appropriate that all this be interpreted in the sense of upbringing (*ḥiḍāna*), because God, Exalted is He, takes care of His messengers just as someone who brings up a child (*ḥāḍin*) would take care of his child.

{257} John further says about Christ: 'Truly, he shall come after me, yet he was before me.'[8] What is meant here is not his actual existence, but rather, his virtual presence in God's pre-existent knowledge and the glad tidings of the earlier prophets, just as our Prophet Muḥammad, peace be upon him, said: 'I was a prophet while Adam was between water and clay.'[9]

{258} Regarding his subsequent saying: 'I bear witness that this is the Son of God,'[10] it has been explained previously that its interpretation means servanthood and messengership.

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[7] John 1:18.

[8] John 1:30.

[9] This report is found in Abū al-Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʾĀlūsī, *Rūḥ al-maʿānī fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm wa-al-sabʿ al-mathānī*, ed. ʿAlī ʿA.-B. ʿAṭiyya, Beirut, 2001, vol. IV, p. 132; vol. VII, p. 286. There is also a similar report, 'I was a prophet while Adam was between the spirit (*al-rūḥ*) and the body (*jasad*)', in vol. XI, p. 152; vol. XIII, p. 282. For other variants of this *ḥadīth*, see Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *Maʿārij al-quds fī madārij maʿrifat al-nafs*, Cairo, 1927, p. 121; Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-maʾthūr wa-huwa mukhtaṣar tafsīr tarjumān al-Qurʾān*, Beirut, 2000, vol. V, pp. 352–353.

[10] John 1:34.

{259} وقوله: "هذا حَمَل الله." هذه إضافة خلق، أي الحمل المخلوق، لله. وكان عيسى أحقّ بهذه الإضافة من غيره من الناس، لأنّ تأثير القدرة فيه كان أظهر، إذ كان آيةً وعبرةً لمن اعتبر.

{260} ومن ذلك في الفصل الثالث قال لنيقوديموس:[9] "إنّي أعلّمكم بالأرضيّات فلا تؤمنون. فكيف إن علّمتكم بالساويّات تصدّقون؟ وما يصعد أحد إلى السماء إلاّ الذي نزل من السماء: ابن البشر الذي هو في السماء".

{261} قلت: الخطب في هذا يسير. فإنّ أرواح الناس كلّها تفيض عليهم من العالم العلويّ. لكن الفرق بين المسيح وغيره حيث علم ما في السماوات دون غيره من وجوه. **أحدها** الإلهام من الله، كسائر الأنبياء الذين[10] أطلعهم الله[11] على ملكوت السماوات. **الثاني** أنّ روح المسيح كانت روحاً خاصّةً ذات خصوصيّة علمت[12] كيفيّات السماوات حالَ تجرّدها، وحفظت ذلك حتى أخبرت به بعد تركّبها في الهيكل الجسمانيّ. وروح غيره لم تكن لها تلك القوّة. ولهذا كان المسيح، لقوّة نفسه وما فيها من الخصوصيّات الإلهيّة، إذا أبرأ[13] ذات[14] عاهةٍ أحسن بقوّة خرجت منه، كما أخبر بذلك لمّا لمست المرأة التي كانت تَنْزِفُ[15] الدمَ ثوبَه. **الثالث** أنّ أرواح سائر الناس إنّما تفيض عليهم إذا كمل لهم حملاً أربعة أشهر ومضت عليهم الأطوار: أربعين يوماً نطفةً، ثم أربعين علقةً، ثم أربعين مضغةً. فحينئذ ينفخ فيه الروح. والمسيح كان فيضان روحه || على بدنه مقارناً لتكوّنه. فلعلّ لهذا تأثيراً فيما ذكر. ويقال: إنّ ظ240

[9] ك: لتبقوديموس. [10] ش + الذين. [11] ش – الله. [12] ك: عقلت. [13] ش: ابرى. [14] ك: ذا. [15] ش: تنزق.

{259} As for his words: 'This is the lamb of God,'[11] here a creature, namely, the created lamb, is attributed to God. Jesus was more worthy of this attribution than any other human being, because the effect of the (divine) power in him was more evident, for he was a sign and a lesson for those who take heed.

{260} Among other things, in chapter three, (Jesus) says to Nicodemus: 'I teach you about earthly things and you do not believe. How then would you believe if I were to teach you about heavenly things? No one ascends to heaven except he who has descended from heaven, namely, the Son of Man who is in heaven.'[12]

{261} I say: The discourse here is simple. For surely, the spirits of all people emanate to them from the celestial world. However, the difference between Christ and others lies in the fact that he knew what was in heaven, while others do not, in various ways. **Firstly**, he was inspired by God, just like the rest of the prophets to whom God has revealed the kingdom of heaven. **Secondly**, the spirit of Christ was a special spirit that possessed the distinctive quality of knowing the heavenly properties while in the state of detachment (from the body) and the ability to preserve that knowledge, reporting it after (the spirit's) composition into a corporal frame. However, the spirits of others did not possess this power. Therefore, it was due to the power of his soul and what it contained of special qualities given by God that when Christ healed the crippled woman,[13] he did it excellently by the power that emanated from him, as he declared when the chronically bleeding woman touched his garment.[14] **Thirdly**, the spirits of the rest of the people emanate to them only when the first four months of the pregnancy is completed and they have passed through various stages: forty days as a drop of fluid, then forty (days) as a clinging clot, followed by forty (days) as a lump of flesh. And then the spirit is breathed into it.[15] But, in the case of Christ, his spirit's emanation to his body was concurrent with the body's coming into being. 240b
Perhaps this had an effect on what was mentioned above regarding Christ's

[11] John 1:29, 36.
[12] John 3:12–13.
[13] See Luke 13:11–13.
[14] See Matthew 9:20–22; Mark 5:25–30 and Luke 8:43–48.
[15] This is a reference to a *ḥadīth* in Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Badʾ al-khalq" 6, "Aḥādīth al-anbiyāʾ" 2, "Qadar" 1, "Tawḥīd" 28; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Qadar" 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Sunna" 17; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Qadar" 4; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Muqaddima" 10.

المسيح في الحقيقة ملَك ظهر في صورة البشر، كما ظهر جبريل في صورة دحية. وهو تحقيق لقوله تعالى: ﴿وَلَوْ جَعَلْنَاهُ مَلَكاً لَجَعَلْنَاهُ رَجُلاً﴾.

knowledge of heavenly things. It is also said that Christ is, in reality, an angel that appeared in the form of a human, just as Gabriel appeared in the form of Diḥya.[16] And this would be a fulfillment of the words of God, Exalted is He: 'Even if We had sent an angel as a messenger, We would certainly have sent him in the form of a man.'[17]

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[16] It is related in various *ḥadīths* that Gabriel appeared in the form of Diḥya, one of the companions of the Prophet. See Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, "Īmān wa-sharāʿiṭuh" 6. For similar accounts, see also Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Manāqib" 26, "Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān" 1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Īmān" 76, "Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba" 16; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Manāqib" 12.

[17] Q 6:9. The description of Jesus as an angel who appeared in human form sets Ṭūfī apart from other Muslim theologians and polemicists. It is no surprise that this peculiar opinion has baffled and even outraged some of his readers, as may be observed by the comments occupying the margins of the manuscript of his *ʿAlam*. The comment added by a reader declares Ṭūfī's view as a 'very strange thing' and finds it 'contrary to the apparent meaning of the authoritative texts (*nuṣūṣ*, i.e. Qurʾan and Sunna) and the consensus of the Muslims with regard to Jesus, peace be upon him!' (this comment belongs to the Ottoman statesman Walī al-Dīn Jār Allāh (1151/1738) who also owned the MS Şehid Ali Paşa of the *Taʿlīq*; see Ṭūfī, *ʿAlam*, p. 154, fn. 1 and also Heinrichs, "Naǧm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī's on the Incorrect Reading of the *Fātiḥa*", p. 157). Ṭūfī's short statement does not illuminate adequately the question of whether Ṭūfī himself is in favour of this view or not. It is clear, nonetheless, that he at least regards it as a possible explanation for Jesus' extraordinary nature. In his subsequent work, the *Intiṣārāt*, his apology for Islam, Ṭūfī reiterates the same opinion, but this time in relation to Jesus' celibacy. Again no further details are given as to whom this view belongs, nor is there any explicit information about Ṭūfī's own position. He only offers the image of the angelic Jesus as a justification of Jesus' non-worldly lifestyle. The passage identifies Jesus' nature as having angelic features, to the extent that even after becoming a man, Jesus continued to live in a similar manner to the angels. He was deprived of sexual needs, for his angelic character prevailed over his human personification (*Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 284). Subsequently, in his discussion against the Muʿtazilites, Ṭūfī aims to prove that the acts of both reaching the right path and going astray are ultimately caused by God. This verse (Q 6:9), along with Q 6:53 and 22:52–53, shows for Ṭūfī that the Christians were puzzled and misled by the confusion caused by God. In this passage, the notion of the angel-Jesus is again attributed to an unknown party, suggested by the passive form 'it was said'. Yet, Ṭūfī does not mind interpreting the Qurʾanic text on the basis of this view (*Darʾ*, p. 277). The development of Ṭūfī's thought reaches its climax in his treatise on the art of disputation, *ʿAlam al-jadhal*, in which he explicitly confirms that he himself thinks Jesus might have been an angel who appeared in human form. He also assumes that perhaps it was for this reason that the Christians went astray and took Jesus to be a god. The case is, nevertheless, presented as a possibility, rather than a definite claim (*ʿAlam*, p. 154). Ṭūfī's undertaking further culminates in his last work, the *Ishārāt*, his theological commentary on the Qurʾan. He interprets the same verse (Q 6:9) once again in light of Jesus' angelic nature. Here we find Ṭūfī suggesting that the concept of an angelic Jesus is derived from the Christian claim concerning the divine Jesus. They are parallel to each other, since both of them attribute some sort of 'incarnation' to Jesus; an incarnation of God in the latter, while in the former, an incarnation of an angel. As observed in the previous cases, here too Ṭūfī does not offer any precise reference for the reader. Yet, one is inclined to think that it is the Christians whom the expression 'some of them' refers to

{262} وقال بعد هذا: "أحبّ الله العالم فبذل ابنه الوحيد لكي لا[16] يهلك بل تكون له حياة الأبد".

{263} قلت: قد بيّنّا معنى "الابن الوحيد". وحينئذ يكون في ذلك كسائر الأنبياء، لأنّ الله تعالى بذلهم وحيدين في أعصارهم ليهدوا العالم وينقذوه من كيد الشيطان ومكره.

{264} ومن ذلك في الفصل السابع قال: "وكان اليهود يريدون قتل يسوع، لأنه كان ينقض السبت عليهم بإبرائه المرضى فيه، ولأنه كان يقول إنه ابن الله ويعادل نفسه بالله".

{265} قلت: هذا كذب على المسيح أنه كان يزعم أنه معادل لله، لأنه مناقض لقوله لمّا ربطوه ليصلبوه: "إلهي، عبّر[17] عنيّ هذه[18] الكأس. وليس كإرادتي، بل كإرادتك". ولو كان عديله لعادلت إرادتُه إرادتَه. فلما غلبت إرادة الله إرادته دلّ على بطلان هذا النقل عنه. ثم إنّ هذا تخليط منهم، فإنّ هؤلاء يزعمون أنه الله، ومعادل الله لايكون هو هو بل غيره. وأمّا زعمه أنه ابنه، فإن ثبت عنه فتأويله سبق.

{266} وكذلك قوله: "لأنّ الأعمال التي يعملها الأب يعمل الابن مثلها" يقتضي العموم والاستغراق. فيلزم منه إمّا انحصار أعمال الله فيما كان يعمله المسيح، أو عملُ المسيح مثل جميع ما عمل الله سبحانه. وهو باطل. وإن ادّعيتموه منعتموه. وإن زعمتم أنّ اللام في "الأعمال" ليست للاستغراق، بل

[16] ش ك: لكيلا. [17] ش: غير. [18] ش ك: هذا.

(*Ishārāt*, vol. II, pp. 147–148). By analyzing the relevant texts, one may consider that despite the ambiguous wording, Ṭūfī appears to favour the notion of an angelic Jesus, since he raises it in his five different works as a possible explanation for Jesus' extraordinary nature. Not only does he allude to it as a quotation from an anonymous party, but in one place, as noted above, he explicitly confirms that this represents his own view. His effort in offering textual evidence from both the Qur'an and the *ḥadīth* illustrates how seriously he takes this opinion.

{262} He thereafter said: 'God so loved the world that He offered His only Son so that no one should perish, but they would have eternal life.'[18]

{263} I say: We have already explained the meaning of the 'only Son'. In that regard (Jesus) is like the rest of the prophets, because God, Exalted is He, sent each one of them alone in their respective times so that they might guide the world and save it from the Devil's guile and deception.

{264} Among other things, in chapter seven, (John) says: 'The Jews wanted to kill Jesus, because he used to violate the Sabbath against them by healing the sick on it, and because he used to say that he was the Son of God and used to equate himself with God.'[19]

{265} I say: This is a lie against Christ. To say that he claimed to be equal with God stands in contradiction to the statement he made when they bound him in order to crucify him: 'My God, let this cup pass away from me. Yet let it not be according to my will, but according to Your will.'[20] For had he been (God's) equal, his will would have equaled (God's). The fact that God's will prevailed over his will indicates the invalidity of this report from him. Moreover, this is a confusion created by (the Christians), for it is these people who claim that he is God, while the equal of God cannot be identical with Him, but rather must be other than Him. As for his claim that he is His son, if that claim is proven to be from him, then its interpretation has already been mentioned earlier.

{266} Furthermore, (Jesus') saying: 'For the works that the Father does, the Son does likewise,'[21] necessarily implies generality (*ʿumūm*) and universality (*istighrāq*).[22] It necessarily results from this statement, either that God's works are confined to what Christ does, or that Christ's work is similar to the entirety of what God, the Glorified, does. However, this is absurd. If you claim one, you negate the other. Yet if you claim that the definite article (*lām*) in 'the works' (*al-aʿmāl*) does not stand for universality, but rather that it specifically means works such as reviving the dead and the like, then it is

[18] John 3:16.
[19] See John 5:18.
[20] Matthew 26:39. See also Mark 14:36 and Luke 22:42.
[21] John 5:19.
[22] It has a generic meaning.

أراد الأعمال من إحياء الموتى ونحوه، فهو خلاف ظاهر اللفظ. ثم لا تبقى فيه حجّة، لأنّ سائر الأنبياء عملوا بعض أعمال الله بقدرته.

{267} وكذلك قوله: "ليس الأب يدين أحداً، بل أعطى الحكم كلّه للابن ليكرم الابنَ جميعُ الناس، كما يكرمون الأب". فإنه مناقض لاستقالته من الصلب. فلم يقل، لأنّ من جُعل له الحكمُ كلّه، كيف لم يملك لنفسه الخلاص ممّا يكره؟ ولكن هذه خرافات كلّها. وأنا أحلف ولا أستثني أنّ المسيح لم يقل شيئاً من هذا! ولا كره الصلب، ولا استقال منه. بل لعلّه كان آثر عنده من البقاء لعلمه بما يصير إليه من كرامة الله له على تسليمه لقضائه وقدرته وصبره || على الأذى. فلا جرم أنّ الله سبحانه وتعالى[19] و241
نظر إلى يقينه ورضاه، فخلّصه، وأوقع اليهود والنصارى في الضلال واختلاق المحال.

{268} ومن ذلك قوله في هذا الفصل: "إنه ستأتي ساعة وهي الآن حاضرة يسمع فيها الأموات صوت ابن الله. والذين[20] يسمعونه يحيون، لأنه كما أنّ للأب[21] الحياة في ذاته كذلك أعطى الابنَ أن تكون الحياة فيه واعطاه سلطاناً أن يكون يحكم، لأنه ابن البشر".

{269} قلت: هذا كلام جمع محالاً وتناقضاً وفسادَ تعليل. أمّا المحال فقوله: "إنه ستأتي ساعة". فإنه يريد بها ساعة القيامة حين تأتي لبعث الناس ودينونتهم. فقوله: "وهي الآن حاضرة" محال، إذ ساعتنا هذه مثلاً ليست هي ساعة القيامة. ولا يصحّ هذا الكلام إلاّ بتأويل بعيد جداً. وهو أن يقال بتقديره:

[19] ك – وتعالى. [20] ش ك: والذى. [21] ش ك: ان الاب.

in disagreement with the literal meaning of this expression. Moreover, there remains no proof in (asserting Jesus' distinction), for the rest of the prophets have done some of the works of God by His power.

{267} (Jesus) further says: 'The Father does not judge anyone, but rather, He gave all judgement to the Son, so that all the people should honour the Son, just as they honour the Father.'[23] This statement contradicts his desire to be released from crucifixion. But in fact he did not say this, for how could someone who had been given all judgement be unable to liberate himself from what he disliked? All these reports are fairy tales. I swear, without making any exception, that Christ did not say any of this! Neither did he dislike the crucifixion, nor did he desire to be released from it. On the contrary, he may have even preferred to remain on the cross, as he knew what was about to reach him of the divine favour to him, because of his submitting himself to God's decree and power, and for his patient endurance of his suffering. Surely, God, Glorified and Exalted is He, observed 241a
the certainty of his faith and his consent, so He delivered him and caused the Jews and the Christians to go astray and fabricate falsehood.[24]

{268} Among other things, there is (Jesus') saying in this chapter: 'Verily, an hour shall come, which is now already present, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God. And those who hear it shall live, because as the Father has life in His essence, so has He given the Son to have life in himself and has given him authority to judge, because he is the Son of Man.'[25]

{269} I say: This is a statement that brings together absurdity, contradiction and faulty reasoning. As for absurdity, it relates to his saying: 'Verily, an hour shall come'. He meant by it the Hour of Resurrection, when the people will be resuscitated and judged. His saying: 'which is now already present,' is also absurd, for this hour of ours, for instance, is not the Hour of Resurrection. This statement is incorrect, except in the case of an extremely far-fetched interpretation, which is to suppose that: 'The power by which the dead shall

[23] John 5:22–23.

[24] Ṭūfī clearly believes that Christ was ready to suffer on the cross and submit himself to God's will. As a result of his steadfast trust in God and His omnipotence, he deserved to be saved from the crucifixion through the intervention of God. His readiness in this instance to bear the sufferings to come has close affinities with that of many other messengers of God at moments of divine trial.

[25] John 5:25–27.

"إنّ القدرة التي يحيي بها الموتى في ساعة القيامة هي موجودة الآن." هذا الذي يظهر لي في تصحيحه. فإن كان له تأويل آخر أقرب من هذا، فعليهم بيانه.

{270} وأمّا التناقض فقوله: "كما أن الحياة في ذات الأب كذلك أعطى الابنَ أن تكون الحياة فيه". فإنّ هذا، مع ما سبق من أنه يعادل نفسه بالله وأنّ الأعمال التي يعملها الأب يعمل الابن مثلها، يقتضي أنّ حياة ذاته كحياة ذات أبيه. ولو كان كذلك، لم يتطرّق عليه الموت، كما لا يتطرّق على أبيه. وليس كذلك. بل الأناجيل متّفقة على أنه لمّا صلب صاح، وأسلم الروح، ثمّ قام من الأموات بعد ثلاث. وتضمّنت الأناجيل أيضاً أنه أخبرهم بأنه يصلب ويقوم من الأموات بعد ثلاث.

{271} فإن قيل: معنى موته أنّ الروح فارقه والروح لم يمت.

{272} قلنا: فهيرودس وفيلاطس ورؤساء الكهنة الذين تألّبوا في صلبه، بل فرعون وهامان وقارون، لمّا ماتوا هكذا جرى[22] لهم. إنمّا فارقتهم أرواحهم ولم تمت. وكذلك جميع الناس.

{273} فإن قال قائل: إنّ المسيح هو الله. فلا يرد هذا التناقض ببيان التفاوت بين حياته وحياة أبيه.

{274} قلنا: فيكون الله سبحانه قد مات لمّا صُلب المسيح ثلاثة أيّام وبقي الوجود في تلك الأيّام بلا إله. وقد علم أنّ قرية من قرى الدنيا إذا خلت من سلطانها لحظةً واحدةً خربت. فكيف لم يخرب الوجود حيث بقي ثلاثة أيّام بلا مدبّر؟[23] || وهذا لازم لمن ادّعى ذلك. فإن ادّعى مدّعٍ أنّ المسيح ظ241
هو الله أو[24] هو ابن الله ولمّا صُلب لم يصلب اللهُ معه، كان ذلك من الهذيان الذي لا جواب له إلاّ سكنى المارستان. والله المستعان.

[22] ك: جرا. [23] ش + هـ (المتن من هنا إلى آخر النسخة مكتوب بخطّ مختلف). [24] ش: و.

live in the Hour of Resurrection already exists now.' In the effort to render it sound, this is the only interpretation which occurs to me. If there were any other interpretation more feasible than this, they would have to explain it.

{270} As for contradiction, it relates to his saying: 'as there is life in the essence of the Father, so has He given the Son to have life in himself.' This, together with what has been mentioned earlier, that he equated himself with God and that the works that the Father does, the Son also does, require that the life of his essence be like the life of his Father's essence. Had this been the case, death could not have found its way to him, just as it cannot find its way to his Father. However, this is not the case. On the contrary, the Gospels are in agreement that when he was crucified, he cried out and gave up the spirit, then he rose from the dead after three (days). The Gospels also contain (the report stating) that he informed (his disciples) that he would be crucified and rise from the dead after three (days).

{271} If it is said: The meaning of his death is that the spirit abandoned him, but the spirit did not die.

{272} We say: The same thing happened to Herod, Pilate and the heads of the priests who leagued together to crucify him, and even to Pharaoh, Haman and Karun, when they died. Only their spirits abandoned them, but did not die. And this is the case with the whole of humanity.

{273} If someone says: Christ is God Himself, and such contradiction cannot occur by simply declaring that his life and the life of his Father are distinct from one another.

{274} We say: When Christ was crucified, then God, Glorified is He, would have died for three days and the universe would have remained without a god during that period. However, it is a known fact that any town in the world falls apart when it is devoid of its ruler for even one single moment. So, how did the universe not fall apart when it remained for three days without a Sustainer? Whoever claims such a view is compelled to accept 241b
this argument. Yet if someone claims that Christ is God Himself or the Son of God, and that when he was crucified, God was not crucified with him, then that is no more than delirious talk for which there is no response except to give him a place in a lunatic asylum. And God is the One Whose help is sought.

{275} وأمّا فساد التعليل فقوله: "وأعطاه سلطاناً أن يكون يحكم، لأنه ابن البشر". فإنّ هذا فاسد الوضع، لأنه علّق على العلّة نقيض ما تقتضيه، لأنّ البشريّة والنسبة إليها ضعيفة، فلا تناسب إعطاء السلطان لأجلها. وإنّما المناسب أن يقول: أعطاه سلطاناً، لأنه ابن الله، لأنّ الإلهيّة قويّة تناسب إعطاء السلطان لأجلها. ثمّ لو كان أعطاه[25] السلطان،[26] لأنه ابن البشر، وكانت البشريّة تناسب إعطاء السلطان، لكان غير المسيح أحقّ بذلك، لأنه ابن بشر واحد، وغيره ابن بشرين اثنين. فعلّة إعطاء السلطان فيه أقوى وأكمل. ولا يظهر لي في تصحيح هذا الكلام على جمة الإنصاف إلاّ أنّ تقديره أنه أعطاه سلطان الحكم وجعله حاكماً على البشر، لأنه بشر من جنسهم، فهم له أشدّ إلفاً وانقياداً من الملائكة الذين ليسوا[27] من جنسهم. فإن كان تأويله هذا، فهو قريب. وإلاّ، فعليهم بيانه.

{276} ومن ذلك قوله: "لا تظنّوا أنّني أشكوكم عند الأب. إنّ لكم من يشكوكم: موسى الذي عليه تتوكّلون. فلو كنتم آمنتم بموسى آمنتم بي، لأنّ ذلك كتَب من أجلي".

{277} قلت: هذه محاجّة حجّ بها المسيح اليهود.[28] وحاصلها أنّ موسى بشّر بي وبعث مقدَّمةً بين يديّ. فلما لم تؤمنوا بي لم تؤمنوا بموسى، لأنّ من جملة ما جاءكم به الإيمان بي. واليهود كانوا يكذّبون عيسى في هذه الدعوى وينكرون معرفته ولا يعرفونه إلاّ بيسوع بن يوسوف الناصريّ. والنصارى عندهم أنّ هذه حجّة فلج فيها المسيح على اليهود. فكذلك محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم.[29] إذا حاجّ النصارى بما حاجّ به المسيح اليهود فلج عليهم، لأنّ الصورة والدعوى واحدة. فإنّ محمّداً قال للنصارى: إنّ عيسى بشّر بي، وبعث مقدَّمةً بين يديّ. فلما لم تؤمنون بي لم تؤمنوا بالمسيح، لأنّ من جملة ما

[25] ش: اعطاوه. [26] ك: للسلطان. [27] ش: ليس. [28] ش ك: لليهود. [29] ش – وسلم.

{275} As for the faulty reasoning, it relates to his saying: 'and has given him authority to judge, because he is the Son of Man.' This is an unsound conclusion, because it links the cause with the opposite of what it requires, for human nature and all that is attributed to it is weak and it is not appropriate to bestow authority to someone on account of it. It would be appropriate to say: He has given him authority, because he is the Son of God, for divine nature is strong, and it is proper to give authority on account of it. Furthermore, if He had given him authority because he is the Son of Man, and it is proper for human nature to be given authority, then anyone other than Christ would be more worthy of that, since he is son of one human being, while everyone else is son of two human beings. So, the cause for giving authority to him would be stronger and more fitting. In order to render this statement sound, no explanation occurs to me except to suppose that (God) gave (Jesus) authority to judge and made him a judge over mankind because he is a human being of their kind, and they would have a stronger familiarity and compliance with him than with the angels, who are not of their kind. Therefore, if this is the interpretation of it, then it is feasible. Otherwise they have to explain it.

{276} Among other things, (Jesus) says: 'Do not think that I shall complain of you to the Father. You have one who shall complain of you: Moses, upon whom you rely. For if you believed in Moses, you would believe in me, because he wrote of me.'[26]

{277} I say: This is an argument by which Christ overcame the Jews. The gist of it is that 'Moses has announced the glad tidings about me, and has been sent in advance as a herald before me. And as long as you do not believe in me, you do not believe in Moses, for among the things he brought to you was belief in me.' However, the Jews used to accuse Jesus of lying with regard to this claim and would refuse to acknowledge him, recognising him only as Jesus, son of Joseph the Nazarene. According to the Christians this is an argument by which Christ defeated the Jews. Likewise did Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace. When he contended with the Christians by the same argument which Christ had used when he contended with the Jews, he defeated them, because the form of the argument, as well as the claim, was the same. Muḥammad said to the Christians: 'Truly, Jesus

[26] John 5:45–46.

جاءكم به الإيمان بي، مع أنّ النصارى كذّبوا محمّداً في هذه الدعوى وأنكروا أنّ له عندهم اسماً أو
يعلمون له علماً. || فيكون قد فلج فيها على النصارى كما فلج المسيح في دعواه على اليهود. وإلاّ، فيلزم و242
أنّ المسيح لم يحجّ اليهود في هذه الدعوى، فيكون كاذباً فيها. والكاذب في كلمة واحدة لا يصلح أن
يكون عدلاً فضلاً عن رسول بل عن الله أو ابنه على زعمهم. فإن سلّموا لليهود هذا[30] في المسيح،
سلّمنا لهم مثله في محمّد. وحينئذ يلزم أحد أمرين: إمّا التسوية بين محمّد والمسيح في إثبات الرسالة،
أو نفيها. والنفي لا يقولون به في المسيح. فيلزم الإثبات.

[30] ك – هذا.

has announced the glad tidings about me, and has been sent in advance as a herald before me. As long as you do not believe in me, you do not believe in Christ, for among the things he brought to you is belief in me.' However, the Christians accused Muḥammad of lying with regard to this claim and refused to recognise that there was any mention of him among them or that they knew any sign of him.[27] So, he defeated the Christians, 242a
just as Christ had defeated the Jews regarding his claim. Yet, (denying this to Muḥammad) would necessarily imply that Christ did not defeat the Jews with such a claim and he would consequently be a liar in that regard. And whoever lies even in one single word is not qualified to be a just person, let alone a messenger, or even God or His son, as is their allegation. So, if they deliver this argument to the Jews with regard to Christ, then we deliver the same to them with regard to Muḥammad. Then, one of two matters necessarily follows: either to place Muḥammad and Christ on an equal footing in accepting the validity of messengership, or to deny it. As for denying it, they do not say so about Christ. Therefore, it becomes necessary for them to accept both as valid.[28]

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[27] This is so if read as *ʿalaman*, but if we were to read it *ʿilman* then the meaning becomes: 'or that they had any knowledge of him.'

[28] In the present argument, Ṭūfī compares the denial of Muḥammad's prophethood with the rejection of Jesus' mission. Jesus was denied by the Jews although his coming had been foretold by Moses. Similarly, Muḥammad was denied by the Christians even though he had been foretold by Jesus. This reminds us of the parallel argument employed by many Muslim theologians in their discourse with Christians, the traces of which may be found as early as the 8th century. The caliph al-Mahdī is reported to have said to his Christian interlocutor that: 'As the Jews behaved towards Jesus, whom they did not accept, so the Christians behaved towards Muḥammad, whom they did not accept' (Mingana, "The Apology of Timothy", p. 35). Following the same line of reasoning, Ṭūfī's contemporaries and fellow Ḥanbalites, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Qayyim, reach the same conclusion (Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, p. 143; Ibn al-Qayyim, *Hidāyat*, p. 140). Another contemporary of Ṭūfī, the poet Būṣīrī, draws the reader's attention to such parallels with his address to Christians: 'You have learned from the Jews unbelief, just as Cain learned from the crow (the act of) burial.' The Christian approach to Islam is further explained by him in terms of retaliation (*qiṣāṣ*). The Christians have denied the Qur'an, just as their Gospel had been denied by the Jews (Būṣīrī, *Makhraj*, p. 226). By equating the denial of Muḥammad's prophethood with the rejection of Jesus' mission, the Christian interlocutor is made to recognise the gravity of his position. Yet, in this passage Ṭūfī appears to have taken a step further, as his words imply that by rejecting Jesus the Jews have disbelieved in Moses, who foretold Jesus (John 5:45–47). Applying the same reasoning to the Christians, Ṭūfī warns them that their denial of Muḥammad also means a denial of Jesus, since he foretold his coming.

{278} فإن قيل: هذا غير لازم، لأنّ المسيح فلج على اليهود في حجّته دون محمّد على النصارى. والفرق بينهما ظهور المعجز على يد المسيح دون محمّد.

{279} قلنا: هذا سؤال قد أحكمنا جوابه فيما سبق[31] من إنجيل متّى عند إطعام المسيح أربعة آلاف[32] رجل من خمس خبزات وحوتين. فكملت الحجّة ولزمكم ما تكرهون.

{280} ومن ذلك في الفصل الثامن أنّ المسيح لمّا أشبع خمسة آلاف[33] رجل من خمسة أرغفة وسمكتين قال الناس: "حقاً إنّ هذا هو النبيّ الجائي إلى العالم".

{281} قلت: فهذا نصّ الإنجيل على أنّ الناس اعتقدوه نبياً وأنّ الأنبياء قبله بشّروا به على أنه نبيّ. فالإلهيّة من أين جاءته؟ وهما ممّا لا يجتمعان حتى يقال: لا تنافى بين كونه نبياً و[34] إلهاً.

{282} ومن ذلك في الفصل التاسع أنّ الناس لمّا أكلوا الخبز الذي أطعمهم تبعوه إلى كفرناحوم. فقال: "ما جئتموني إلاّ للخبز. فاعملوا لا للطعام البائد،[35] بل للطعام الباقي للحياة المؤبّدة يعطيكموه ابن البشر، لأن هذا الله الربّ قد أحكمه"[36] – أو "ختمه." قالوا له:[37] "ما نصنع حتى نعمل أعمال الله؟" قال: "هذا هو عمل الله. فآمنوا بمن أرسله".

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[31] ك: قد احكمنا فيما سبق جوابه. [32] ش: الف. [33] ش ك: الف. [34] ش: او. [35] ش: النابت. [36] ش ك: حكمه. [37] ك – له.

{278} If it is said: This does not compel us to accept the argument, for Christ defeated the Jews in his argument, but not Muḥammad the Christians. And the difference between the two is that miracles have appeared at Christ's hand, but not at Muḥammad's.

{279} We say: This is a question which we have thoroughly answered in what has been previously mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew regarding Christ's feeding four thousand men with five loaves of bread and two fishes.[29] Thus, the argument is complete and you are compelled to accept what you dislike.

{280} Among other things, in chapter eight, (there is a report) that when Christ satiated five thousand men with five loaves of bread and two fishes, the people said: 'In truth, this is the prophet who is coming into the world.'[30]

{281} I say: This is an explicit declaration of the Gospel revealing that the people believed (Jesus) to be a prophet, and that the prophets before him had announced the glad tidings concerning him, that he would be a prophet. So, from where has divine nature come to him? For they are two notions that cannot be combined; hence it cannot be said: His being a prophet does not preclude his being a god.

{282} Among other things, in chapter nine, (there is a report) that when the people had eaten the bread which he had fed them with, they followed him to Capernaum. Then he said: 'You did not come to me except for the bread. Work not for the perishing food, but for the enduring food of everlasting life, which the Son of Man is giving you, because this one God the Lord has indeed strengthened'—or 'has indeed sealed'. They said to him: 'What shall we do so that we work the works of God?' He said: 'This is the very work of God. So, believe in him whom He has sent.'[31]

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[29] See Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, §§72–79. However, in the Gospel of Matthew (14:21) the crowd is numbered at five thousand.

[30] John 6:14.

[31] John 6:26–29.

{283} قلت: فهذا اعتراف منه بأنه رسول يعمل ما يعمله بالتأييد الإلهيّ، لا أنه هو الله.[38] وإلاّ، لقال لهم: "أنا الله، وهذا عملي"، لأنه وقت البيان وتأخيره عن وقت الحاجة لا يجوز. وأيضاً قوله: "لأنّ هذا الله[39] الربّ قد أحكمه"[40] فقد اعترف بالربوبيّة لله.[41] فيكون هو عبده. وقوله: "هذا هو عمل الله. فآمنوا بمن أرسله" || يعني نفسه. فاعترف بأنه معمول مخلوق مرسَل لله سبحانه. ظ242

{284} وذكر بعد ذلك أنهم قالوا: "إنّ آباءنا أكلوا المنّ في البرّيّة، وجاءهم خبز من السماء. فأرنا أنت آية وأعطنا في كلّ حين من هذا الخبز." فقال: "إنّ موسى لم يعطكم الخبز من السماء، وإنّما أعطاكموه أبي، لأنّ خبز الله هو الذي نزل من السماء ويهب الحياة للعالم. وأنا خبز الحياة، ومن يُقبِل إليّ لا يجوع، ومن يؤمن بي لا يعطش إلى الأبد."

{285} ثم ذكر بعد ذلك أنّ اليهود تذمّروا عليه، لأنه قال: "أنا الخبز الذي نزل من السماء". وقالوا: "أليس هذا يسوع بن يوسف؟ نعرف أباه وأمّه. فكيف يقول: نزلت من السماء؟"

{286} قلت: فمن توهّم من هذا أنّ عيسى نفسه خبز فهو مجنون. وإنّما معناه: "أنّ بسببي بقاء الإنسان الدائم في الآخرة، كما أنّ بسبب الخبز بقاؤه في الدنيا." كما قال لمّا قيل له: "أمّك وإخوتك يطلبونك"، فقال: "هؤلاء أمّي و إخوتي"، يعني التلاميذ وغيرهم من المسترشدين. وكما قال له رجل: "أريد أدفن أبي"، فقال: "دع الموتى يدفنون موتاهم." فهذا مجاز ظاهر. وإنّما تغيّظت عليه اليهود لدعواه أنه نزل من السماء.

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[38] ك: اله. [39] ك – الله. [40] ش ك: حكمه. [41] ش – لله، + فيه.

{283} I say: This is an acknowledgment by him indicating that he is a messenger who works whatever He works by divine support, but not that he is God Himself. Otherwise, he would have said to them: 'I am God and this is My work,' because that would be the time to announce it, and it would not be permissible to delay this announcement beyond the time of need. Moreover, his statement: 'because this one God the Lord has indeed strengthened,' acknowledges the lordship of God. So, he is (God's) servant. And his statement: 'This is the very work of God. So, believe in him whom He has sent,' refers to himself. Thus, he acknowledges that he is made, created and sent by God, Glorified is He. 242b

{284} Subsequently, it is mentioned that the people said: 'Verily, our fathers ate manna in the wilderness, while bread came to them from heaven. Show us a sign and give us each day from this bread.' Then (Jesus) said: 'Verily, Moses did not give you the bread from heaven, but my Father gave it to you, because the bread of God is that which descends from heaven and grants life to the world. I am the bread of life, so whoever turns to me shall not hunger, and whoever believes in me shall never thirst.'[32]

{285} Afterwards, it is mentioned that the Jews grumbled about him, for he had said: 'I am the bread which descended from heaven.' They said: 'Is not this one Jesus, son of Joseph? We know his father and his mother. How is it then that he says: "I have descended from heaven"?'[33]

{286} I say: Whoever is under the illusion because of this statement that Jesus himself is bread is insane, for it means: 'I am the means for mankind's eternal life in the Hereafter, just as bread is the means for his continued existence in this world.' This is like his response when he was told: 'Your mother and your brethren are seeking you', saying: 'These are my mother and my brethren',[34] meaning the disciples and other seekers of guidance. Likewise is the case when a man said to him: 'I want to bury my father,' and he responded: 'Leave the dead to bury their own dead.'[35] It is obvious, therefore, that the above-mentioned expression should also be taken as a metaphor. And the Jews became angry at him only because he claimed he had descended from heaven.

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[32] John 6:30–35.
[33] John 6:41–42.
[34] Matthew 12:47–49; Mark 3:32–34 and Luke 8:20–21.
[35] Matthew 8:21–22 and Luke 9:59–60.

{287} فأمّا قول اليهود بعد هذا: "كيف يقدر هذا على أن يعطينا جسده لنأكله؟" وجوابه لهم: "إن لم تأكلوا جسد ابن البشر وتشربوا دمه فليس لكم حياة فيكم. من يأكل جسدي ويشرب دمي فله[42] الحياة الدائمة، لأنّ جسدي مأكل حقّ ودمي مشرب حقّ. من يأكل جسدي ويشرب دمي يثبت[43] فيّ وأنا أثبت[44] فيه" فإن لم يحمل على مجاز شايع فلا أعلم ما هو.

{288} ومن ذلك قوله في هذا الفصل: "أنا أتكلّم بالذي رأيت عند الأب،[45] وأنتم تعملون[46] ما رأيتم عند أبيكم." قالوا: "أبونا هو إبراهيم." قال لهم: "لو كنتم بني إبراهيم عملتم عمل إبراهيم. ولكنّكم تعملون أعمال أبيكم." فقالوا: "لسنا مولودين من زناء. وإنّما[47] لنا أب واحد هو الله." قال[48] لهم: "لو كان الله أباكم كنتم تحبّوني، لأنّي خرجت من الله. لكنّكم من أبيكم[49] إبليسَ، وبشهوة[50] أبيكم تهوون.[51] [ذلك] الذي هو من البدء قتّال للناس."[52]

{289} قلت: ففي هذا الكلام قد أضيف اليهود بالبنوّة إلى الله وإلى إبراهيم وإلى إبليس جميعاً. فدلّ على أنّ لفظ الأبوّة والبنوّة[53] تارةً يراد بها حقيقتُها كإضافتهم بها إلى إبراهيم، وتارةً مجازُها كإضافتهم إلى الله وإلى إبليس بعلاقة الطاعة. كما يطيع الابن أباه ويرحم الأب ابنه وكذلك هي في حقّ المسيح بالنسبة إلى الله سبحانه. وإلاّ، وجب أن يكون اليهود أبناء الله بتقدير حبّهم للمسيح بل والنصارى[54] وسائر العالم، ولا قائل به.

{290} ومن ذلك قوله في الفصل الخامس عشرة وغيره من الأناجيل: "من رآني فقد || رأى الذي أرسلني." و243

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[42] ش: وله. [43] ش: ينبت. [44] ش: أنبت. [45] ش: الرب. [46] ش: تعلمون. [47] ك – وإنما. [48] ك: قا. [49] ك – كنتم تحبوني لأني خرجت من الله لكنكم من أبيكم. [50] ش: وبنبوة. [51] ش: تهزءون. [52] ش: الناس. [53] ك: البنوه والابوه. [54] ك: وللنصارى.

{287} As for the following statement of the Jews: 'How can this one give us his body to eat?' and his response to them: 'Unless you eat the body of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you shall have no life in you. Whoever eats my body and drinks my blood shall have perpetual life, for my body is true food and my blood is true drink. Whoever eats my body and drinks my blood shall abide in me, and I shall abide in him.'[36] Unless this is understood as a common metaphor, I do not know what it means.

{288} Among other things, (Jesus) says in this chapter: 'I speak of that which I have seen with the Father, while you do that which you have seen with your father.' They said: 'Our father is Abraham.' He said to them: 'If you were the children of Abraham, you would do the work of Abraham. However, you do the works of your father.' And they said: 'We are not born of adultery, but we have only One Father, God Himself.' He said to them: 'If God were your Father, you would love me, for I come from God. However, you are from your father Satan, and by the lust of your father you desire. He is the one who has been a murderer of people from the beginning.'[37]

{289} I say: In this statement the Jews are related to God, to Abraham and to Satan altogether by sonship. Hence, this indicates that the expressions of fatherhood and sonship are sometimes used in their literal meaning, as in the case when (the Jews) are placed thereby in a relationship with Abraham, and sometimes in their metaphorical meaning, such as the case when (the Jews) are placed in a relationship with God and Satan through the bond of obedience. Just as a son obeys his father and a father has mercy on his son, likewise is Christ's relation to God, the Glorified. Otherwise, it would necessarily imply that the Jews should be 'the Sons of God' if they love Christ, and so should be the Christians and the rest of the world, but there is no one who claims this.

{290} Among other things, in chapter fifteen and other parts of the Gospels, (Jesus) says: 'Whoever sees me has indeed seen Him Who sent me.'[38] 243a

[36] John 6:52–56.
[37] John 8:38–44.
[38] John 12:45. See also John 14:9.

{291} قد يُتوهّم بهذا أنهما واحد كما يقول النصارى. وليس كذلك، لأنه قد صرّح غير موضع، وهو في الأرض، أنّ أباه في السماء. واتّحادهما مع ذلك محال لا يعقل. وإنّما مجاز هذا الكلام أنّ "أفعالي تشبه أفعال الذي أرسلني. وأنا آمُرُ بأمره وأنهى بنهيه. فمن رآني فكأنّما قد رأه، لأنه لا يُرى إلاّ من يأمره وينهاه بمثل ما آمره به وأنهاه." وهذا كما نقول لشخص: "أتحبّ أن ترى زيداً؟ فانظر أخاه عمرواً للشبه الذي بينهما."

{292} ومن ذلك قوله في السادس عشر أو السابع عشر لتلاميذه: "لا تضطرب قلوبكم. آمنوا بالله وآمنوا بي!"

{293} وهذا يدلّ على تغايرهما، والنصارى يقولون: المسيح هو الله.

{294} ومن ذلك أنّ فيلّفس قال له: "يا سيّد، أرنا الأب وحسبنا." قال له يسوع: "أنا معكم كلّ هذا الزمان، ولم تعرفني، يا فيلّفس؟ من رآني فقد رأى الأب. فكيف تقول أنت: أرنا الأب؟[55] أما تؤمن أنّني في الأب والأب فيّ؟ وهذا الذي أتكلّم به ليس من عندي، بل أبي الذي هو حالّ فيّ. هو يفعل هذه الأفعال. آمنوا بي،[56] أنا في الأب، والأب فيّ".[57]

{295} قلت: هذا الكلام لو سمع[58] من الأب الذي لا نزاع فيه وجاءت به المرسلون أجمعون لوجب تأويله إذ ظاهره محال، لأنه لا يمكن أن يكون شيئان كلّ منهما في الآخر كما لا يمكن أن يكون كلّ منهما عين[59] الآخر. ومن يعتقد ظاهر هذا الكلام وحقيقته فليس من العقلاء حتى يناظر. وإذاً وجب

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[55] ش – فكيف تقول أنت أرنا الأب. [56] ك: انى. [57] ك + وهذا الذى اكلم به لسس من عندى بل انى الذي هو حال فىّ هو بفعل هذه الافعال امنوا بى انا فى الاب. [58] ك – لو سمع. [59] ك: على.

{291} Here one might fall into the delusion that the two are one, just as the Christians claim. However, this is not the case, for he had explicitly stated in more than one place that his Father is in heaven, while he himself is on earth. Therefore, it is an unintelligible absurdity to unify the two in spite of that. Yet, the metaphorical meaning of this statement is that, 'My acts resemble the acts of Him Who sent me. I command by His commandment and prohibit by His prohibition. Thus, whoever sees me, it is as if he has indeed seen Him, for none can be seen but the one who commands and prohibits things similar to what I command and prohibit.' This is similar to our saying to a person: 'Would you like to see Zayd? Then look at his brother 'Amr, because of the resemblance between the two.'

{292} Among other things, in chapter sixteen or seventeen, (Jesus) says to his disciples: 'Let not your hearts be restless. Believe in God and believe in me!'[39]

{293} This indicates that the two are distinct from one another, yet the Christians still say: 'Christ is God Himself'.

{294} Among other things, (there is a report) that Phillip said to (Jesus): 'O master, show us the Father and it will suffice us.' Jesus said to him: 'I am with you all this time and you have not known me, O Phillip? Whoever sees me, has indeed seen the Father. So, how can you say: "Show us the Father"? Do not you believe that I am in the Father and the Father is in me? These words which I speak are not from me, but from my Father Who dwells in me. He does these acts. Believe in me; I am in the Father and the Father is in me.'[40]

{295} I say: If this statement had been heard from the Father, regarding Whom there is no controversy, and if it had been brought by all the messengers, it would have required a figurative interpretation, for its apparent meaning is absurd, since two things cannot be present in each other, just as each of them cannot be identical with the other. Whoever believes in the apparent and literal meaning of this statement, there is no intelligent person (left for him) to argue with. Therefore, it requires a figurative interpretation. And the most feasible figurative interpretation in this case is what we have

[39] John 14:1.
[40] John 14:8–11.

تأويله. فأقرب التأويلات إليه ما ذكرناه قبل هذا بفصل واحد، وهو أنّ فيه قوّةً إلهيّةً من الله سبحانه وتعالى[60] يفعل بها الخوارق. فبواسطتها استجاز أن يقول: "إنّ الأب فيّ"، أي سرّ الأب وتأييده، و"أنا في الأب"، أي مشتمل على سرّه منطوٍ عليه متضمّن. وكذلك قوله: "بل أبي الذي هو حالّ فيّ. هو يفعل هذا"، أي سرّ أبي وتأييده حالّ فيّ. فيكون من باب حذف المضاف وإقامة المضاف إليه مجازاً. وهو مجاز مشهور.

{296} فإن قيل: على ما ذكرتموه أسئلة.[61] أحدها أنّا لا نسلّم استحالة شيئين كلّ واحد منهما في الآخر، ولا استحالة حلول الإله في المسيح. فما الدليل عليه؟ سلّمنا أنه محال، لكن بالإضافة إلى عقول البشر لا إلى قدرة الخالق وطوره الخارج عن دائرة طور البشر. سلّمناه، لكن || المجاز الذي ظ243 حملتم عليه هذا الكلام بعيد جداً. فلعلّ هناك مجازاً أقرب منه يحصّل مقصودَنا دونكم. فلم حصرتموه في هذا المجاز المعيّن؟

[60] ك – وتعالى. [61] ش: أسولة؛ ك: اسوله.

mentioned a chapter before, that in him there is a divine power from God, Glorified and Exalted is He, by which he performs supernatural feats.[41] And because of this divine power, it is permissible for him to say: 'Truly, the Father is in me,' meaning, 'the secret of the Father and His support is in me,' and 'I am in the Father,' meaning, 'I am someone who comprises His secret, encompasses it and contains it.' Likewise with his statement: 'But rather from my Father Who dwells in me. He does this,' meaning, 'the secret of my Father and His support dwell in me.' This may accordingly be one of the cases where the governing noun of the genitive construction (*muḍāf*) is omitted, while the governed noun (*muḍāf ilayh*) remains, implying a metaphorical meaning. And that is a well-known metaphor.[42]

{296} If it is said: Some questions arise over what you have mentioned. One of them is that we do not accept the impossibility of two things being present within each other, nor that it is impossible for God to dwell in Christ. So, what is the proof against it? We do accept that this is absurd, but this is only with respect to the intellects of human beings, not with respect to the omnipotence of the Creator and His state that transcends the domain of the human condition. We accept (figurative interpretation), but the metaphor- 243b
ical meaning which you give this statement is quite far-fetched. Perhaps there might be another metaphorical meaning more feasible than this one, which would support our argument against you. So, why have you restricted it to this specific metaphorical meaning?

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[41] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 256 and 283.

[42] The Gospel verses taken by the Christians as alluding to the Incarnation and union between God and Christ are all interpreted allegorically by Muslim theologians. In Ghazzālī's approach, for example, *ḥulūl* (indwelling) is interpreted as a metaphor for the special bond between God and his beloved servants. It is a divine secret bestowed only upon those whom God wills of His favoured servants. In this union, 'they love what He loves, dislike what He dislikes, and wish what He wishes' (See Ghazzālī, *Radd*, p. 10). Similarly, in Ibn Taymiyya's understanding, what is meant by God's indwelling (*ḥulūl*) is 'the presence of faith in God and knowledge of Him, worship of Him, and His light and guidance.' This is how God's manifestation in Jesus is to be understood, which is not peculiar to him but is also shared by other prophets (Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, p. 288). Assuming a parallel approach, Ṭūfī reads these Biblical verses figuratively, for the sound intellect intuitively considers the literal meaning to be preposterous. Hence, there is no need for a proof (*ḥujja*) beyond this intuitive knowledge (*badīha*). In sum, for Ṭūfī as for other Muslim polemicists, the Incarnation is absurd according to reason and unsound according to the scriptures. The union between creation and God can only be true if expressed as a special bond between the worshipper and the One Who is worshipped, they conclude.

{297} قلنا: **الجواب عن الأوّل** أنّ العقل ميزان يُعرَف[62] به المحال من غيره. والعقل ببديهته يحكم باستحالة ذلك عند كلّ من يُعرض عليه من العقلاء. وليس وراء البديهة حجّةٌ. فمن أنكر حكمها كان كالمرور الذي لا يجد طعمَ[63] حلاوة العسل، والأعمى الذي لا يدرك[64] ضوء الشمس.

{298} وأمّا استحالة حلول الإله في المسيح، فلأنّ المسيح قد وصف نفسه بأنه ابن الإنسان وابن البشر في عدّة مواضع من الأناجيل. وابن البشر يكون بشراً وإنساناً. هذا مع أنّ المسيح قد شوهد وعوين على حقيقة البشر وصفات البشر من الأعضاء والجوارح والأكل والشرب واللذّة والألم. ومع الحسّ لا حاجة إلى غيره في ذلك. وإذا ثبت[65] أنه إنسان وبشر، فلو حلَّ البارئ سبحانه فيه لكان[66] إمّا[67] مع بقائه سبحانه على حقيقته وصفته قبل الحلول، أو مع استحالته عن حقيقته قبل الحلول. والأوّل يوجب أنّ البارئ أصغر في الحقيقة من جرم البشر. وهو محال أن يكون خالق السماوات والأرض كذلك. والثاني يوجب تغيّر القديم واستحالته. وهو أيضاً باطل لما ثبت في الأدلّة الكلاميّة من استحالة تغيّر القديم وتنقُّله في الأحوال. وما قرّره بعض سفهائهم من أنه سبحانه لمّا أراد إنقاذ الخلق تأنّس بهم وظهر في مظهر يشاكلهم، وأنّ الله سبحانه له مظاهر يظهر فيها تارةً في صورة كبش وتارةً في صورة نار كنار العُلَّيقَة التي كلّم منها موسى وتارةً في صورة ملك أو بشر كما ظهر لإسرائيل وصارعه. فكلّ هذه خرافات لو طولبوا بإثباتها لتعذّر عليهم الشبهة عليها فضلاً عن الحجّة.

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[62] ش + يعرف. [63] ك – طعم. [64] ك: يدرى. [65] ش – ثبت. [66] ك + لكان. [67] ش: أما.

{297} We say: **The response to the first question** is that the intellect is a criterion by which the absurd is distinguished from that which is not absurd. So, the intellect of any intelligent person, by its intuition [i.e. perceptive insight], rules that such a circumstance is impossible whenever it is presented. And there is no evidence beyond intuition. Therefore, whoever denies its ruling becomes like a man with an excess of bile who cannot taste the sweetness of honey, and like a blind man who cannot perceive sunshine.

{298} As for the impossibility of God's indwelling in Christ, it is so because Christ has described himself as the son of a human being and the Son of Man in a number of places in the Gospels. And the 'Son of Man' is a man and a human being. This is in addition to the fact that Christ was seen and observed upon his human nature and human qualities, such as possessing organs and limbs, eating and drinking, and feeling pleasure and pain. And beyond sensory perception there is no need for any other proof in this regard. Since it is proven that (Jesus) was a human being and a man, it follows that if the Maker, Glorified is He, dwelled in him, it would be either that He, the Glorified, remained in His nature and qualities as they were before the indwelling, or that He was transformed from His pre-indwelling nature into something else. The first requires that the Maker is smaller in nature than a human body, and it is absurd for the Creator of the heavens and earth to be thus. The second requires a change in the Pre-Existent and His transformation. This is also invalid according to what is proven by theological proofs, namely, that it is impossible for the Pre-Existent to change and shift into different states of being. One of the Christian fools has also written down that when God, Glorified is He, desired to deliver people, He became human like them and assumed an appearance that resembled them, for God, Glorified is He, has different appearances which He assumes, sometimes in the form of a ram, sometimes in the form of fire such as the fire of the Burning Bush from which He spoke to Moses, and yet sometimes in the form of an angel or human, as when He appeared to Israel and wrestled with him.[43] All these are fairy tales which, under examination, would be impossible for them to offer even a specious argument (*shubha*) for them, let alone a proof (*ḥujja*).[44]

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[43] In the *Intiṣārāt* this view is attributed to someone called Ibn al-Amthal (or Ibn al-Ashal), archbishop or metropolitan (*maṭrān*) of Homs (Ḥimṣ), who wrote a work entitled *Taqrīr al-thālūth* , discussing topics such as the Trinity, the Incarnation and Jesus' divinity (see Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 423, 445; vol. II, pp. 686, 694).

[44] *Shubha* is a technical term used to signify the argument of an opponent which casts aspersions on one's own claim.

{299} فإن قيل: لا نسلّم أنّ ابن البشر يكون بشراً مطلقاً، بل إذا كان ابن البشر من الطرفين يكون بشراً محضاً مطلقاً. أمّا من أحد الطرفين، فلا يكون كذلك. وحينئذ يجوز حلول البارئ فيه من الجهة التي ليس هو منها بشراً.

{300} قلنا: الجواب من وجهين:

{301} **أحدهما** أنّ جهته التي ليس هو منها بشراً عندكم هي حلول البارئ فيه أو كونه هو الله. فلو كان حلول الله فيه من هذه الجهة[68] لزم أن يقال: إنّ حلول الله فيه من جهة حلول الله فيه أو[69] من جهة أنه الله. وهذا كلام لا حاصل له ولا يعقل.

{302} **الثاني** || أنّ ما[70] ذكرتم يوجب أنّ المسيح مركّب من الإلهيّة والبشريّة. فيقال لكم: إمّا أن[71] تعتمدوا في هذه الدعوى على الحسّ والمشاهدة والعادة المتعارفة في الوجود، أو على قدرة الله تعالى الأزليّة التي لا يعجزها شيء وأسرارِه التي لا تدركها العقول. فإن اعتمدتم على الأوّل، لزم أن يكون الله سبحانه وتعالى عمّا تقولون قد وطئ مريم وأحبلها كإحبال الآدميّين للآدميّات حتى صار[72] عيسى مركّباً من الإله والبشر. لأنّا لا نرى في الموجودات المحسوسة مولوداً مركّباً بين جنسين أو نوعين إلاّ عن وطء وإحبال كما في البَغْل المتولّد بين الحمار والفرس، والسِّمْع والعِسْبار المتولّدين من بين جنس الذئب والضبُع. وإن اعتمدتم على الثاني، فقد أبعدتم الشقّة وركبتم التعاسيف الشنيعة والمعاور[73] 244و

[68] ش: الحجّة. [69] ش: و. [70] ش: أنما. [71] ش: إن. [72] ش: جاء. [73] ش: والمغاوز؛ ك: والمعاوز.

{299} If it is said: We do not accept that the Son of Man is absolutely man, but rather, it is only when he is the Son of Man from both sides, that he becomes entirely and absolutely man. As for being man from one side only, then he is not so. In that case, the indwelling of the Maker in him is possible with respect to the capacity in which he is not man.

{300} We say: The response consists of two points:

{301} **The first point** is that the capacity in which he is not man, according to your opinion, equals the Maker's indwelling in (Christ) or (Christ's) being God himself. Therefore, if God's indwelling in him was in this manner, it would compel one to say: 'God's indwelling in him is in the manner of God's indwelling in him or in the manner of his being God.' And this is a statement without any real purport and is unintelligible.

{302} **The second point** is that what you have mentioned requires Christ to 244a
be composed of both divinity and humanity. Thus, it can be said to you: In this claim you may either rely upon the senses, observation and the normal behaviour of things in existence, or else upon the eternal omnipotence of God, Exalted is He, which cannot be incapacitated by anything, and upon His secrets, which cannot be perceived by (human) intellects. If you rely upon the first one, it necessarily follows that God, Glorified and Exalted is He, according to what you say, had sexual intercourse with Mary and impregnated her, just as human males impregnate human females, with the result that Jesus became composed of God and man. This must be so because we do not find among perceptible things in existence any offspring composed of two different kinds or species, except through sexual intercourse and impregnation, such as the mule born of a donkey and a horse, the *simʿ* and the *ʾisbār*[45] the two of which are born of the genus of wolf and hyena. But if you rely upon the second one, then you have made the already

[45] *Simʿ* is a wild animal said to be the hybrid offspring of a male wolf and a female hyena, and *ʾisbār* is a wild animal said to be the hybrid of a male hyena and a female wolf. See, for instance, Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ: Tāj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya*, ed. A.ʿA.-G. ʿAṭṭār, Beirut, 1990, vol. II, p. 746 (*ʾisbāra*) and vol. III, p. 1232 (*simʿ*); see also Ibn al-Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, vol. IV, p. 567 (*ʾisbāra*) and vol. VIII, p. 167 (*simʿ*). As McDonald points out in his article, the Arab lexicographers appear to have no clear idea of the identity of these animals. Jāḥiẓ for instance mentions them, but also casts doubt on the theory of their hybrid nature. F. Viré identifies these two as the African Hunting Dog (*Lycaon Pictus*) and the Aardwolf (*Proteles Cristatus*) respectively. *Simʿ* is also identified as the sand-cat (*Felis Margarita*), as A.F.L. Beeston writes in his "The Heart of Shanfara", *JSS*, 18 (1973),

المهلكة. وما ندعوكم إليه أقرب. فإنّا قلنا: إنّ المسيح مؤيّد بقوّة إلهيّة من الله سبحانه، يفعل بها الخوارق، كسائر النبيّين من قبله، وإن كان هو أرجح منهم في ذلك لفضل عناية الله. وأسندنا ذلك إلى القدرة الأزليّة التي لا يعجزها شيء. واسترحنا من الشناعات والبَشاعات وما أطبق عليه العالمُ من التضليل لكم والتعديم لعقولكم.

{303} **و[الجواب] عن الثاني** من وجهين:

{304} **أحدهما** أنّ العالم أجمعوا على أنّ المحال لا يدخل تحت المقدور. ولهذا تأوّلوا قوله تعالى: ﴿إِنَّ اللهَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ﴾ على أنّ المراد به الأشياء الممكنة. ومع هذا فقولكم: "محال بالإضافة إلى عقول البشر لا إلى قدرة الخالق تعالى"،[74] لا معنى له ولا طائل. وأيضاً فنحن إنّما نحن مخاطبون من جهة البارئ سبحانه بمقتضى ما تدركه عقولنا. أمّا الطور الخارج عن دائرة العقول البشريّة، فلم نكلَّف إدراكه والبناء عليه، بل كُلّفنا الإيمان بما جاءنا منه، إذاً لم نجد عنه مندوحةً. فتكليفنا إدراك ما يخرج عن دائرة عقولنا تكليف ما لا يطاق، وأنتم لا تقولون به.

{305} **الثاني** أنّ هذا ممّا يفتح باب السفسطة، لأنه يسوغ لكلّ أحد دعوى المحال ويقول: "هذا ممكن بالإضافة إلى قدرة الله تعالى[75] والطور الخارج عن عقول البشر". ويلزم من هذا أنّ ثلاثة من

[74] ك – تعالى. [75] ك – تعالى.

p. 258. However, McDonald argues that there are serious problems with this identification. See M.V. McDonald, "Animal-Books as a Genre in Arabic Literature", *BBRISMES*, 15/2 (1988), p. 6.

convoluted issue even more far-fetched and have embarked upon deviant courses and perilous roads. What we are urging you to accept is more feasible. For we say: Truly, Christ was supported by a divine power from God, the Glorified, by which he used to perform supernatural feats, just like the other prophets before him, even if he was the most favoured among them in that, due to the graciousness of God's providence. We ascribe (his performing miracles) to the eternal power which cannot be incapacitated by anything. We are delivered from hideous and repugnant opinions and whatever people have come to an agreement about, such as your misguidance and the destitute state of your intellects.

{303} **(The response) to the second question** consists of two points:[46]

{304} **The first point** is that people have agreed upon the fact that what is absurd cannot fall into the category of 'possible object of power'. Therefore, they have interpreted the words of God, the Exalted, 'God is able to do all things,'[47] as referring to things that are possible. In addition to this, your statement, 'This is absurd with respect to the intellects of human beings, not with respect to the omnipotence of the Creator, Exalted is He,' does not make any sense and is of no use. Moreover, we [i.e. human beings] are addressed by the Maker, Glorified is He, only in accordance with what our intellects perceive. As for the state that transcends the domain of human intellects, we are not obliged to perceive it and construct our faith upon it, but rather, we are obliged to believe in whatever has come to us from Him; then we are not at liberty to dismiss it. Therefore, our being obliged to perceive that which transcends the domain of our intellects is an obligation beyond capacity (*taklīf mā lā yuṭāq*), which not even you (Christians) would profess.

{305} **The second point** is that this is one of the things which open the gate for sophistry, because it makes it legitimate for everyone to claim things that are absurd, saying: 'This is possible with respect to the omnipotence of the Creator, Exalted is He, and the state that transcends the domain of human intellects.'[48] It necessarily follows from this that if three men came

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[46] The question was mentioned in § 296.

[47] Q 2:20.

[48] Ṭūfī's statement appears to parallel Ibn Taymiyya's remark on the same matter, when he says: 'If this were a sound answer, one ought not to investigate anything pertaining to the divine with reason, and every errant fool could speak whatever falsehood he wanted and claim, "my speech is beyond reason".' (Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, p. 332).

الناس لو جاءونا، فقال أحدهم: "أنا موسى بن عمران"، وقال[76] الآخر: "أنا عيسى بن مريم"، وقال[77] الآخر: "أنا محمّد بن عبد الله ونحن رسل الله؛ بعثنا الله لصلاح هذه الأمم || وجمع كلمتها"، فقلنا لهم: ظ244
"إنّ إرسال هؤلاء بعد انقضاء عصرهم وقبل الوقت المعلوم لإرسالهم وإحياء الميّت منهم محال، فلا نصدّقكم"؛ فيقولون: "هذا محال بالإضافة إلى عقول البشر، لا إلى قدرة الله سبحانه، فآمنوا بنا"، لما كان لنا حجّة ندفعهم بها، مع فتحكم لهذا الباب.

{306} **و[الجواب] عن**[78] **الثالث** عليكم بيان المجاز الأقرب لننظر فيه. وإلاّ فنحن لم يحضرنا سوى ما ذكرنا. والله أعلم بالصواب.

{307} وممّا يوجب تأويل الكلام المذكور قوله بعده: "إنّي سوف أجيئكم عن قليل، والعالم ليس يروني وأنتم تروني.[79] إنّني حيّ وأنتم أحياء. في ذلك اليوم تعلمون أنّي في أبي، وأنتم فيّ، وأنا فيكم". فإنه إن لم يُتأوَّل لزم من هذا أن يصير الكلّ في ذلك اليوم هريسةً مضروبةً. ولا حاجة لنا إلى التطويل.

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[76] ك – وقال. [77] ك – وقال. [78] ش: ومن. [79] ك – وأنتم تروني.

to us and one of them said: 'I am Moses, son of Amram,' while another one said: 'I am Jesus, son of Mary,' and another one said: 'I am Muḥammad, son of ʿAbdallāh, and we are messengers of God; God has sent us for the well-being of these communities and for joining them in union,' we would then say to 244b
them: 'Sending these men after the termination of their era and before the known time for them to be sent and for the dead among them to be raised, is absurd; therefore we will not believe you,' while they would reply: 'This is only absurd with respect to human intellect, but not with respect to the omnipotence of God, Glorified is He; therefore believe in us.' Then, there would be no proof left for us to refute them with, for you had opened this gate of sophistry.

{306} **(The response) to the third question**[49] is that you have to explain the most feasible metaphorical meaning you propose so that we may look into it. Otherwise, nothing else occurs to us, except what we have mentioned. And God knows best what is right.

{307} One of the things that requires a figurative interpretation of the aforementioned statement is (Jesus') saying thereafter: 'I shall come to you in a little while, and the world shall see me not, but you shall see me. Truly I am alive and you are alive. On that day you shall know that I am in my Father, while you are in me, and I am in you.'[50] For if it is not interpreted figuratively, it will necessarily demand that everything turns into whipped *Harīsa* [i.e. a well-mixed and pounded dish].[51] And there is no need for us to elaborate on this matter any further.

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[49] The question was mentioned in § 296.

[50] John 14:18–20.

[51] The name *harīsa* derives from the root h-r-s which means to crush, mash, squash, bruise, pound or break into pieces by beating. Lane describes *Harīsa* as a dish made of bruised or pounded grain, or wheat, which is then cooked. Or 'a kind of thick pottage, prepared of cooked wheat and cooked flesh-meats much pounded together' (see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, h-r-s). ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231), a famous physician, historian and scholar, who lived for some time in Egypt, describes *Harīsa* as a delicious and greasy dish made of boiled chicken meat, chopped and mixed with sesame oil, rose-water and peeled and crushed pistachios—pounded all together and well-blended on the fire until firm (see ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, *The Eastern Key: Kitāb al-Ifādah wa'l-I'tibār of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī*, tr. K.H. Zand and John A. and I.E. Videan, London, 1965, pp. 192–194).

{308} ومن ذلك قوله: "إنّي منطلق وعائد إليكم. لو كنتم تحبّوني لكنتم تفرحون بمضيّ[80] إلى الأب، لأنه أعظم منّي".

{309} فقوله: "أعظم منّي" يدلّ على تغايرهما، لأنّ أفعل التفضيل لا يكون الاّ بين اثنين فصاعداً. ولا يكون الشيء أعظم من نفسه. وهذا يبطل قولهم: "إنّ المسيح هو الله".

{310} ومن ذلك قوله: "اثبتوا[81] فيّ وأنا فيكم. كما أنّ الغصن لا يطيق أن يأتي بالثمار من عنده إن لم يثبت[82] في الكرمة، كذلك أنتم لا تقدرون إن لم تثبتوا[83] فيّ. أنا هو الكرمة وأنتم الأغصان. من ثبت[84] فيّ وأنا فيه فهو يأتي بثمار كثيرة. وبغيري لستم تقدرون أن تعملوا شيئاً".

{311} قلت: قد بيّن بهذا الكلام تأويل قوله قبل:[85] "إنّي في أبي، وأنتم فيّ، وأنا فيكم". وإنّ معناه أنّ "مادّتي فيما أفعل من أبي، ومادّتكم منّي". ولهذا يقول: "أنا كرمة الحقّ، وأبي الغارس، وأنتم الأغصان". وهذا كلام صحيح، فإنّ المسيح استمدّ القوّة من الله بواسطة روح القدس، وكان يمدّ به التلاميذ ويسيّرهم في البلاد يظهرون الخوارق والمعجزات. ثمّ قال بعد ذلك: "فإن لم يثبت[86] أحد فيّ طرح خارجاً مثل الغصن الذي يجفّ. فيأخذونه ويطرحونه في النار". ومعناه أنّ من قصد الله منكم بغير طريقي وجعل مادّته من غيري هلك. ثم ذكر بعد هذا كلاماً أزال به اللبس. تركت نقله لطوله.

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[80] ش: بمضئ. [81] ش: انبتوا؛ ك: اسوا. [82] ش: ينبت؛ ك: سب. [83] ش: تنبتوا؛ ك: سوا. [84] ش: نبت؛ ك: سب.
[85] ش – قبل. [86] ش: ينبت؛ ك: سب.

{308} Among other things, (Jesus) says: 'Truly, I shall go away and return to you. If you loved me you would rejoice about my departure to the Father, for He is Greater than me.'[52]

{309} His saying, 'Greater than me,' indicates that the two are distinct from one another, for the comparative form of adjectives can only be applied when comparing two or more things. And one thing cannot be greater than itself. So, this negates their allegation that Christ is God Himself.

{310} Among other things, he says: 'Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bring forth fruit of itself if it does not abide in the vine, likewise you are not able to do so if you do not abide in me. I am the vine and you are the branches. He that abides in me, and I in him, he shall bring forth much fruit. But without me you are not able to do anything.'[53]

{311} I say: By this statement he has indeed clarified the figurative interpretation of his previous words, 'I am in my Father, while you are in me, and I am in you.'[54] Its meaning is that 'my support, by which I perform these acts, is from my Father, and your support is from me.' It is because of this that he says: 'I am the true vine and my Father is the Cultivator, and you are the branches.'[55] This is a sound statement, for Christ derived power from God by means of the Holy Spirit and he used to support his disciples thereby, sending them out to the towns, manifesting supernatural feats and miracles.[56] He then says afterwards: 'If someone does not abide in me, he is cast away as a withering branch. They take it and cast it into the fire.'[57] It means: 'Whoever among you seeks God in a way other than mine and takes his support from someone other than me, will perish.' Then after this he utters a statement by which he resolves the confusion. I have not quoted it due to its length.

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[52] John 14:28.
[53] John 15:4–5.
[54] John 14:20.
[55] John 15:1, 5.
[56] According to Ṭūfī, God's 'indwelling' (*ḥulūl*) should be taken as the indwelling of His power and His support, not as union in an ontological sense.
[57] John 15:6.

{312} ومن ذلك || أنه[87] ذكر البرقليط في مواضع وأبين ما ذكره حيث يقول: "والفارقليط روح القدس الذي يرسله أبي باسمي، هو يعلّمكم كلّ شيء، وهو يذكّركم كلّ ما[88] قلت لكم". وحيث يقول: "إنه خير لكم أن أنطلق، لأنّي إن لم أذهب لم يأتكم البرقليط. فإذا انطلقت أرسلته إليكم. وإذا جاء ذلك فهو يوبّخ العالم على الخطيئة وعلى الحكم. أمّا على الخطيئة، فلأنهم لم يؤمنوا بي. وأمّا على الحكم، فلأن يكون هذا العالم يدان". ثمّ قال: "إذا جاء روح الحقّ ذلك فهو يرشدكم إلى جميع الحقّ، لأنه ليس ينطق من عنده، بل يتكلّم بكلّ ما[89] يسمع ويخبركم بما يأتي. وهو يمجّدني، لأنه يأخذ ممّا هو فيّ ويخبركم". 245و

{313} قلت: فقد حصحص الحقّ بهذا الكلام. وإنّ هذا بشارة من المسيح بمحمّد عليه أفضل الصلاة والسلام،[90] لأنه لم يأت بعد المسيح من ادّعى النبوّة، ومجّد عيسى، وبالغ في تمجيده، وصدّقه في نبوّته، ووبّخ العالم على خطيئة الكفر، وقتل اليهود وعيّرهم على تكذيب عيسى، وقبّح[91] عبادة الأوثان، وأخبر بأنّ الناس يدانون يوم القيامة ويحاسبون، وعلّم الناس حسن الآداب ومكارم الأخلاق، وظهر ناموسه واشتهر في البدو والحضر كظهور نواميس الأنبياء قبله إلاّ محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم. وإن لم يكن هو الذي أشار إليه المسيح لزم القدح في صدق وعده، لأنه من المحال عادةً أن عاد أحد يظهر بما ظهر به محمّد ويتمّ له ذلك لكونه أخبر بأنه خاتم النبيّين ولا نبيّ بعده إلاّ مدّعٍ كذّاب،[92] ولتوافر

[87] ش هـ: مطلب في بشارة عيسى بمجيء محمد بعده. [88] ش ك: كلما. [89] ش ك: بكلما. [90] ك – أفضل الصلاة و.
[91] ك – قبح. [92] ش: كاذب.

{312} Among other things, (Jesus) mentions the Paraclete in various places, 245a
and the clearest of what he mentions is where he says: 'But the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit that my Father shall send in my name, he shall teach you everything and he shall remind you of everything I have said to you.'[58] He also says: 'Truly, it is for your good that I go away, for if I do not go, the Paraclete shall not come to you. But when I go away, I shall send him to you. And when he comes, he shall rebuke the world for sin and for judgement. As for sin, because they did not believe in me. And as for judgement, so that this world be judged.'[59] Then he says: 'When that Spirit of truth comes, he shall guide you into all truth, for he shall not talk of himself, but he shall speak whatever he shall hear and he shall inform you of whatever shall come forth. And he shall praise me, for he shall take of that which is in me and he shall inform you.'[60]

{313} I say: The truth has indeed come to light by this statement. This is truly Christ's annunciation of Muḥammad, may the best of blessings and peace be upon him, because none has come after Christ who claimed to be a prophet, praised Jesus and exerted every possible effort in extolling him, who confirmed him in his prophethood, rebuked the world for the sin of unbelief, fought with the Jews and rebuked them for calling Jesus a liar, who denounced the worship of idols as disgraceful, informed people that they would be judged on the Day of Resurrection and called to account, who taught people the best manners and the most noble morals, and whose law appeared and became widespread in both deserts and cultivated regions like the laws of other prophets before him, except Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace.[61] If (Muḥammad) were not

[58] John 14:26.

[59] John 16:7–11. In Lagarde's edition of the *Alexandrian Vulgate*, the last part reads: فان اركون هذا العالم يدان meaning 'because the ruler of this world is judged' (*Die Vier Evangelien Arabisch*, p. 135).

[60] John 16:13–14. The same passage is also mentioned in the *Intiṣārāt* where Ṭūfī again offers a short commentary on the Paraclete (see vol. I, pp. 380–382).

[61] According to the Qur'an, Jesus explicitly predicted the coming of Muḥammad using the name *Aḥmad*, the most praised, (Q 61:6). Therefore, Jesus' promise of the Paraclete in John's Gospel is often equated by Muslim authors with the Aḥmad of the Qur'an. One such early example is the interpretation given by Ibn Qutayba, who understands the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth speaking nothing but that which is revealed to him, who will come after Jesus in confirmation of him and will inform people of the things to come (John 16:13–14), as a reference to Muḥammad and a description of his attributes (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Wafā*, vol. I, pp. 67–68). Although Ṭūfī does not mention Ibn Qutayba explicitly, there is no reason to doubt his acquintance with this interpretation, considering that in his work Ṭūfī refers to

أمّته وعلوّ كلمته. من ادّعى ذلك أخمِدت جمرتُه وكسّرت شوكتُه. فمن ضرورة إثبات صدق المسيح القول بنبوّة محمّد عليه السلام، وقد شهد له بأنه روح الحقّ، وأنه يرشدكم إلى جميع الحقّ، وأنّ ما يخبر به هو من عند الله لا من عنده، وأنه يمجّده. ولهذا كان محمّد عليه السلام أشدّ الناس تمجيداً للمسيح وقال: "أنا أولى الناس بابن مريم، إنه لم يكن بيني وبينه نبيّ" في أحاديث غير ذلك كثيرة.

Ibn al-Jawzī's *Wafā* which contains Ibn Qutayba's analysis of these Gospel passages (for Ṭūfī's reference to the *Wafā*, see *Intiṣārāt*, vol. II, p. 571).

the one whom Christ alluded to, it would necessarily impugn the veracity of (Christ's) promise, for it would be impossible for someone to appear (after Muḥammad) with that which Muḥammad appeared with, and for the foregoing feats to be accomplished by him, due to (Muḥammad's) being informed that he was the seal of the prophets and that there was no prophet after him, except for a lying pretender, and due to the great increase in the numbers of his community and the sublimity of his words. Whoever pretended to be so, his live embers were extinguished and his might was shattered. Therefore, in order to establish the truthfulness of Christ it is necessary to profess the prophethood of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, for (Christ) has indeed testified that (Muḥammad) is the Spirit of truth and that he shall guide you into all truth, and that whatever he declares is from God, not from himself, and that he shall praise (Christ). And Muḥammad, peace be upon him, was the person most engaged in praising Christ, and he said: 'I am the nearest of people to the son of Mary; there has been no prophet between me and him,'[62] and this is also found in many other *ḥadīths*.[63]

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[62] 'I am the nearest of people to the son of Mary; the prophets are children of the same father by different mothers; there has been no prophet between me and him.' See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Aḥādīth al-anbiyā'" 51. See also Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Faḍā'il" 40; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Sunna" 14.

[63] The same argument is adopted by another Ḥanbalī theologian, Ibn al-Qayyim, who holds that without the advent of Muḥammad, all other prophets would have lost the veracity of their prophethood. Muḥammad's coming testified to their legitimacy, since his advent confirmed their prophecies about him and his prophetic ministry. It is not possible to believe in earlier prophets without believing in the Prophet they have foretold (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Hidāyat*, pp. 200, 201). This approach, in fact, has much older roots and is implicitly expressed by Ibn Rabban, who remarks that the prophecies of the prophets would have been annulled if Muḥammad had not appeared, for God does not fail to keep His promise nor does He deny his announcement (Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, 'Alī, *Kitāb al-dīn wa-al-dawla*, ed. A. Mingana, Manchester, 1923, p. 66). This conclusion reminds us also of Būṣīrī, who says in verse: 'As if the advent of Christ was intended to make them [i.e. Christians] deny the Torah and the Gospel' (Būṣīrī, *Makhraj*, p. 176). Thus, the denial of Muḥammad's prophethood is equated with the rejection of the Torah and the Gospel, for his prefiguration had been present in them. It is in the work of another Ḥanbalī, Ibn Taymiyya, that this claim reaches its climax, when he says that 'Muḥammad's *'umma* are more faithful followers of Christ than the Christians themselves, for the latter have altered his *Sharī'a* and denied his prophecies' (Ibn Taymiyya, *Jawāb*, vol. III, p. 504; on the equation between the Paraclete and Aḥmad, see ibid., vol. V, p. 302). Thus, according to these authors, the true way of following Christ's path can be achieved only by confirming Muḥammad's prophethood.

{314} فإن قيل: ليس الفارقليط الذي أشار إليه المسيح ما ذكرتم بدليل قوله: "إن كنتم تحبّوني فاحفظوا وصاياي. || وأنا أطلب من الأب، فيعطيكم فارقليطاً[93] آخر ليثبت معكم إلى الأبد. روح الحقّ الذي لن يطيق العالم أن[94] يقتلوه، لأنهم لم يروه ولم يعرفوه وأنتم تعرفونه، لأنه مقيم عندكم وهو فيكم". وليست هذه صفات محمّد، لأنّ العالم كانوا يرونه ولهم طاقة على قتله. ولهذا جرح وكسرت رباعيّته وضرب في أوّل الإسلام. وإنّما هذا إشارة إلى ما أيّد به التلاميذ بعد صعود المسيح من روح القدس على خرق العادات وإظهار المعجزات. ظ245

{315} قلنا: الجواب عن ذلك[95] من وجهين:

{316} **أحدهما** أنه لا يصحّ حمله على ما أيّد به التلاميذ، لأنّ من المعلوم عندكم أنّ التلاميذ أعطاهم ذلك المسيح في حال حياته قبل صعوده وهو بينهم. وهو هاهنا يقول: "إن لم أذهب لم يأتكم الفارقليط". فكيف يصحّ أن يقال: إنّ الفارقليط أتاهم قبل صعود المسيح، ولم يأتهم إلاّ بعده؟ هذا تناقض! وأمّا

[93] ش: فارقليطَ. [94] ك – أن. [95] ك – عن ذلك.

{314} If it is said: The Paraclete to whom Christ alluded is not the one you mention, as indicated by his words: 'If you love me, keep my commandments. And I shall ask from the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete so that he may abide with you forever. The Spirit of truth whom the world cannot kill,[64] because they do not see him and do not know him, while you know him, for he resides with you and is in you.'[65] These are not the attributes of Muḥammad, because the world used to see him and had the capability to kill him. Therefore he was wounded, his canine tooth was broken, and he was beaten in the early period of Islam. This can only be an allusion to the Holy Spirit by which the disciples were supported after the ascension of Christ to the extent of performing supernatural feats[66] and manifesting miracles.[67] 245b

{315} We say: The response to this consists of two points:

{316} **The first point** is that it is not right to interpret it as that by which the disciples were supported, because it is a known fact among you that Christ himself had given the disciples that power during his lifetime, before his ascension, while he was still among them. But here he says: 'If I do not go, the Paraclete shall not come to you.'[68] So, how can it be correct to say: 'The Paraclete has come to them before the ascension of Christ,' when he only came to them after him? This is a contradiction! As for your saying: 'These

[64] As his subsequent comments reveal, Ṭūfī reads this word as *yaqtulūhu* instead of *yaqbalūhu*, whereas it is the latter that is used in Lagarde's edition (*Die Vier Evangelien Arabisch*, p. 133), the translation of which is: 'The Spirit of truth whom the world cannot accept'.

[65] John 14:15–17.

[66] Literally: 'in the manner of contravening what is habitual'.

[67] He may be referring to Acts 2:1–4. As pointed out by M. Accad, the Christians living in a Muslim milieu were well acquainted with Muslim exegesis of the Johannine Paraclete and due to the Islamic environment they initiated a reinterpretation of the scripture. Syriac Fathers, in their redefinition of the Paraclete, firstly emphasised 'the Spirit's indwelling activity in the disciples', meaning the 'inward transformation'. They further focused on the representation of the Spirit's work as an extension of Christ's ministry. Another aspect they addressed was the Trinitarian implication of the term. While reclaiming the name Paraclete for the Holy Spirit, they saw it as a promise which had been fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, long before the advent of Muḥammad (M. Accad, "The Syriac Fathers and their Islamic Context", *Pd'O*, 23 (1998), pp. 22–23, 26–27). On various Christian responses to Muslim interpretation of the Paraclete, see Mingana, "The Apology of Timothy", pp. 33–35; Samir, "L'Apologie de l'Evangile par Ibn al-'Assâl", pp. 83–84.

[68] John 16:7.

قولكم: "ليست هذه من صفات محمّد"، قلنا: هي من صفات جبريل وهو روح القدس الذي بشّر زكريا بيوحنّا كما نصّ عليه[96] الإنجيل. فإنّ العالم لا يرونه،[97] ولا يطيقون على[98] قتله. ولم يدّع أحد أنه نزل عليه جبريل وتمّ له أمره وظهر ناموسه إلاّ محمّد. فيلزم من ذلك صدقه بمقتضى وعد المسيح وضرورة صدقه.

{317} فإن قيل: هذه وإن كانت صفاته، لكن قوله: "ليثبت معكم إلى الأبد" ليس من صفاته، لأنّ جبريل ليس معنا إلى الأبد. وكذلك قوله: "لأنه[99] مقيم عندكم وهو فيكم".

{318} قلنا: وكذلك روح القدس. ليس مع التلاميذ إلى الأبد، ولا هو مقيم بين النصارى. وإنّما[100] هذا إشارة إلى بقاء الناموس الذي جاء به جبريل إلى محمّد، أو إلى بقاء محمّد مقبوراً بين أهل الأرض. فإنه كذلك إلى يوم القيامة. ثمّ يكون حياً بين من اتّبعه إلى الأبد. وذلك بخلاف أمر[101] المسيح، فإنه صعد إلى أبيه، وجلس عن يمينه عندكم.

{319} **الوجه الثاني** أنّ كلّ ما[102] في الإنجيل عندكم حقّ وصدق، ونحن فلا[103] اعتماد لنا عليه إلاّ بطريق الإلزام لكم. وإلاّ، فحججنا من غيره كثيرة على المطلوب. وإذا عرف هذا فأكثر ما في الباب أنّ ما ذكرتموه

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[96] ش + في. [97] ك: يروه. [98] ش + على. [99] ش – لأنه. [100] ك – وإنما، + ثم. [101] ك – أمر. [102] ش ك: كلما. [103] ك: لا.

are not of the attributes of Muḥammad,' we say: They are of the attributes of Gabriel, who is the Holy Spirit that announced to Zechariah the glad tidings of John, just as the Gospel states.[69] For the world cannot see him; neither are they able to kill him. And there is no one who has claimed that Gabriel came down to him with divine revelation, whose cause was accomplished, and whose law triumphed, except Muḥammad.[70] Therefore, one is compelled to accept (Muḥammad's) truthfulness in accordance with the promise of Christ and the necessity of his [i.e. Christ's] truthfulness.

{317} If it is said: Even if these were his attributes, his saying: 'So that he may abide with you forever,'[71] is not one of his attributes, because Gabriel is not with us forever. Likewise is his saying: 'For he resides with you and is in you.'[72]

{318} We say: That is how the Holy Spirit is. He is not with the disciples forever; neither does he reside among the Christians. However, this is only an allusion to the endurance of the revealed law that Gabriel brought to Muḥammad,[73] or an allusion to Muḥammad's remaining buried among the people of the earth. For so he is until the Day of Resurrection. Then he will be alive among those who follow him, forever. This is in contrast to the case of Christ, for he ascended to his Father and sat at His right hand, according to your opinion.

{319} **The second point** is that everything that the (canonical) Gospels contain is true and right according to your opinion, while we do not rely on them, except by way of compelling you to accept an argument.[74] Otherwise, our proofs apart from your scriptures are as many as could be desired. When

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[69] See Luke 1:15.

[70] Ṭūfī's interpretation seems to be in line with Ibn Taymiyya's understanding of the Spirit of truth (*Rūḥ al-Ḥaqq*), which he deems to be applicable both to Muḥammad and to the *Rūḥ al-Quds*, i.e. Gabriel, the messenger of divine revelation (Ibn Taymiyya, *Jawāb*, vol. V, pp. 310–316).

[71] John 14:16.

[72] John 14:17.

[73] This interpretation is, again, in parallel with Ibn Taymiyya's comparison between Jesus' *Sharīʿa* and that of Muḥammad, the former being temporal and the latter everlasting and hence not subject to abrogation (Ibn Taymiyya, *Jawāb*, vol. V, p. 291; see also p. 304). The same view is also mentioned by Ibn al-Qayyim (*Hidāyat*, p. 78).

[74] As revealed in this statement, according to Ṭūfī, Muslim use of the Gospel is encouraged with an intention to win an argument. It is a purely strategic choice to use the Christian scriptures as a counter-argument against its followers. With this statement he also reveals his motivation for studying the Bible, which in fact does not represent a new

وذكرناه من ذكر المسيح للفارقليط لا يمكن الجمع بينهما. لكن الواجب العمل بالكلام الحقّ ولا يُلغى
منه شيء ما أمكن السبيل إلى ذلك. فالواجب بمقتضى هذه القاعدة أن يحكم باشتراك الفارقليط || و246
بين محمّد عليه السلام وبين ما ذكرتموه ممّا أيّد به التلاميذ. فيكون ما ذكرناه دالاً على نبوّة محمّد، وما
ذكرتموه دالاً على تأييد التلاميذ. ويحصل لنا المقصود. وإن أبيتم هذا دخلتم في أبواب العناد والبغي،
لأنّا ما تركنا لكم حجّةً ولا علّةً. والله أعلم.

{320} ومن ذلك قوله في الفصل السابع عشر: "إنّك أنت إله[104] الحقّ وحدك، والذي أرسلت يسوع
المسيح. أنا أمجّدك[105] على الأرض".

{321} قلت: فقد وحّد الله في هذه الحال مع أنه في الأرض والإله في السماء. فوجب أن يكون الإله
الآن كاملاً في السماء، وأنّ المسيح ليس هو هو، ولا أقنوماً منه. وذلك منافٍ لما يقوله النصارى.
وقد سبق هذا البحث. وإنّما أثبت المسيح لنفسه الرسالة. وأمّا ما ادّعاه من البنوّة – إن صحّ عنه –
فتأويله ذكرناه غير موضع.

[104] ش ك: الاه. [105] ش: أمجد بك.

initiative. It follows an old tradition, resonating in total conformity with the words of Qarāfī, who says: 'If (the Christians) say, "how do you (Muslims) hold onto these scriptures [i.e. the Bible] when you consider them to be unauthentic?" we reply that the prophethood of our Prophet, peace be upon him, is proven by miracles and has no need for these books. Yet, we point to what they hold as proof of his prophethood, peace be upon him, only in order to force the *ahl al-kitāb*, who believe in their authenticity, to accept the argument (*ilzām*)' (Qarāfī, *Ajwiba*, p. 463).

this is known, then the most one could say in this regard is that what both you and we mention concerning Christ's reference to the Paraclete cannot be reconciled. However, one is required to act according to a true statement and not to eliminate anything from it as far as possible. Therefore, one is required, in accordance with this principle, to declare that the Paraclete is identified by both Muḥammad, peace be upon him, and by that 246a
which, as you mention, the disciples were supported [i.e. Gabriel]. What we mention proves that Muḥammad was a prophet, while what you mention proves that the disciples were supported. Thus, we achieve what we intend. But if you reject this, you enter the domain of obstinacy and injustice, for we have left neither proof nor an excuse for you. And God knows best.[75]

{320} Among other things, in chapter seventeen (Jesus) says: 'You are the only true God, and the one You have sent is Jesus Christ. I glorify You on earth.'[76]

{321} I say: (Jesus) has indeed declared God to be one on this occasion, in addition to the fact that he himself is on the earth while God is in heaven. Thus, it requires that God be entirely in heaven now, and that Christ is neither God Himself, nor a hypostasis of Him. But this is contrary to what the Christians profess. And this subject has been previously discussed.[77] Christ asserted only messengership for himself. As for what he claimed of sonship—if it is authentically from him—we have already established its figurative interpretation in more than one place.

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[75] Ṭūfī's conclusion contrasts with those of many other polemicists. While Qarāfī, for instance, reaches a definite conclusion that the Paraclete could be none other than Muḥammad, absolutely rejects the Christian interpretation and defines it as falsehood (Qarāfī, *Ajwiba*, pp. 424–429), Ṭūfī's attitude is less assertive. His intention is focused more on proving the plausibility of the Muslim interpretation to Christians, and less on denouncing Christian exegesis in its totality. According to his view, there is no possibility of reconciling the Muslim and Christian interpretation of the Paraclete. Relying on the principle that one should always follow the truth, he wants to be fair in his discussion and hence reaches the conclusion that 'the Paraclete' could be equally subject to both interpretations: Muslim and Christian alike. The Paraclete may refer to the prophethood of Muḥammad, as much as it may indicate the empowering (*ta'yīd*) of Jesus' disciples. That is why the denial of the Muslim interpretation is no more than an act of mere wilfulness and injustice, for Ṭūfī, since the Christians have no evidence or excuse for such a rejection.

[76] John 17:3–4.

[77] See Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, §§ 48–49, 102–103 and 120.

{322} ومن ذلك في الفصل التاسع عشر أنّ المسيح لمّا قام من القبر قال لمريم المجدلانيّة: "إمضي إلى إخوتي وقولي لهم: إنّي صاعد إلى أبي وأبيكم وإلهي وإلهكم".[106]

{323} قلت: فقوله: "أبي وأبيكم" يدلّ على أنّ الأبوّة كناية عن الربوبيّة لتشريكه بين نفسه وبين التلاميذ فيها. وقوله: "إلهي[107] وإلهكم" يفيد ذلك أيضاً، لأنّ الإله هو الربّ والمالك. ولم نعهد أحداً يملك ابنه ملكاً حقيقياً.

{324} ومن ذلك أنّ توما أحد الإثني عشر كان غائباً عن التلاميذ. فظهر لهم المسيح بعد قيامه من الأموات. فلمّا جاء توما أخبروه بظهور المسيح لهم. فقال: "إن لم أبصر في يديه[108] أثر المسامير، وأجعل إصبعي في موضع المسمار، وأترك يدي في جنبه، لا أؤمن". ثمّ ظهر له المسيح بعد ذلك، وأراه منه ما أراد، وقال له: "كن مؤمناً، ولا تكن غير مؤمن".

{325} قلت: وقد بيّنّا ما في هذا من نسبة الأنبياء[109] إلى عدم تصديق المسيح الصادق فيما كان وعدهم به من عوده إليهم. واستوفينا الكلام عليه.

{326} وهذا[110] آخر **التعليق على إنجيل يوحنّا بن زبدي**، وبتمامه تمّ **التعليق على الأناجيل الأربعة**.

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[106] ك: والاهي والاهكم. [107] ك: والهى. [108] ش: بدنه؛ ك: بدنه. [109] ش هـ: صوابه التلاميذ. [110] ش هـ: مطلب فى تمام التعليق على الأناجيل الأربعة.

{322} Among other things, in chapter nineteen, (there is a report which states) that when Christ rose from his tomb, he said to Mary Magdalene: 'Go to my brethren and say to them: "I am ascending to my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God".'[78]

{323} I say: His words, 'my Father and your Father,' indicate that fatherhood is an allusion to lordship, for he has allied himself with the disciples therein. His words, 'my God and your God,' signify the same, for God is the Lord and the Possessor (*al-Mālik*). And we are not acquainted with anyone who owns his son as a true property (*milk*).[79]

{324} Among other things, (there is a report) that Thomas, one of the Twelve, was away from the disciples. Then Christ appeared to them after his being raised from the dead. And when Thomas came, they informed him about Christ's appearance to them. But he said: 'If I do not see in his hands the mark of the nails, put my finger into the place of the nail and thrust my hand into his side, I shall not believe.' Thereafter, Christ appeared to him, showed him of himself what he had wanted and said to him: 'Be a believer, and do not be a nonbeliever.'[80]

{325} I say: We have already explained how this attributes to the apostles[81] disbelief in Christ, who was truthful in whatever he had promised to them regarding his return to them. And we have now exhausted all words on this topic.

{326} This is the end of the *Critical Commentary on the Gospel of John son of Zebedee*, and by its accomplishment the *Critical Commentary on the Four Gospels* is completed.

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[78] John 20:17.

[79] In his refutation of Jesus' divinity, Ṭūfī is primarily inspired by Qur'anic verses concerning God's self-sufficiency and His sovereignty in the heavens and earth (Q 5:17; 10:68). The state of ownership (*milkiyya*), according to Ṭūfī, is irreconcilable with the notion of sonship (*waladiyya*). In other words, one does not own his or her son. The entire world, including Jesus, is the creation of God and therefore His property. Ṭūfī reaches the conclusion that since Jesus is God's creation and property, he cannot be His son (see also Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. II, pp. 109, 299; vol. III, p. 185).

[80] John 20:24–27.

[81] In the Şehid Ali Paşa MS the word *al-anbiyā'* (apostles) is corrected as *al-talāmīdh* (disciples).

[البرهان على صحّة نبوّة نبيّنا محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم]

{327} ولنختم ذلك ببيان البرهان على صحّة نبوّة نبيّنا محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم، إذ كان هؤلاء الجهّال الضلاّل ينكرونها. ولكن جدير بعقول تصدّق بالباطل أن تنكر الحقّ. || ولنا على ذلك براهين. ولكن نقتصر هنا على برهان واحد واضح للخاصّ والعامّ قريبٍ إلى أذهان العلماء والعوامّ. وتقريره[1] أن نقول: إنّ محمّداً صلّى الله عليه وسلّم لا يخلو[2] إمّا[3] أن يكون ملِكاً ماحقاً كما زعمت اليهود والنصارى حيث قالوا: "جاء بالسيف بلا حجّة إلهيّة"، أو نبياً صادقاً. لكنّه ليس ملكاً ماحقاً. فلزم أن يكون نبياً صادقاً. 246ظ

{328} وإنّما قلنا: إنه ليس ملكاً ماحقاً، لأنّا نقول كلّ ملك ماحق لم تبق دولته وناموسه الذي أقامه بالسيف بعد موته، بل انقرضت دولهم ونواميسهم بموتهم، ومحمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم لم ينقرض ناموسه بموته، بل له اليوم سبعمائة سنة وسبع سنين. وهو كلّه[4] جاء في ظهور وانتشار، وهو كذلك إن شاء الله حتى الساعة. فينتج أنّ محمّداً صلّى الله عليه وسلّم[5] ليس ملكاً ماحقاً. وإنّما قلنا: إنّ كلّ ملك ماحق انقرضت دولته بموته[6] بالاستقراء التامّ، وهو يفيد العلم القاطع. فإنّ ملوك الدنيا منذ خلق[7] آدم إلى يومنا هذا لم يمت ملك منهم إلاّ وانقرض ناموسه بموته، كالضحّاك وافريدون[8] ومن كان في

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[1] ش: ونقرره. [2] ك: يخلوا. [3] ش: أما. [4] ش ك: كلها. [5] ش – وسلم. [6] ش – بموته. [7] ش هـ: صوابه أهبط. [8] ك: وافرندون.

[Decisive Proof regarding the Authenticity of the Prophethood of our Prophet, Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace]

{327} Let us close this section by presenting a decisive proof regarding the authenticity of the prophethood of our Prophet, Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, since those ignorant and misguided people have been denying it. But it befits intellects that confirm falsehood to deny the truth. And we have many decisive proofs against that denial. Yet here 246b
we confine ourselves to one single decisive proof that is lucid to both the learned and the common, and is apparent to the minds of both the scholars and the laity. The exposition of it consists of saying: Truly, Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, must either have been a destructive king, as the Jews and Christians claim when they say: 'He came with the sword, not with a divine proof,' or else a truthful prophet. However, he was not a destructive king. Thus, it necessarily follows that he be a truthful prophet.

{328} We say: He was not a destructive king, for we say that the empire and law of any destructive king that was established by the sword do not last after his death. Rather, their empires and their laws vanish with their deaths, while the law of Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, did not vanish with his death, but in fact it is seven hundred and seven years old today.[1] All of it has come in splendour and expansion, and it will remain thus, if God wills, up until the Hour of Resurrection. Thus it follows that Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, was not a destructive king. Rather, we say: The empire of every destructive king vanishes with his death, as understood by complete induction, which signifies (epistemologically) certain knowledge. For there is not one king among all the kings of the world, from the time of the creation of Adam until this very day of ours, who has died and whose law has not vanished with his death, such as al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Afrīdūn and their contemporaries, and also those

[1] This statement indicates that Ṭūfī wrote the *Ta'līq* in 707/1308. It must have been shortly before the penning of his apology, the *Intiṣārāt*, which we know was written between 12 Shawwāl and 7 Dhū al-Qa'da 707 (ca. 4–29 April 1308) in Cairo (see Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 167; vol. II, p. 758).

زمانها وقبلها وبعدها، كالإسكندر وملوك الطوائف وأكاسرة الفرس وقياصرة الروم وتبابعة[9] اليمن ونجاشيّ الحبشة وملوك العرب كجذيمة الأبرش والنعمان بن المنذر وآبائه وعمرو بن هند وغيرها. ولا من[10] ملوك المغرب والمشرق ممّن لا يحصى كثرةً. وإنّما[11] قلنا: إنّ محمّداً لم ينقرض ناموسه بموته فلمشاهدة العيان الذي لا يحتاج إلى إقامة برهان.

{329} فإن قيل: ما ذكرتموه صحيح من جهة الطرد، لكنّه فاسد من جهة العكس، فإنّ من الأنبياء من انقرض ناموسه، وليس بملك.

{330} قلنا: ذاك من جهة نسخ الشرائع، لا من جهة الانقراض بالموت. والله أعلم بالصواب.

[9] ش: تتابعة. [10] ش: ولآءمن. [11] ك: واما.

before them and after them, such as Alexander, the kings of various separate small kingdoms, the Khosraus of the Persians, the Caesars of the Byzantines, the Tubbaʿs of Yemen, the Neguses of Abyssinia, and the Arab kings, such as Jadhīma al-Abrash, Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir and his ancestors, ʿAmr b. Hind and others. Nor is there such a person among the kings of the West or East, of those that cannot be counted due to their great numbers. So, we say: Truly, Muḥammad's law has not vanished with his death, and this is manifest by observing what is clearly visible to the eyes, for which there is no need for establishing a decisive proof.[2]

{329} If it is said: What you mention is correct from one perspective, but wrong from the opposite perspective, for there are among the prophets those whose law has vanished, although they were not kings.

{330} We say: That is so with respect to the abrogation of revealed laws (by God), not with respect to those laws vanishing with the death (of the prophet). And God knows best what is right.

[2] Ṭūfī discusses the same subject and offers the same analysis in his *Ishārāt* (vol. III, p. 262) and the *Intiṣārāt* (vol. II, pp. 746, 748–751).

التعليق من مصحف إشعيا النبيّ عليه السلام[1]

{331} ممّا يدلّ على أنّ الله تعالى لا ولد له قوله تعالى: "ربّيت أبناءاً وهم غدروا بي"، وقوله: "إنها النسل الفاسد والأبناء المفسدون. أخبيتم الربّ، وأغضبتم ظهر إسرائيل". ووجه دلالته أنه سمّى عبيدَه قبل المسيح بدهر طويل أبناءه، وليس لله تعالى ابن خاصّ عند النصارى إلاّ المسيح. || وإنّما هذا و247
توبيخ من الله لهم يقول: أربّيكم تربية الأبناء، وتبارزونني[2] مبارزة الأعداء.

{332} **فائدة**. في آخر الأصحاح السابع من كتاب إشعيا حكاية عن الربّ سبحانه[3] أنه قال بعد كلام طويل: "هذه الفكرة التي فكّرتُ في الأرض كلّها". ثمّ قال إشعيا: "الربّ القويّ فكّر. فمن يقدر أن[4] يبطل فكرته؟"

{333} قلت: إطلاق هذه العبارة على الله سبحانه[5] على ما في عرف الناس لا يصحّ، لأنّ التفكّر هو حركة النفس لاستعلام مجهولٍ، والله سبحانه لا يخفى عنه شيء. فبالواجب أن يحمل الفكرةُ في حقّه على العلم، لأنّ الفكرة سبب العلم. فيكون من باب إطلاق السبب على المسبَّب.

{334} وذكر في آخر الأصحاح الثامن عشر أنّ الله سبحانه[6] ردّ الشمس إلى خلفها عشر درجات علامةً لحزقيا ملك بني إسرائيل على أنه ينفّس له في عمره خمس عشرة سنة بعد أن حضره الموت. والقصّة مشهورة.

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[1] ش هـ: مطلب في تعليق مصحف اشعايا؛ ك هـ: اشعيا. [2] ش ك: وتبارزوني. [3] ك – سبحانه. [4] ك – أن. [5] ك: تعالى. [6] ش – سبحانه.

Critical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah, the Prophet, peace be upon him

{331} Among the things which indicate that God, the Exalted, does not have a child are His words, the Exalted, 'I have brought up sons and they have acted unfaithfully toward Me,'[1] and His words: 'It is a corrupt progeny and corrupting sons. You have deceived the Lord and you have angered the Supporter of Israel.'[2] And the way this is indicated is by His referring to His servants a long time before Christ as His sons, while God, the Exalted, does not have any special son, in Christian opinion, except Christ. And thus God reprimands them, saying: 'I bring you up as one brings up sons, yet you contend against Me as one contends against enemies.' 247a

{332} **Useful Note**: At the end of chapter seven in the Book of Isaiah, there is a quotation from the Lord, the Glorified, that He utters after a long speech: 'This is the thought I have thought concerning the whole earth.'[3] Then Isaiah said: 'The Almighty Lord has thought. And who is able to annul His thought?'[4]

{333} I say: It is not right to apply this expression to God, Glorified is He, in the manner people customarily do, because thinking is a process of the soul directed at inquiring into the unknown, whereas nothing remains hidden from God, the Glorified. Hence, it becomes obligatory to interpret 'thought' with respect to Him as 'knowledge,' for 'thought' is the cause of 'knowledge'. Thus, this expression is one of the cases where (the name of) the cause (*sabab*) is applied to that which is caused (*musabbab*).

{334} (Isaiah) mentions in the end of chapter eighteen that God, Glorified is He, turned the sun back by ten degrees as a sign to Hezekiah, king of the Israelites, that He would grant him an extension of his lifespan by fifteen years after death came to him.[5] The story is well-known.

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[1] Isaiah 1:2.
[2] Isaiah 1:4.
[3] Isaiah 14:26.
[4] Isaiah 14:27.
[5] See Isaiah 38:5–9.

{335} قلت: فالذي انتهى إلينا أنّ الشمس إنّما رُدَّت لثلاثة: ليوشع بن نون في قتال الجبّارين، ولحزقيا هذا تصديقاً لإشعيا، لأنه هو كان النبيّ وحزقيا الملك، ولعليّ بن أبي طالب لمّا فاتته صلاة العصر حين نام النبيّ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم على فخذه فلم يوقظه. وبعض المتعصّبة ضعّف هذا الحديث، وحكم بأنه موضوع ولا معنى لذلك. فإنّ أبا جعفر الطحاوي والقاضي عياض[7] حكما بصحّة هذا الحديث. قرأت ذلك على شيخنا أبي العبّاس في **قاعدة الخوارق** له.[8] وهما إمامان لا يجهل مقدارهما في العلم. وأيضاً فإنّ ردّ الشمس إنّما كان في الحقيقة معجزاً للرسول عليه السلام، ولكونه بسبب عليٍّ كرامةً له. والنبيّ عليه السلام[9] لا يستكثَر له ردُّ الشمس، إذ قد رُدّت لمن هو دونه وهما يوشع وإشعيا. وليس ردّ الشمس بأعظم من انشقاق القمر.

{336} **فائدة**. وذكر في الأصحاح التاسع عشر: "أما علمتَ أنّ[10] الله ربّ دائم إلى الأبد؟ وهو الذي خلق أقطار الأرض. لا يَلغبُ ولا يَعْيا."[11]

[7] ك: عياضا. [8] ش – له. [9] ش: والنبي صلّى الله عليه. [10] ش: اني. [11] ش: يعيي؛ ك: يعى.

{335} I say: What has come to our knowledge is that the sun was turned back for only three people: for Joshua, son of Nun, in the fight against the tyrants,[6] for the very same Hezekiah as a confirmation of Isaiah, for he was the prophet while Hezekiah was the king, and to ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib when he missed the afternoon prayer at a time when the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, was sleeping on his thigh and he did not wake him up. Some zealots have declared this *ḥadīth* to be weak and ruled that it is fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*) and, therefore, that this story is meaningless.[7] However, Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī [d. 321/933] and Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ [d. 544/1149] have determined this *ḥadīth* to be sound.[8] I have studied this with our master Abū al-ʿAbbās [Ibn Taymiyya] in his *Qāʿidat al-khawāriq* (*The foundation of supernatural events*).[9] And [Ṭaḥāwī and Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ] are two leading authorities, the extent of whose knowledge cannot be ignored. Moreover, turning back the sun was in reality a miracle (*muʿjiza*) of the Messenger, peace be upon him, and a miraculous gift (*karāma*) of ʿAlī, due to its being caused on account of him. Turning back the sun cannot be deemed as excessive for the Prophet, peace be upon him, for it had been turned back for those who were below him, such as Joshua and Isaiah. Moreover, turning back the sun is not greater than (the Prophet's miracle of) splitting the moon.[10]

{336} **Useful Note**: (Isaiah) mentions in chapter nineteen: 'Have you not known that God is the Everlasting Lord? He is the One Who created the ends of the earth. He neither grows weary, nor does He become fatigued.'[11]

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[6] See Joshua 10:12–13.

[7] For instance, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Kathīr and Ibn al-Qayyim describe this *ḥadīth* as a fabricated lie. See Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhāj al-sunna al-nabawiyya*, ed. M.R. Sālim, [Cairo], 1986, vol. VIII, p. 165; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. V, pp. 62–72; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *al-Manār al-munīf fī al-ṣaḥīḥ wa-al-ḍaʿīf*, ed. ʿA-F. Abū Ghudda, Aleppo, 1983, pp. 57–58. About the disagreement between the scholars regarding the authenticity of this *ḥadīth*, see ʿAjlūnī, *Kashf al-khafāʾ*, vol. I, p. 255.

[8] See Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Mushkil al-āthār*, Hyderabad, [1915], vol. II, pp. 8–12; Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Kitāb al-shifāʾ*, vol. I, pp. 548–549.

[9] See Ibn Taymiyya, *Qāʿida fī al-muʿjizāt wa-al-karāmāt wa-anwāʿ khawāriq al-ʿādāt*, in *Majmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa-al-masāʾil*, ed. M.R. Riḍā, Beirut, 2001, vol. V, pp. 156.

[10] For the reports regarding the miracle of splitting the Moon (*inshiqāq al-qamar*), see Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Manāqib" 28, "Manāqib al-anṣār" 36, "Tafsīr sūrat al-Qamar" 1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Ṣifat al-qiyāma wa-al-janna wa-al-nār" 9; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Tafsīr al-Qurʾān" 54. Ṭūfī repeats this discussion on the miracle of turning back the sun in his *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, pp. 257–258).

[11] Isaiah 40:28.

{337} قلت: هذا موافق لما في القرآن من قوله سبحانه: ﴿وَلَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالأَرْضَ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا فِي سِتَّةِ أَيَّامٍ وَمَا مَسَّنَا مِنْ لُغُوبٍ﴾، وقوله: ﴿أَوَلَمْ يَرَوْا أَنَّ اللهَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالأَرْضَ وَلَمْ يَعْيَ بِخَلْقِهِنَّ بِقَادِرٍ عَلَى أَنْ يُحْيِيَ الْمَوْتَى﴾. ويُرَدّ || على اليهود قولهم: "إنّ الله أكمل خلق السماوات والأرض، ثمّ استراح يوم السبت". وفي ذلك أنزلت الآية الأولى رداً عليهم. ظ247

{338} وذكر في الأصحاح الحادي والعشرين حكايةً عن الله مخاطباً ليعقوب إسرائيل: "لا خوف عليك، لأنّي معك. آتي بذرّيتك من المشرق، وأجمعك من المغرب. أقول للتيمن[12] لا تحبس من عندك، ولا تمنعهم من الخروج. آتي ببنيّ من بعيد وبناتي من أقطار الأرض. كلّ من[13] يدعو باسمي إنّما خلقتُه وجعلتُه لكرامتي."

{339} قلت: فهذا حكاية عن الله أنه أضاف إلى نفسه بنين وبنات. وهو يدلّ على عدم إلهيّة المسيح وعدم كونه ابنَ الله من الوجه الذي سبق تقريره غير مرّة.

{340} **فائدة.** ذكر في الأصحاح الثاني والعشرين حكايةً عن الربّ سبحانه مخاطباً ليعقوب: "أنا الربّ الذي خلق كلّ شيء. مددت السماء وحدي، وليّنت الأرض متّي وإليّ بلا عون أحد. وأنا الذي أبطل آيات العرّافين، وأجهّل تعريفهم. أردّ الحكماء إلى خلفهم، وأصيّر علمهم جهلاً. وأثبت كلام عبدي، وأتمّ نيّة رسلي."

[12] ك: للسمس. [13] ش: كلمن.

{337} I say: This corresponds to the words of God, Glorified is He, in the Qur'an: 'And verily, We created the heavens and the earth and all that is between them in six days, and nothing of weariness touched Us,'[12] and to His words: 'Have they not seen that God, Who created the heavens and the earth and was not fatigued by their creation, is able to give life to the dead?'[13] And thereby the Jews are refuted in their saying: 'Truly, God completed 247b
the creation of the heavens and the earth, then He rested on the day of Sabbath.'[14] Precisely with regard to this matter was the first verse sent down in refutation of them.

{338} (Isaiah) mentions in chapter twenty-one, quoting from God Who addresses Jacob Israel: 'There shall be no fear for you, for I am with you. I shall bring your offspring from the East and gather you from the West. I shall say to the South, "Do not withhold those that are with you and do not prevent them from leaving." I shall bring My sons from afar and My daughters from the ends of the earth. Everyone who calls out My name—I have only created him and made him out of My munificence.'[15]

{339} I say: This is a quotation from God wherein He has attributed sons and daughters to Himself. It indicates Christ's non-divinity and his not being the Son of God, from a standpoint that has already been established more than once.

{340} **Useful Note**: (Isaiah) relates in chapter twenty-two, quoting from the Lord, the Glorified, Who addresses Jacob: 'I am the Lord Who has created everything. I have stretched forth the heaven alone and spread out the earth from Me and to Me without the help of anyone. I am He Who invalidates the signs of the diviners and stultifies their divination. I turn the wise back and transform their knowledge into ignorance. I make the speech of My servant firm, and fulfil the purpose of My messengers.'[16]

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[12] Q 50:38.
[13] Q 46:33.
[14] See Exodus 20:11 and 31:17.
[15] Isaiah 43:5–7.
[16] Isaiah 44:24–26.

{341} قلت: فهذه شهادة من الله سبحانه بأنّ الأنبياء فيما يخبرون به صادقون وأنهم أوثق من الكهّان والمنجّمين ونحوهم ممّن يتعاطى علم الغيب. والسبب في ذلك أنّ إخبار الأنبياء هو إخبار الله، فهو يصدّقه، وإخبار أولئك مزاحمة لله في غيبه. فهو تارةً يصدّقه وتارةً يكذّبه ليعلم أن لا علم[14] على الحقيقة والكمال إلاّ لله[15] سبحانه.

{342} وقال فيه حكايةً عن الربّ سبحانه أنه قال: "الويل للذي[16] يخاصم خالقه، وهو خزَف من أخزاف الأرض! لعلّ يقول الطين للفاخرانيّ: ما الذي تصنع بي؟ لستُ من عملك، ولا صنع يديك. الويل للذي يقول للأب:[17] ما الذي تولد؟ وللمرأة: لماذا أنت حبلى؟ هكذا يقول الربّ ظهر إسرائيل ومخلّصه، اسمه الربّ القويّ: مروني بالآيات التي ينبغي أن أصنعها ببنيّ، وعلّموني ما الذي أصنع في عمل يديّ! أنا الذي خلقت الأرض والناس عليها".

{343} قلت: فقد سمّى الناس ببنيه، وأخبر أنهم "عمل يديه"، ومخلوقون له. فلم يبق في قوله للمسيح: "أنت ابني" دلالة على بنوّة خاصّة، بل كبنوّة سائر الناس إلاّ ما خُصَّ به من غير هذه الجهة من إظهار المعجزات.

{344} **فائدة**. ذكر في الأصحاح الخامس والعشرين || حكايةً عن الربّ القويّ أنه قال: "انتبهي انتبهي، 248و
يا صهيون! والبسي لباس[18] المجد، يا أوراشلم[19] القرية الطاهرة! لأنه لا يعود يدخلك أغلف ولا نجِس".

[14] ك: عالم. [15] ك: الله. [16] ش: الذي. [17] ك: للرب. [18] ك: لبس. [19] ش ك: وراشلم.

{341} I say: This is a testimony of God, Glorified is He, that the prophets are truthful in whatever they report and that they are more trustworthy than the soothsayers, astrologers, and others who occupy themselves with the knowledge of the Unseen. The reason for this is that the report of the prophets is actually God's report and hence He confirms it, while the report of those others is a contest with God in His knowledge of the Unseen. Therefore, sometimes He confirms it and sometimes He denies it, so that it may be known that there is no knowledge, according to the true meaning and perfection of it, except with God, the Glorified.

{342} (Isaiah) relates in it, quoting from the Lord, the Glorified, that He said: 'Woe unto him who disputes with his Creator, when he is just one of the clay vessels of the earth! Is there a chance that the clay would say to the potter: "What is it that you are making with me? I am not one of your works, nor the product of your hands." Woe upon he who says to the father: "What is it that you are begetting?" and to the woman: "With what are you pregnant?" Thus says the Lord, the Supporter of Israel and its Saviour; His name is the Almighty Lord: "Give Me orders for the signs that I have to make for My children and let Me know what to make with the work of My hands! I am He, Who created the earth and the people on it".'[17]

{343} I say: He has indeed called mankind 'His children', and declared that they are the work of His hands and created by Him. Therefore, there remains in His words to Christ: 'You are My Son,' no justification for a special sonship. Rather, it was just like the sonship of the rest of mankind, apart from that by which he was distinguished in any other way, such as by manifesting miracles.

{344} **Useful Note**: (Isaiah) mentions in chapter twenty-five, quoting from the Almighty Lord, that He said: 'Awake, awake, O Zion! Put on the garments of glory, O Jerusalem, the Pure City! For no longer shall the uncircumcised and the impure enter into you.'[18] 248a

[17] Isaiah 45:9–12.
[18] Isaiah 52:1.

{345} قلت: الأغلف الأقلف الذي لم يختتن. وقد جعل عدم دخول الغلف إليها طهارةً لها ومجداً. والنصارى كلّهم غلف. فيدلّ ذلك على وهن مذهبهم وسوء رأيهم.

{346} فإن قيل: اليهود مختونون. فيلزمكم على مساق ما ذكرتم أن يكونوا على حقّ. وأنتم لا تقولون به.

{347} قلنا: ثبت ضلالهم بدليل آخر.

{348} **فائدة**. ذكر في هذا الأصحاح ترجمة النبوّة[20] في المسيح وصلبه مع الأئمة واحتماله الذنوبَ.[21] وأوّلها: "إنّ عبدي ليفهم ويرتفع ويتعظّم ويتعالى جداً حتى تعجّب منه كثير من الناس، لأنّ رؤيته متغيّرة من رؤية الرجل، ومستقبله أبهى من مستقبل الناس. هذا يطهّر شعوباً كثيرةً، وعليه وفي سببه تمسِك الملوكُ أفواهَها وتصمت، لأنهم عاينوا ما لم يقال لهم، فهموا ما لم يسمعوا".

{349} قلت: هذه صفات المسيح صلّى الله عليه وسلّم. والترجمة مختصّة به. وقد سمّاه الله سبحانه عبداً. وهو يردّ ما ادّعاه النصارى من إلهيّته أو بنوّته، إذ العبوديّة تنافيها. والعجب من النصارى واليهود كيف لم يحرّفوا هذه اللفظة و[22] القصّة ويبدّلوها مع ما[23] بدّلوا من كتب النبوّات. ولكن تركُهم لتغييرها إمّا تدميغ أو شيطنة ليقال: "لو حرّفوا شيئاً من الكتب لحرّفوا هذه". ثمّ إنهم يكابرون ويتمحّلون

[20] ش: البُنَّوة؛ ك: البُنوه. [21] ك: للذنوب. [22] ش – اللفظة و. [23] ش: معما.

{345} I say: The *aghlaf* is the same as the *aqlaf*, meaning he who is not circumcised. He has made the non-entrance of the uncircumcised into it a means of purity for it and of glory. Yet, the Christians are all uncircumcised. Therefore, this indicates the feebleness of their position and their faulty judgement.[19]

{346} If it is said: The Jews are circumcised. Therefore, according to the logical conclusion of what you have mentioned, you would be compelled to accept that they are following the truth. However, you do not say so.

{347} We say: Their error is established by another proof.

{348} **Useful Note**: (Isaiah) offers in this chapter a presentation of prophecies regarding Christ, his crucifixion with the criminals and his bearing sins. The beginning of it is: 'Truly My servant shall indeed understand and become elevated, magnified and exalted greatly so that many of the people shall marvel at him, for his vision is different to a man's vision, and his future is more splendid than the people's future. This one shall purify many nations and the kings shall shut their mouths at him and because of him and shall become silent, for they behold with their eyes that which they have not been told, and understand that which they have not heard.'[20]

{349} I say: These are the attributes of Christ, may God bless him and grant him peace. And this section is specifically related to him. God, Glorified is He, has named him 'servant'. Therefore, He refutes what the Christians claim, such as his divinity or his (divine) sonship, for servanthood contradicts both. And the astonishing thing about the Christians and the Jews is how they have not altered this expression and the story and changed it together with everything else they have changed from the books of the prophecies. However, their refraining from changing it must be either an attempt to invalidate (the accusation of *taḥrīf*) or a mischievous trick so that it might be said: 'If they had altered anything from the books, they would have altered this passage.' Moreover, they wilfully resist, strive cunningly, and reject the fact that this indicates what contradicts their opinion. How

[19] See also Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 415–418 and 498–499.
[20] Isaiah 52:13–15.

ويمنعون دلالتها على ما ينافي رأيهم. وهيهات! إنّ تحريفهم ومناقضاتهم بان واشتهر وصار أشهر من القمر. وقد سبق جملة من ذلك في **التعليق على الأناجيل**.

{350} ولما ثبت من تحريفهم وتبديلهم، قال لنا نبيّنا محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم: "إذا حدّثكم أهل الكتاب فلا تصدّقوهم ولا تكذّبوهم، ﴿وَقُولُوا آمَنَّا بِالَّذِي أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْنَا وَأُنْزِلَ[24] إِلَيْكُمْ وَإِلٰهُنَا وَإِلٰهُكُمْ وَاحِدٌ وَنَحْنُ لَهُ مُسْلِمُونَ﴾." فإنه من المعلوم أنهم لم يبدّلوا كلّ ما[25] نزل إليهم، بل بعضه، وهو ما عليهم في بقائه ضرر كالبشارة بمحمّد ونحوها. فلذلك قال عليه السلام: "لا تصدّقوهم"، لأنهم بتبديل البعض صاروا فسَقة غير مأمونين. وقال صلّى الله عليه:[26] "ولا تكذّبوهم" || لجواز أنّ ما أخبروكم به ليس ظ248
ممّا بدّلوه. وقال: "قولوا: آمنّا بالذي أنزل إلينا وأنزل إليكم"، لأنّ الذي أنزل إليهم جميعه حقّ، التوراة والإنجيل الذي أنزل على عيسى وسائر الكتب المنزّلة على الأنبياء. وإنّما حدث التبديل بعد التنزيل بدهر طويل. وإنّما النزاع فيما بأيديهم الآن مع تطاول الزمان ونقله من كتاب إلى كتاب ومن لغة إلى لغة.

{351} ولو لم يكن على عدل محمّد وأمانته وصدقه غير هذا التعليم الذي علّمه أمّته، لكان كافياً لذوي الألباب في الإيمان به والدخول في دينه، لأنه استعمل الحزم في عدم تصديقهم والعدل في عدم تكذيبهم. ولو كان خارجياً على الشرائع كما يقولون، مدّعياً ما[27] لم يؤتَه، ملكاً ماحقاً، لا نبياً صادقاً، لقال: "لا تصدّقوهم أصلاً". فإنه مطاع عند أمّته، غير خائف من أهل الكتاب حتىّ يجابيهم، بل

[24] ش – أنزل. [25] ش ك: كلما. [26] ك: – صلى الله عليه. [27] ك: لما.

preposterous! Truly, their alteration and contradictions have become manifest, well-known and more widely perceived than the moon. A good number of them have been mentioned previously in the *Critical Commentary on the Gospels*.

{350} Since it is established that they have altered and changed (their scriptures), our Prophet Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, told us: 'When the People of the Book narrate something, neither confirm them, nor deny them. Rather, "Say: We believe in that which has been sent down to us and sent down to you; our God and your God is One, to Him we surrender".'[21] It is a known fact that they have not changed everything that came down to them, but rather, only part of it, specifically that which would be detrimental for them if it remained, such as the glad tidings regarding Muḥammad and similar things. And it is due to this that he, peace be upon him, said: 'Neither confirm them,' for by changing some of it they have become unreliable transgressors. And he, may God bless him, said: 'Nor deny them,' due to the possibility that what they report to you is among the things 248b
they have not changed. He further said: 'Say: We believe in that which has been sent down to us and sent down to you,' because the totality of what has been sent down to them [in its original form] is true, namely the Torah, the Gospel sent down to Jesus, and other books that were sent down to the prophets. The changes occurred over a long period of time after the revelation. The controversy concerns only that which they possess at the moment, due to the length of time involved and its transmission from book to book and from language to language.[22]

{351} So, if there was no proof about Muḥammad's honesty, his reliability and trustworthiness, other than this teaching which he transmitted to his community, it would be sufficient for the people of insight to believe in him and enter his religion, for he showed prudence in not confirming them and fairness in not denying them. Had he been a rebel against the religious laws, as they suggest, claiming what had not been given to him, or a destructive king and not a truthful prophet, he would have said: 'Do not confirm them at all.' Yet, he was obeyed by his community and was not afraid of the People

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[21] Q 29:46. See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Shahādāt" 30, "Tafsīr sūrat al-Baqara" 11, "al-I'tiṣām bi-al-Kitāb" 26, "Tawḥīd" 51; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "'Ilm" 2; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 4/136.

[22] The same *ḥadīth* is also cited and commented on in his *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, pp. 231–232; vol. II, p. 751) and *Ḥallāl* (f. 18b).

ولأخْلَى[28] الأرضَ منهم ولم يقبل منهم الجزية لئلاّ يشككون أمّته في دينه بقدحهم فيه. فلما أقرّهم بالجزية وأمر بأن لا يكذّبوا مع علمه بقدحهم في دينه وطعنهم فيما جاء به، دلّ ذلك على أنه على حقّ من عند الله، لم يبال معه ببقائهم ولا طعنهم، وأنّ ذلك منهم لم يمنعه من العدل فيهم والحكم بما جاءه من الله في أمرهم. وهذا من البراهين القاطعة في الباب؛ فتأمّله.

{352} قلت: ثمّ ذكر في بيان أذى اليهود للمسيح قوله: "وهو المضروب في سبب ذوات الله، المتواضع من أجلها. يقتل من أجل إثمنا، ويتواضع من أجل إثمنا، وعليه أدب سلامتنا، لأنّ بجراحاته نبرأ كلّنا" إلى أن قال: "دنا متواضعاً، ولم يفتح فاه، وسيق مثل الحمل للذبح، وكان صامتاً كالنعجة قدّام جازرها، ولم يفتح فاه".

{353} قلت: هذه الألفاظ كلّها لا دلالة فيها على إزهاق نفس المسيح، بل إنّما تدلّ على أنه ضرب، لأنّ قوله: "المضروب في ذات الله" صريح في الضرب، ولا يدلّ على الإزهاق. وقوله: "يقتل من أجل إثمنا"، وإن كان ظاهراً في إزهاق النفس، إلاّ أنه يحتمل الضربَ. فلا يكون نصاً في الإزهاق. || 249و والناس يطلقون القتل على ما دون المزهِق للنفس كضرب العصا[29] والسوط كثيراً مشهوراً في زمننا هذا. فلعلّ هذا قد كان أيضاً في عرفهم. وقوله: "لأنّ بجراحاته نبرأ كلّنا" ظاهره[30] المجاز لكلّ عاقل. وإن ثبت أنه حقيقة، فلا يلزم من الجرح الزهوق. وقوله: "سيق مثل الحمل للذبح، وكان صامتا كالنعجة

[28] ش: ولأخلأ؛ لك: ولاخلا. [29] ش: العصى. [30] لك: ظاهرة.

of the Book, to the point where he levied taxes on them. Rather, he could have emptied the earth of them and could have not accepted the poll tax from them, lest they filled his community with doubt regarding his religion by impugning him. Since he fixed for them a poll tax and commanded that they not be called liars, despite his knowledge of their impugning his religion and their defaming what he had brought, it indicates that he followed the truth of God, without being concerned about their endurance or about their defamation, and it also indicates that such things coming from them did not prevent him from being fair to them and from judging by what had come to him from God concerning them. This is one of the most decisive proofs in this regard, so reflect upon it.

{352} I further say: Then, when describing the Jews' torment of Christ, (Isaiah) mentions his words: 'And he is beaten in obedience to God and is humiliated for the sake of it. He is killed for the sake of our sins and humiliated for the sake of our sins. The chastisement of our well-being is upon him, for by his wounds we are all healed,'[23] until he says: 'He drew near humiliated, but did not open his mouth. And he was driven like a lamb to the slaughter, and was silent like a sheep before its butcher, and did not open his mouth.'[24]

{353} I say: None of these expressions contains an indication that Christ's soul was caused to pass forth, but rather they indicate that he was beaten, because his saying, 'beaten in obedience to God,' clearly signifies 'beating' and does not indicate 'causing the soul to pass forth'. And his saying, 'He is killed for the sake of our sins,' although it literally signifies 'causing the soul to pass forth', it may also mean 'beating'. Thus, this is not scriptural evidence in support of 'causing the soul to pass forth'. Further, it is known that people 249a
in our time frequently apply the word 'killing' to things other than 'what causes the soul to pass forth,' such as beating with a cane and a lash. Perhaps this was also the case in their customary use of language. And his saying, 'For by his wounds we are healed,' would clearly be seen as a metaphor by every intelligent person. Even if it were established that it is meant literally, 'passing forth' does not necessarily result from 'wounding'. And his saying, 'He was driven like a lamb to the slaughter, and was silent like a sheep

[23] Isaiah 53:4–5.

[24] Isaiah 53:7. Ṭūfī quotes and comments on the same passage in his *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, pp. 350–353).

قدّام جازرها" لا يدلّ أيضاً على الزهوق، لأنّا نسلّم لهم أنه سيق كالحمل للذبح وصمت كالنعجة قدّام الجازر وأنهم ربطوه على الخشبة ليصلبوه بعد أن لطموه وبصقوا عليه وسخروا به، ولقي منهم العناء، عليهم وعلى النصارى ما يستحقّونه! لكن أظلمت الأرض ثلاث ساعات. ففيها نزلت الملائكة، فحلّت وثاقَه، وأطلقته. وألقي شبهُه على الذي دلّ عليه، يهوذا الإسخريوطي، أو غيرِه من أعدائه، فصلب مكانه.

{354} نعم، قال في تمام هذا الكلام: "ودنا منه قوم من أئمة شعبي، وأذن المنافق بدفنه". والدفن ملزوم للقتل المزهِق عادةً. ووجود الملزوم يدلّ على وجود اللازم. ولا أذى للمسلمين عن هذا جواباً إلاّ الطعن في ثبوت هذا وصحّته على ما عرف من أصل دينهم من القدح فيما في أيدي أهل الكتاب.[31]

{355} والجواب من وجهين:

{356} **أحدهما** أن يقال: ليس في هذا الكلام إلاّ دنوّهم منه، وهو لا يدلّ على القتل، وإذن المنافق في دفنه وهو لا يستلزم وقوع الدفن، إذ الإذن لا يستلزم وقوع المأذون فيه. وغاية ما في الباب أن يقال: هذا الكلام عادةً يقتضي وقوع القتل إلاّ أنه لا يدلّ هذا الكلام عليه.[32]

{357} [**الثاني**] ثمّ يقال لهم: هذه النبوّة[33] قد اشتملت على النصّ على عبوديّة المسيح وما يدلّ على قتله المزهق. فإمّا أن تثبتوا الأمرين أو تنفوهما، أو تثبتوا[34] أحدهما وتنفوا الآخر. فإن أثبتّموهما، نقضتم رأيكم بعبوديّة المسيح. فإن قالوا: هو عبد من جملة ناسوتيّته، فقد سبق جوابه بما يغني عن إعادته. وإن نفيتموهما، نقضتم رأيكم في عدم صلبه، وإخبار إشعيا[35] به في مصحفه[36] هو عمدتكم فيه. وإن أثبتّم

[31] ك – ولا أذى للمسلمين عن هذا جوابا إلا الطعن في ثبوت هذا وصحته على ما عرف من أصل دينهم من القدح فيما في أيدي أهل الكتاب. [32] ك – إلا أنه لا يدل هذا الكلام عليه، + الا انه ما وقع. [33] ش: البنوة. [34] ش: او تثبوا. [35] ك: شعيا. [36] ك – في مصحفه.

before its butcher,' likewise does not indicate 'passing forth', though we do concede to them that he was driven like a lamb to the slaughter and was silent like a sheep before a butcher, and that the perpetrators tied him up on the gibbet in order to crucify him after they had slapped him, spat on him and mocked him, and that he suffered distress at their hands—may there befall upon them and upon the Christians what they deserve. However, the earth darkened for three hours. During that time the angels descended, then they undid (Christ's) bonds and set him free. And his likeness was cast upon the one who had pointed him out, namely, Judas Iscariot, or another one of his enemies, and he was crucified in his place.

{354} Indeed, he says at the conclusion of this statement: 'A group of people from among the sinners of my nation approached him, and the hypocrite permitted him to be buried.'[25] Burial is usually necessitated by the act of killing, which causes the soul to pass forth. The existence of that which is necessitated (*malzūm*) indicates the existence of that which necessitates it (*lāzim*). Muslims have no trouble in responding to this, challenging both the establishment of this story as true and its authenticity based upon what is known from the sources of their religion by impugning what the People of the Book possess.

{355} The response must be twofold:

{356} **The first way to respond** is to say: This statement only mentions their approaching him, and that does not indicate killing, while the hypocrite's permission to bury him does not necessitate that the burial took place, for permission does not necessitate the occurrence of the permitted. The most that can be said in this regard is: This statement customarily requires that the killing took place, except that this exact statement does not indicate it.

{357} **(The second way to respond is)** to say to them: This prophecy contains scriptural evidence for Christ's servanthood and for that which indicates that his killing caused his soul to pass forth. Hence, you must either confirm both matters or deny them both, or else confirm one of them and deny the other. If you confirm them both, then you contradict your own opinion concerning Christ's servanthood. But if they say: 'He is a servant in respect of his human nature,' then the response to that has already been mentioned

[25] He must be referring to Isaiah 53:8–9.

أحدهما، فإمّا العبوديّة وحدَها فهو أشدّ عليكم، وإمّا الصلب وحدَه فهو تحكُّم وترجيح بلا مرجِّح. على أنّا قد قدّمنا في الطعن في صلب المسيح ما يثلج له قلب العاقل الرجيح. ‖ ظ249

{358} **فائدة**. ذكر في الأصحاح الثلاثين حكايةً عن الله سبحانه أنه قال: "السماء كرسيّي، والأرض موطأ خلقتي. أيّ[37] بيت تبنون[38] لي؟"

{359} قلت: وقد سبق في الإنجيل أنّ الأرض موطأ قدميْه. فلعلّ هذا بيان لذاك. ويكون قد سمّى الخلق قدماً لعلاقة ما[39] مجازيّة. وعلى هذا تأوّل بعض المسلمين قوله عليه السلام: "فيضع الجبّارُ فيها قدمه، يعني النار،[40] فيقول: قَطْ قَطْ!" قال: "فالقدم قوم من العالم يقدّمهم إلى النار، فتمتلئ بهم." والمشهور عند الجمهور أنّ المراد غير ذلك، وأنّ القدم صفة لله على ما يليق بجلاله. وكذلك رأيهم في سائر آيات الصفات وأحاديثها.

{360} **فائدة**. وذكر في هذا الأصحاح أيضاً في سياق الوعيد: "لأنّ الربّ يحاكمهم بالنار.[41] وبها يبلوا[42] كلّ ذي لحم. وتكثر قتلى الربّ. ويتقدّسون ويتطهّرون في الجنان. ويتبع بعضهم بعضاً في وسط الشجر."

[37] ش: لي؛ ك: الى. [38] ش: يبنون. [39] ش: لعلاقتها. [40] ش – يعني النار. [41] ش: الى النار. [42] ش: يبلو.

in a way that relieves the need to repeat it. And if you deny them both, you contradict your own opinion regarding his not being crucified, while Isaiah's reporting it in his Book is what you rely upon in this regard. And if you confirm only one of them, specifically servanthood only, then this is harder on you, and if you confirm the crucifixion only, then this is an act of arbitrariness and baseless preferance of one over the other. Nevertheless, we have already presented arguments challenging Christ's crucifixion which will delight the heart of the intelligent person. 249b

{358} **Useful Note**: In chapter thirty (Isaiah) relates, quoting from God, the Glorified, that He said: 'The heaven is My throne and the earth is the footstool of My creation. What house would you build for Me?'[26]

{359} I say: It is already mentioned in the Gospel that the earth is the footstool of His feet.[27] So perhaps this is an elucidation of that. He may have named the creation 'foot', due to some metaphorical relation. In this manner has a certain Muslim (scholar) interpreted (the Prophet's) words, peace be upon him: 'Then the Compeller shall put His foot on it, namely, the Fire, and say: "Enough! Enough!"'[28] He said: 'And the foot means a group of people whom He will dispatch into the Fire; thus it will be filled with them.' But the common view among the majority (of the scholars) is that the intended meaning is something other than this, and that the 'foot' is an attribute of God according to what befits His majesty. Likewise are their opinions about the rest of the verses and *ḥadīths* referring to the divine attributes.

{360} **Useful Note**: (Isaiah) also relates in this chapter, in the context of divine threats: 'For by the Fire shall the Lord bring them to trial.[29] And by it shall everyone of flesh be tried. The slain of the Lord shall be numerous. They shall sanctify and purify themselves in the Gardens of Paradise. And they shall follow each other in the midst of trees.'[30]

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[26] Isaiah 66:1.

[27] Matthew 5:35. See Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, §§45–47.

[28] This is a reference to a *ḥadīth* which conveys the dialogue between God and the Fire, showing that divine mercy overcomes His wrath. The *ḥadīth* in its various variants is found in Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Tafsīr sūrat Qāf" 1, "Tawḥīd" 25; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "al-Janna wa-ṣifat naʿīmihā wa-ahlihā" 14; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "ṣifat al-janna" 20.

[29] 'The Lord shall bring them to trial in the Fire,' if read *ilā al-nār*.

[30] Isaiah 66:16–17.

{361} قلت: هذا نصّ على أنّ في الآخرة جنّةً وناراً. وهو يردّ قول منكري الجنّة من النصارى. وقد سبق تقرير هذا عند سؤال الزنادقة المسيحَ عن سبعة إخوة تزوّجوا امرأةً تباعاً.

{361} I say: This is scriptural evidence that in the Hereafter there will be Paradise and Fire. It also refutes the claim of those Christians who deny the existence of Paradise. This matter has already been resolved in the context of the Sadducees' question to Christ regarding the seven brothers who married the same woman in succession.[31]

[31] Matthew 22:23–30. See Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, §§ 112–118.

التعليق من مصحف هوشع بن باري[1]

{362} ذكر في الأصحاح الرابع منه حكايةً عن الربّ سبحانه أنه قال: "لأنّي كنت قد[2] أحببت إسرائيل في صغره، ودعوته بمصر ابني".

{363} قلت: فثبت[3] أنّ إسرائيل عبد مألوه بإجماع، فكذلك المسيح. لا تدلّ لفظة البنوّة فيه[4] على أكثر من العبوديّة. نعم، هذه اللفظة تفيد خصوصيّةً في العبوديّة، كما سبق تقريره.

{364} وذكر فيه أيضاً حكايةً عن الربّ سبحانه أنه قال في أثناء كلام: "لأنّي الله،[5] ولست[6] أنا[7] إنساناً[8] بينكم".

{365} قلت: فدلّ هذا على أنّ الإلهيّة تنافي الإنسانيّة، وأنهما لا تجتمعان. وأجمعنا على أنّ المسيح إنسان يأكل ويشرب. فلزم أنه ليس إلهاً.

{366} فإن قيل: إنّا[9] نمنع اجتماع الأمرين من جهة واحدة لا جهتين، والمسيح كانت له جهتان[10] لاهوتيّة وناسوتيّة.

{367} قلنا: سبق جواب هذا في **التعليق على الإنجيل**.

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[1] ك هـ: هوشع. [2] ش – قد. [3] ك: وبـ. [4] ش – فيه. [5] ك: اله. [6] ش ك: وليس. [7] ش – أنا. [8] ك: انسان. [9] ش: فانا. [10] ش: جهتا.

Critical Commentary on the Book of Hosea, son of Beeri

{362} (Hosea) relates in the fourth chapter of (his book), quoting from the Lord, the Glorified, that He said: 'For I loved Israel in his childhood and called him, My Son, out of Egypt.'[1]

{363} I say: Thus, it is proven that Israel was by consensus a servant who worshipped God, and so too was Christ. The expression of sonship with regard to him does not indicate anything beyond servanthood. Indeed, this expression signifies excellence in servanthood, as determined earlier.

{364} (Hosea) mentions in it, also quoting from the Lord, the Glorified, that He said in the course of His speech: 'For I am God, and I am not a man in your midst.'[2]

{365} I say: This indicates that divinity is incompatible with humanity and that the two cannot unite. And we are in agreement that Christ is a man who eats and drinks. Hence, it necessarily follows that he is not a god.

{366} If it is said: We only refute the unification of the two matters into one single nature and not into two natures, and Christ had two natures, divine and human.

{367} We say: The response to this has been previously mentioned in the *Critical Commentary on the Gospels*.[3]

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[1] Hosea 11:1.
[2] Hosea 11:9.
[3] Ṭūfī, *Ta'liq*, §§37–40.

التعليق من نبوّة يونان وهو يونس بن متّى صاحب نينوى

{368} ذكر فيها أنه لمّا خرج من بطن || الحوت أمر أن يأتي بنينوى، فينذرهم العذاب إن لم يؤمنوا. و250
فأتاهم، فأنذرهم أنّ نينوى يخسف بها بعد أربعين يوماً – ويقال: ثلاثة أيّام. ثمّ خرج إلى شرقيّ المدينة، واتّخذ ظُلّةً، وقعد ينظر ما يجري لأهلها. فآمنوا وصدّقوا. فاستحيى يونس من تكذيبهم، فسأل الموت. فأنبت الله عليه شجرة اليقطين، فوقته حرَّ الشمس، ففرح بها. ثمّ سلّط الله عليها[1] الدود، فأكل عروقها. ثمّ أرسل الريح، فأيبستها. فحزن لذلك يونس. فقال الله له: "تحزن لهلاك شجرة لم تعملها، وتريدني أهلك نينوى؟" وكانت مدينة عظيمة مسيرة ثلاثة أيّام.

{369} قلت: والذي في القرآن العظيم،[2] وهو قوله تعالى: ﴿فَنَبَذْنَاهُ بِالْعَرَاءِ وَهُوَ سَقِيمٌ. وَأَنْبَتْنَا عَلَيْهِ شَجَرَةً مِنْ يَقْطِينٍ﴾ لا ينافي هذا. لكن علماء المسلمين من المفسّرين والقصّاص ذكروا أنّ إنبات شجرة اليقطين عليه كان عند خروجه من بطن الحوت كالفرخ الممعوط الذي لا ريش عليه. وكان في اليقطين حكمتان. أحداهما[3] إظلاله من الشمس، والثاني منع الذباب أن تسقط عليه. وذلك من خواصّ اليقطين. فالتنافي بين هذه النبوّة وبين ما ذكر المفسّرون، لا بينها وبين ظاهر القرآن.

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[1] ش – عليها. [2] ك – العظيم. [3] ش: إحديها.

Critical Commentary on the Prophecy of Jonah, Yūnus son of Mattā, of Nineveh

{368} In it (Jonah) mentions that when he came out from the belly of the great fish, he was commanded to come to Nineveh and to warn the inhabitants of a punishment if they did not believe. So he came to them and warned them that Nineveh would be swallowed up by the earth after forty days—it was also said after three days. Thereafter, he left to the east side of the city, took shelter and sat down to see what would happen to its people. Then they came to faith and believed. So Jonah felt embarrassed because they had proven him to be a liar, and he asked for death. Then God caused a gourd tree to grow over him, which protected him from the heat of the sun, so he was happy about it. Afterwards, God set worms upon it, and they ate its roots. Then He sent the wind, which dried it up. And Jonah was sad because of that. Then, God said to him: 'You are sad because of the destruction of a plant that you have not made, but you want Me to destroy Nineveh?' It was a great city of three days' journey.[1] 250a

{369} I say: What is in the Glorious Qur'an, the words of God, the Exalted: 'Then We cast him on a barren shore while he was sick. And We caused a gourd tree to grow over him,'[2] does not contradict this. However, the learned among the Muslims, whether they be the commentators (on the Qur'an) or those who related the stories of old, have mentioned that the growth of a gourd tree over him occurred when he came out of the belly of the great fish like a bald, featherless chick. So, the gourd served two purposes. One of them was to shelter him from the sun, and the second was to prevent flies from descending on him. These are of the characteristics of the gourd.[3] Therefore, the contradiction is between this prophecy and what the commentators mention, not between the prophecy and the explicit meaning of the Qur'an.[4]

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[1] See Jonah 3:1–5 and 4:1–11.

[2] Q 37:145–146.

[3] These interpretations are explained in detail by Ibn Kathīr in his *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, pp. 21–22.

[4] Here and in relation to various other quotations from the Old Testament to follow, Ṭūfī responds to the anonymous Christian author's critique of the Qur'an. As understood from Ṭūfī's few references here in the *Ta'līq* and from his many quotations in the *Intiṣārāt*, the Christian author compared various points raised in the Biblical and Qur'anic stories of the prophets, claiming the Qur'an's unauthenticity based on the fact that it significantly diverges from and contradicts the Bible in certain respects.

التعليق من نبوّة حبقّوق[1] النبيّ عليه السلام[2]

{370} ذكر في صلاته:[3] "يا ربّ، سمعت باسمك وفزعت. يا ربّ، أظهر أعمالك في سنين الحياة لتعرف في هذه السنين. اذكر رحمتك أيّام الغضب، لأنّ الله أتانا من التيمن حيث ظهر لنا واستعلن لنا من الظهر من جبال فاران. وتغشّت السماء من شعاع المحمود، وامتلأت الأرض من محامده، لأنّ شعاعه يصير نوراً، ويصير عزّه في قريته، وتظهر قوّته في رحبتها، الموت يسير أمامه، وتجتمع الطير لوطء قدميه. قام، فمسح الأرض، ونظر بغضبه، فاجتمعت نحوه الشعوب. وتفرّغت الجبال المائيّة مذ أوائل الدهر. واتّضعت الآكامُ التي لم تزل ثابتةً مذ قديم، لأنّ الشيء القديم هو له."

{371} قلت: أيّها الناظر في هذا الكتاب! اعلم أوّلاً أنّ أشدّ الكلام إجمالاً كلام الله سبحانه لخلقه، واقربه إلى التصريح والنصوصيّة والتفصيل القرآن المقدّس. والإجمال الذي فيه بيّنه النبيّ || صلّى الله ظ250
عليه وسلّم امتثالاً لقوله تعالى: ﴿لِتُبَيِّنَ[4] لِلنَّاسِ ما نُزِّلَ إِلَيْهِمْ﴾. وكتب[5] الأوائل أشدّ إجمالاً ورمزاً من القرآن حتى أنّ معانيها المرادة منها لا تلوح إلاّ خيالاً أو إيماءً أو إلماعاً كلمع البرق في الغسق، أو كلمع اليدين في حبيٍّ[6] مكلَّلِ،[7] وكالخطرات الإلهيّة على قلوب السالكين في ابتداء أمارات الوصول والمعرفة.

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[1] ش: حيقوق. [2] ش هـ: مطلب في التعليق على نبوة حيقوق؛ ك هـ: حبقوق. [3] ش: صلواته؛ ك: صلوته. [4] ش: ليبين. [5] ك: فكتب. [6] ك: جبيّ. [7] ك: محلل.

Critical Commentary on the Prophecy of Habakkuk, the Prophet, peace be upon him

{370} (Habakkuk) mentions in his prayers: 'O Lord, I have heard Your name and was terrified. O Lord, manifest Your works in the years of life, so that You be known in these years. Remember Your mercy in the days of wrath, for God has come to us from the South where He appeared to us, and revealed Himself to us from behind, from the mountains of Paran. The heaven was covered with the rays of the praised one, and the earth was filled with his praises, for his rays become light, his glory comes to his town, his power appears in its courts, death goes before him, and birds gather at the tread of his feet. He stood and measured the earth. He looked with His wrath, and towards him the nations gathered. And the centuries-old mountains that had existed since the earliest times were vacated, and the hills that had never ceased to exist since the ancient times were lowered, for the pre-existent entity belongs to Him.'[1]

{371} I say: O examiner of this book! Firstly, know that the most ambiguous speech is the speech of God, the Glorified, to His creation, and the nearest of it to clear speech, explicit declaration and detailed explanation is the Holy Qur'an. And its ambiguity was explained by the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, following His words, Exalted is He: 'that you may explain to mankind that which has been revealed to them.'[2] And the scriptures of the earlier communities were more ambiguous and symbolic in their expressions than the Qur'an, to the extent that their intended meaning would not become visible except as an image, sign and allusion, like the flash of lightning in the darkness of the night, or 'like the flash of hands as it moves swiftly in a mass of cloud piled up like a crown,'[3] and like divinely-inspired thoughts passing through the hearts of the travellers on the spiritual path, when the signs of attaining the goal and gnosis begin to manifest. So when you recognise this, also know that this statement which we quote from Habakkuk, the prophet, peace be upon him, is not an 250b

[1] Habakkuk 3:2–6.

[2] Q 16:44.

[3] A quote from the *Mu'allaqat Imru' al-Qays*. See A. Jones (ed. and trans.), *Early Arabic Poetry, Volume Two: Selected Odes* (Oxford Oriental Institute Monographs, 15), Reading, 1996, p. 82 (commentary), p. 243 (translation) and p. 5 (Arabic).

فإذا عرفت هذا فاعلم أنّ هذا الكلام الذي حكيناه عن حبقّوق[8] النبيّ عليه السلام ليس نصاً في أحد من البشر. لكنّه أحرى أن يكون في محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم. وبيان ذلك بفكّ رموزه وفتح مقفل كنوزه وتطبيق تنزيله بتأويله. فنقول: وبالله العصمة.

{372} قوله: "يا ربّ، أظهر أعمالك في سنين الحياة لتعرف في هذه السنين"، أقول: المراد بسنين الحياة سنون[9] الحياة الدنيا، لأنها مدّة الحياة الفانية. ومن المعلوم أنّ للعالم حياتين: فانية وباقية. فالحياة الدنيا هي الفانية، وهي المشار إليها بقوله: "لتعرف في هذه السنين"، فهي إشارة عهديّة، أي "لتعرف في سنين الحياة". وذلك، لأنّ[10] فائدة إيجاد الخلق وإرسال الرسل تعريف الله نفسه لخلقه ودعاؤهم إلى عبادته وتوحيده. ولهذا ورد في بعض الآثار حكايةً عن الله سبحانه أنه قال: "كنت كنزاً لا أعرف، فخلقت خلقاً لأعرف". فهذا في الحقيقة شفَقةٌ من النبيّ حبقّوق[11] على خلق الله الآتين بعده ليعرفوا الله فيفوزوا بالسعادة، وحذراً منه عليهم أن يجهلوه ويكفروا به فيقعوا في الشقاوة.

{373} وقوله: "واذكر رحمتك أيّام الغضب"، معناه أنّ الله سبحانه إذا غضب على قوم أخفى عنهم رشدهم من معرفته وغيرها. فيضلّوا، فيُهلكهم بضلالهم، كما قال في القرآن الكريم: ﴿وَإِذاَ أَرَدْناَ أَنْ نُهْلِكَ قَرْيَةً أَمَرْناَ مُتْرَفِيهاَ فَفَسَقُوا فِيهاَ فَحَقَّ عَلَيْهاَ الْقَوْلُ فَدَمَّرْناَهاَ تَدْمِيراً﴾ أي أمرناهم بالطاعة، ثمّ قضينا

[8] ش: حيقوق. [9] ك: سنين. [10] ش: ان. [11] ش: حيقوق.

explicit declaration about any human being. Yet it is more appropriate that it be about Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace. And the exposition of this lies in deciphering its symbols, opening its locked away treasures and making its interpretation conform with its revelation. So, we say: Infallibility belongs to God alone.

{372} As for his words: 'O Lord, make your works appear in the years of life, so that You be known in these years,'[4] in our opinion, the intended meaning of 'the years of life' is the years of the life of this world, for that is the period of transient life. It is a known fact that the universe has two types of life: a transient one and an everlasting one. And the life of this world is the transient one, and that is what is indicated by his statement: 'so that You be known in these years.' It is a reference to the temporal, meaning, 'so that You be known in the years of life.' This is so, because the benefit of bringing the Creation into being and sending messengers lies in God's making Himself known to His creation and calling them to worship Him and declare His Oneness. Therefore, it was transmitted in one of the traditions, quoting from God, the Glorified, that He said: 'I was a Treasure unknown. Then, I created the Creation so that I might be known.'[5] Therefore, this is actually an expression of the prophet Habakkuk's feeling of compassion for those of God's creation who would come after him so that they may know God and thus achieve felicity, and it is an expression of his being wary for them lest they be ignorant of Him and disbelieve in Him and thus fall into misery.

{373} His words: 'Remember Your mercy in the days of wrath,'[6] mean that when God, Glorified is He, becomes angry with a group of people, He hides from them their integrity of mind which enables them to know Him and other things, so they go astray and He destroys them by their misguidance, as He says in the Noble Qur'an: 'And when We want to destroy a town, We command those among them who are endowed with a life of ease and yet transgress therein, so that the word (of doom) is proved true against it, and we annihilate it with complete annihilation,'[7] meaning that 'We command them to be obedient, then We inflict transgression upon them,

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[4] Habakkuk 3:2.

[5] For the *ḥadīth*, see Ālūsī, *Rūḥ al-maʿānī*, vol. VII, p. 453; vol. IX, p. 116; vol. XIV, p. 25; vol. XV, p. 168; 'Ajlūnī, *Kashf al-khafāʾ*, vol. II, p. 173.

[6] Habakkuk 3:2.

[7] Q 17:16.

عليهم بالفسق، ثمّ دمّرناهم بفسقهم. وهذا على رأي المعترفين بالقدر،[12] وهو الصواب. فالنبيّ حبقّوق[13] عليه السلام دعا الله سبحانه أن لا يستغرق خلقه بالغضب، بل إذا غضب على قوم في زمن تدارك آخرين بأن يذكر رحمته || فيتغمّدهم بها. وكذلك كان الأمر. فإنّ الله سبحانه وتعالى[14] لمّا غضب على 251و
أهل الفترة بين عيسى ومحمّد تدارك من بعدهم بمحمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم[15] فأرشدهم إلى الحقّ وصدّهم عن الباطل، كما قال سبحانه فيما يؤثر عنه: "سبقت رحمتي غضبي"، وكما قال في القرآن المقدّس: ﴿وَمَآ أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلاَّ رَحْمَةً لِلْعَالَمِينَ﴾.

{374} وقوله: "لأنّ الله أتانا من التيمن حيث ظهر لنا" أي أتانا أمره وبركته وهداه على لسان رسله، وهو إشارة إلى[16] [نبوّة محمّد].

{375} قوله:[17] "واستعلن لنا من جبال فاران" أي ظهر لنا، لأنّ الاستعلان الظهور، وهو ضدّ السرّ، أي استعلن لنا أمره وحكمه وبركته. وجبال فاران جبال مكّة والحجاز فيما يتعارفه الناس، وهذه اللفظة محكيّة عن التوراة. ولم يظهر ما يصلح أن يكون أمراً وبركةً من الله وناموساً من نواميسه إلاّ دين محمّد عليه السلام.

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[12] ك: بالقدره. [13] ش: حيقوق. [14] ك – وتعالى. [15] ك: بمحمد عليه السلام. [16] السطر الذي يلي بياض، أي ممحي غير مقروء، في كلتا النسختين. [17] ش: وقوله.

and then annihilate them because of their transgression.' This is according to the opinion of those who profess divine destiny, which is the correct opinion. So, the prophet Habakkuk, peace be upon him, prayed to God, the Glorified, that His creation would not be immersed in wrath, but rather that when He becomes angry at a group of people at one particular time, He may compensate the later generations by remembering His mercy and encompassing them with it. And this was the case. Truly, when God, Glorified and Exalted is He, became angry with the people living in the interval period between Jesus and Muḥammad, He compensated those who came after them by (sending) Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, and thus guided them to truth and diverted them from falsehood, just as God, Glorified is He, says in what is transmitted from Him: 'My mercy has overcome my Wrath,'[8] and just as He says in the Holy Qur'an: 'And We have not sent you save as a mercy for all the worlds.'[9] 251a

{374} His words: 'for God has come to us from the South where He appeared to us'[10] mean His commandment, His blessing and His guidance came to us through the tongues of His messengers, and that is an allusion to (the prophethood of Muḥammad).

{375} His words: 'and He revealed Himself to us from the mountains of Paran'[11] mean He made Himself apparent to us, for a revelation signifies appearance, and that is the opposite of secrecy, meaning He revealed His commandment, His decree and His blessing. The mountains of Paran are the mountains of Mecca and the Hijaz as people have come to know them, and this expression is quoted from the Torah.[12] Nothing has appeared that would befit being a commandment and blessing from God and one of His laws, except the religion of Muḥammad, peace be upon him.[13]

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[8] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Tawḥīd" 22, 28, 55; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Tawba" 4; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Muqaddima" 35. For other variants of this report, see Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Tawḥīd" 15, "Khalq" 1; Muslim, "Tawba" 4, Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Da'awāt" 112; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Zuhd" 35.

[9] Q 21:107.

[10] Habakkuk 3:3.

[11] Habakkuk 3:3.

[12] See Genesis 21:21; Numbers 10:12, 12:16, 13:3 and 26, Deuteronomy 1:1, 33:2.

[13] For Ṭūfī, as for many other medieval Muslim scholars reading the Bible, Paran is none other than Mecca and the Hijaz, and the words concerning the 'praise' are nothing but pre-figurative references to the Prophet's names of Muḥammad and Aḥmad, i.e. the root of *ḥ-m-d* (praise). As will emerge in subsequent passages, in these verses Ṭūfī finds allusions not only to the worldly success of Muḥammad and his victory over polytheism, but also to

{376} قوله: "وتغشّت السماء من شعاع المحمود، وامتلأت الأرض من محامده"، فيه إشارتان ظاهرتان في المقصود:

{377} **إحداهما**[18] الإشارة إلى اشتهار محمّد في السماء ليلة المعراج أو إلى حراسة السماء بالشهب لأجل مبعثه. فإنه يقال: لم تحرس السماء بالشهب إلاّ لمبعثه. وما كان منها قبله فهو بزمن يسير على جهة الإنذار بمبعثه. ويقال: إنّ الشياطين كانت تخترق السماوات السبع حتى بعث المسيح عليه السلام فمنعت من ثلاث سماوات. فلمّا بعث محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم[19] منعت من الباقي.

{378} قلت:[20] ولعلّ هذا هو كان السبب في كثرة الكهّان في الدهر الأوّل، لأنّ مادّتهم استراق الشياطين السمع وقد كانوا مفوَّضين في عالم الملكوت. فلمّا حجبوا قلّت مادّة الكهّان، بل عدمت. فلهذا قال محمّد عليه السلام: "انقطعت الكهانة". فحراسة السماء بالشهب هي تغشيتها من شعاع المحمود المذكور هاهنا.

{379} وأمّا "امتلاء الأرض من محامده" فظاهر. فإنّ أهل الشرق والغرب والسهل والجبل يثنون عليه إمّا[21] مع المتابعة كالمسلمين أو مع عدم المتابعة كالفلاسفة وأصحاب الملل. فإنّ أحداً || منهم لا يشكّ في حكمته وعلوّ همّته وحسن سياسته للناموس وإقامته. ظ251

[18] ش هـ: مطلب في منع الشياطين عن جميع السموات. [19] ك: محمد عليه السلام. [20] ك – قلت. [21] ش: أما.

the success of his followers in later generations. He does not mention, however, the favoured reference of many other Muslim sources, Qarāfī's *Ajwiba* and Būṣīrī's *Makhraj* being some of them, where Sinai, Seir and Paran (Deuteronomy 33:2) are read as allusions to the locations of the three prophets: Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad respectively (Qarāfī, *Ajwiba*, pp. 422–423; Būṣīrī, *Makhraj*, p. 195). In the writings of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Qayyim, moreover, these names are taken to correspond to the three locations mentioned in the Qur'an (Q 95:1–3). The Qur'anic description of the land of 'the fig and the olive' is read as a reference to the land to which Christ was sent, while 'Mount Sinai' is the land in which God spoke to Moses, and 'this land made safe' is the land of Mecca to which God sent Muḥammad (Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, p. 302; Ibn al-Qayyim, *Hidāyat*, pp. 72–73, 89–90).

{376} His words, 'The heaven was covered with the rays of the praised one, and the earth was filled with his praises,'[14] include two apparent allusions to what is intended here:

{377} **The first one** is the allusion to Muḥammad's fame in the heavens on the Night of Ascent or to the guarding of the heavens by shooting stars during the time when he was sent with his prophetic mission. Hence, it is said: The heavens were guarded by the shooting stars only for his coming with his mission. What happened of it shortly before him consisted of a warning about his emergence. It is also said: Truly, the devils used to traverse the seven heavens until the time when Christ, peace be upon him, was sent with his mission, then they were prevented from entering three of the heavens. But when Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, was sent with his mission, they were prevented from entering the remainder of the heavens.

{378} I say: Perhaps this was the reason why there were so many soothsayers in the earlier period, for the material in their possession consisted of the devils' stealthy listening, as they [i.e. the devils] were authorised agents in the world of the heavens. So, when (the devils) were banned from entering, the material of the soothsayers diminished, and was even lost. Therefore, Muḥammad, peace be upon him, said: 'Soothsaying has become extinct.'[15] So, the guarding of the heavens by the shooting stars is the equivalent of their being covered by the rays of the praised one, who is mentioned here.

{379} As for (the meaning of) 'the earth being filled up with his praises,' it is apparent. Truly, the people of the east and the west and of the plain and the mountain extol (the Prophet), whether they follow him as the Muslims do, or they follow him not, as the philosophers and people of other religions do. None of them doubts his wisdom, the extent of his high-mindedness and 251b
the excellence of his administering the law and establishing it.

[14] Habakkuk 3:3.

[15] For the *ḥadīth*, see Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, ed. Aʿ-Aʿ. al-Bardūnī, Cairo, 1952, vol. X, p. 11; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī bi-sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, Cairo, 1959, vol. XII, p. 330.

{380} **الإشارة الثانية** قوله: "من شعاع المحمود"، وقوله: "من محامده". فإنّ هذين لفظان مشتقّان من مادّة اسم محمّد وأحمد،[22] وهما اسما[23] نبيّنا عليه السلام، وإشارة إلى أنه المراد من هذه الصفات. ولهذا يقول حسّان بن ثابت في مجده: "فذو العرش محمود وهذا محمّد".

{381} وقوله: "لأنّ شعاعه يصير نوراً"، أي ينتشر ويكثر ويعلو ويظهر. وكذلك كان دينه عليه السلام خفياً، ثمّ ظهر حتى ملأ الوجود.

{382} وقوله: "ويصير عزّه في قريته، وتظهر قوّته في رحبتها". قلت:[24] قريته هي مدينة يثرب. وفيها ظهر عزّه وقوّته، ومنها أنصاره. وفيها كمل الوحي والدين،[25] وتمّت النعمة الإلهيّة على أهل دين الحنيفيّة، كما قال الله سبحانه في القرآن الكريم: ﴿اَلْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسْلامَ دِيناً﴾.

{383} وقوله: "الموت يسير أمامه"، هذه صفة محمّد صلّى الله عليه[26] في غزواته. فإنّ كتائب المهاجرين والأنصار ومن انضمّ إليهم من مسلمة البادية كانوا يقدّمونه، وفيهم الموت العاجل لمن له يباري ويساجل ويبطئ بالإجابة ولا يعاجل. وفيه أيضاً إشارة إلى قوله عليه السلام: "نُصِرتُ بالرعب مسيرةَ شهر"، أي كان يرعب منه من بينه وبينه مسيرة شهر. فكان الرعب من جنده يسير أمامه. والرعب من أسباب الموت.

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[22] ش – وأحمد. [23] ش: اسماء. [24] ك – قلت. [25] ش – والدين. [26] ك: محمد عليه السلام.

{380} **The second allusion** is related to his words: 'with the rays of the praised one' and his words: 'with his praises.' These two are expressions derived from the root of the nouns *Muḥammad* (praiseworthy) and *Aḥmad* (most praised), the two names of our Prophet, peace be upon him, and are an allusion to the fact that he is signified by these attributes. Therefore, Ḥassān b. Thābit says in his honour: 'Thus the Owner of the Throne is *Maḥmūd* (Praised), and this is *Muḥammad* (praiseworthy).'[16]

{381} His words: 'for his rays become light'[17] mean they spread out, increase, rise high and become apparent. And that is how (the Prophet's) religion, peace be upon him, was concealed, and then became apparent until it filled all of existence.

{382} His words: 'his glory comes to his town, his power appears in its courts.'[18] I say: His town is the city of Yathrib. In it his glory and power appeared, and from it were his Helpers (*Anṣār*). And in it the revelation and the religion were perfected, and the divine favour upon the people of the primordial monotheist religion (*dīn al-ḥanīfiyya*) was completed, as God, Glorified is He, says in the Noble Qur'an: 'This day have I perfected your religion for you, completed My favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as a religion.'[19]

{383} As to his words: 'death goes before him,'[20] this is an attribute of Muḥammad, may God bless him, in his military expeditions. For the forces of the Emigrants, the Helpers and of those who joined them from among the Muslims of the desert, used to go before him and in their midst imminent death awaited those who would contend with (the Prophet), rival him, be slow in answering his call and not hasten. Therein is also an allusion to his words, peace be upon him: 'I have been made victorious (against enemies) by fear over the distance of one month's journey,'[21] which mean that people between whom and him there was the distance of one month's journey used to fear him. So, the fear from his army used to go before him. And fear is one of the causes of death.

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[16] Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, p. 525.
[17] Habakkuk 3:4.
[18] Habakkuk 3:4.
[19] Q 5:3.
[20] Habakkuk 3:5.
[21] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Tayammum" 1, "Ṣalāt" 56, "Jihād" 122; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Masājid" 1; Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, "al-Ghusl wa-al-tayammum" 26.

{384} وقوله: "وتجتمع الطير لوطء قدميه"، أي تتبعه حيث سار لتأكل من لحوم القتلى في المعارك. وهذا معنى قول الشاعر: "قد عوَّد الطيرَ عاداتٍ وثِقْنَ بها فهُنَّ يتبَعْنَهُ في كلّ مُرْتَحَل". وقول الآخر: "وترى الطيرَ على آثارنا رأىَ عين ثقةً أن ستُمار". وقول النابغة:

إِذَا مَا سَرَى[27] بِالْجَيْشِ حَلَّقَ فَوْقَهُ عَصَائِبُ طَيْرٍ تَهْتَدِي بِعَصَائِبِ

حَوَائِمُ[28] قَدْ أَيْقَنَّ أَنَّ قَبِيلَهُ[29] إِذَا مَا الْتَقَى الْجَمْعَانِ أَوَّلُ غَالِبِ

{385} ولا نعلم أحداً ممن استعلن بأمر الله كان على هذه الصفة إلاّ محمّداً عليه أفضل الصلاة و[30]السلام، لأنّ الأنبياء على قسمين. **أحدهما** من لم يحوجه الله إلى الجهاد ببدنه، بل كان ينتقم له بالأمور السماويّة كطوفان نوح والريح العقيم لهود والصاعقة لصالح. **والثاني** من أحوجه إلى الجهاد البدنيّ كإبراهيم، || وموسى ويوشع وسليمان عليهم السلام. ولم يشتهر منهم بذلك مثل محمّد صلّى الله و252
عليه وسلّم.[31] فإنّ أشدّ الأنبياء قبله جهاداً موسى ويوشع وداود. ولم يتجاوز جهادهم دائرة الشام. وأمّا سليمان عليه السلام فلم يكن جهاده جهاداً في الحقيقة، لأنّ الجهاد بذل الجهد، وسليمان عليه السلام كان يركب على البساط ويسير في الهواء، والجنّ والشياطين تقضي الأشغال. وكان في جهاده أروح منه جالساً في بيته. فأمّا محمّد صلّى الله عليه[32] فاقتحمت خيله على قلّة عسكره أقصى اليمن وأقصى

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[27] **ديوان النابغة الذبياني**: غَزَوْا. [28] **ديوان النابغة الذبياني**: حَوَايِحَ. [29] ك: رعيله. [30] ك – أفضل الصلاة و. [31] ك: محمد عليه السلام. [32] ك: محمد عليه السلام.

{384} His words: 'and birds gather at the tread of his feet,'[22] mean that they follow him wherever he goes, in order to eat from the flesh of the people killed on the battlefields. This is also the meaning of the poet's words: 'He makes the birds follow clear habits, upon which they become so dependent that they follow him to every place of journey.'[23] And in the words of another poet: 'With your own eyes you see the birds upon our footsteps, trusting that they shall be provided with food.'[24] Alongside this are al-Nābigha [al-Dhubyānī]'s words: 'Whenever he makes the army journey by night, groups of birds led by other groups circle in the air above him. The hovering birds know for certain that whenever the two parties meet, his tribe shall distinguish itself in triumph.'[25]

{385} We do not know anyone from among those who made known the commandments of God that possessed this attribute except Muḥammad, the best of blessings and peace be upon him, for the prophets are of two kinds. **The first** consists of those whom God did not oblige to fight physically, but rather, He used to take vengeance for them by heavenly feats, such as the flood of Noah, the fatal wind of Hūd and the thunderbolt of Ṣāliḥ. **The second** consists of those whom He obliged to fight physically, such as Abraham, Moses, Joshua and Solomon, peace be upon them. But none 252a
of them became as well-known in that regard as Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace. And before him, the fiercest prophets in warfare were Moses, Joshua and David. Yet, their fighting did not extend beyond the territory of Syria. As for Solomon, peace be upon him, his fighting was not fighting in the real sense of the word, for fighting means exerting unsparingly one's power, yet Solomon, peace be upon him, used to ride upon his carpet and move along in the air, whilst the jinn and devils were carrying out the tasks. In his fighting he was in greater comfort than when sitting in his house. As for Muḥammad, may God bless him, despite the small number of his troops, his horses invaded the furthermost parts of Yemen[26] and the furthermost parts of Syria[27] up to the borders of Byzantium, and

[22] Habakkuk 3:5.

[23] The poet is Abū al-Walīd Muslim b. al-Walīd al-Anṣārī known as Ṣarīʿ al-Ghawānī (d. ca 208/823). See his *Dīwān*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Leiden, 1875, p. 10.

[24] This belongs to the pre-Islamic poet al-Afwah al-Awdī. See his *Dīwān* in *al-Ṭarāʾif al-adabiyya*, ed. ʿA.-ʿA. al-Maymanī, Cairo, 1937, p. 13.

[25] Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī Ziyād b. Muʿāwiya (d. ca. 604) was one of the most renowned poets of the *Jāhiliyya*. For the quote, see his *Dīwān*, ed. and tr. M.H. Derenbourg, Paris, 1869, p. 77.

[26] Or the southern regions.

[27] Or the northern regions.

الشام إلى حدود أرض الروم، ووصلت إلى البحرين. ثمّ أصحابه من بعده بلغوا أقصى خراسان وأرض المغرب، وفتحوا قسطنطينيّة وكثيراً من نُخُوم الروم. ولهذا[33] كان عليه السلام يسمّى في الكتب القديمة[34] نبيّ الملاحم، أي الوقائع والغزوات.

{386} وقوله: "قام فمسح[35] الأرض"، أي سار فيها كما بيّنّا. "ونظر بغضبه" يعني الله سبحانه.[36] "ولتوحيده فاجتمعت نحوه[37] الشعوب"، يعني شعوب العرب على الإسلام.

{387} وقوله:[38] "وتفرّغت الجبال"، يعني من العرب، لأنهم كانوا يسكنون الجبال في الجاهليّة. فلمّا جاء الإسلام تركوها ودخلوا القرى لأجل الجهاد لتجتمع كلمتهم.

{388} وقوله:[39] "واتّضعت الآكام التي لم تزل ثابتةً مذ قديم" إشارة إلى أحد أمور: إمّا[40] إلى وطء خيله جبالَ العرب وحصونَ غيرهم حتى ذلّت واتّضعت له وانقادت لحكمه، أو إلى قهر جبابرة الكفّار من العرب وغيرهم، وكنى عنهم بالآكام لجامع صعوبة المرتقى ووعور المسلك، أو إلى رفض الجبروت والتكبّر والتفاخر بالأحساب الذي كان يفعله أهل الجاهليّة بقوله عليه السلام: "كلّكم من آدم، وآدم من تراب" ونحوه، وقوله: "كلّ مأثرة كانت في الجاهليّة فهي تحت قدمي هذا" ونحو ذلك.

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[33] ش + ولهذا. [34] ك – في الكتب القديمة. [35] ش: بمسح. [36] أي نظر بغضب الله. [37] ش: اليه. [38] ك – وقوله. [39] ك – وقوله. [40] ش: أما.

reached the Province of Bahrain.[28] Then, after him his companions reached the furthermost parts of Khorasan and northwest Africa, and conquered Constantinople[29] and many of the borderlands of Byzantium. Because of this he, peace be upon him, was referred to in the earlier scriptures as 'the prophet of fierce battles', i.e. combat and military expeditions.

{386} His words: 'He stood and measured the earth,' mean he journeyed on the earth, as we have explained. 'He looked with His wrath,' namely, the wrath of God, Glorified is He. 'And it is to unify His name that towards him the nations gathered,'[30] meaning, the Arab tribes that followed Islam.

{387} His words: 'And the mountains were vacated,'[31] mean that they were vacated by the Arabs, for they used to reside in the mountains in the Jāhiliyya. And when Islam came, they left the mountains and entered the cities for the sake of fighting, so that they might be united.

{388} His saying: 'and the hills that had never ceased to exist since the ancient times were lowered,'[32] is an allusion to one of the following things: either to the trampling of his horses upon the mountains of the Arabs and upon the fortresses of others until they became low, humbled themselves to him and submitted to his rule, or to the subjugation of the tyrants of the unbelievers, whether from among the Arabs or others. So, he alluded to them with the expression 'hills,' combining the difficulty of the climb and the roughness of the road. It may also be an allusion to the rejection of the tyranny, arrogance and boasting of noble ancestry characteristic of the people of the Jāhiliyya, in accordance with his statement, peace be upon him: 'Everyone of you is from Adam, and Adam is from dust'[33] and the like, as well as his statement: 'Every cause of glory that existed in the Jāhiliyya is now under these feet of mine'[34] and other similar statements.

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[28] i.e. the region at the shores of the Persian Gulf. In this period Bahrain refers to the wider region of the Persian Gulf coastline between Basra and the Straits of Hormuz.

[29] He must be referring to various military expeditions aimed at conquering Constantinople during the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties and subsequent periods. On the history of Muslim attempts to gain control over this important city, see J.H. Mordtmann, H. Inalcik & S. Yerasimos, "Istanbul", *Historic Cities of the Islamic World*, (ed.) C.E. Bosworth, Leiden, 2007, pp. 182–184.

[30] Habakkuk 3:6.

[31] Habakkuk 3:6.

[32] Habakkuk 3:6.

[33] 'You are the children of Adam, and Adam is from dust'. See Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Adab" 121. For other similar reports, see Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Tafsīr al-Qur'ān" 49, "Manāqib" 75.

[34] See Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Diyāt" 19, 26; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Diyāt" 5.

{389} وقوله: "لأنّ الشيء القديم هو له"، أي هذا الناموس كان مذخوراً له في القدم حتى[41] يأتي[42] فيقيمه.

{390} واعلم أنّ من أنصف وقصد الحقّ[43] رأى تفسيرنا لهذا الكلام صحيحاً[44] مستقيماً حقاً لا تشوبه علّة،[45] ورأى أنّ[46] محمّداً صلّى الله عليه وسلّم[47] أحقّ الخلق[48] بهذه الأوصاف، واعتقد أنّ هذه علامات له في كتب الأنبياء الأوائل. والله أعلم. ‖ ظ252

[41] ك – حتى. [42] ك: لياتي. [43] ك – وقصد الحق. [44] ك – صحيحا. [45] ك – حقا لا تشوبه علة. [46] ك – أن.
[47] ك: محمدا عليه السلام. [48] ش – الخلق.

{389} His words: 'for the pre-existent entity belongs to Him,'[35] mean this law was stored away for (the Prophet) in pre-existence until he would come and establish it.

{390} So, know that he who is honest and aspires to the truth will find our interpretation of this speech to be sound, truthful and correct, without any defect mingling with it, and he will find that Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, is the one person in creation most deserving of these attributes, and he will believe that these are signs of him found in the books of the earlier prophets. And God knows best. 252b

[35] Habakkuk 3:6.

[التعليق من كتاب مالاخي][1]

{391} وذكر في كتاب مالاخي النبيّ عليه السلام حكايةً عن الربّ سبحانه أنه قال لبني إسرائيل: "قد تعلمون أنّ الابن يكرم أباه والعبد مولاه. فإن كنت لكم أباً، فكيف لا تكرموني؟ وإن كنت[2] لكم مولىً، فكيف لا تهابوني؟"

{392} قلت: فهذا يدلّ على أنّ الله سبحانه يستعمل لفظ الأبوّة والبنوّة بينه وبين خلقه على جهة المجاز وضرب المثل. فلا يكون في استعمالهما[3] بينه وبين المسيح دلالة على أمر أخصَّ من العبوديّة.

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[1] ش هـ: مطلب في ذكر كتاب مالاخي النبيّ؛ ك هـ: مالاخي. [2] ك: كم. [3] ش ك: استعمالها.

[Critical Commentary on the Book of Malachi]

{391} It is mentioned in the Book of Malachi, the prophet, peace be upon him, quoting from the Lord, the Glorified, that He said to the children of Israel: 'You may know that a son would honour his father and a servant his master. Thus, if I am your Father, then how is it that you do not honour Me? And if I am your Master, then how is that you do not revere Me with awe?'[1]

{392} I say: This indicates that God, Glorified is He, employs the expressions fatherhood and sonship in relation to Himself and His creation in the manner of using metaphors and propounding parables. Therefore, in employing the two in relation to Himself and Christ there is no indication of anything more special than servanthood.

[1] Malachi 1:6.

[التعليق على نبوّة أرميا][1]

{393} ومن **التعليق على[2] نبوّة أرميا بن حالقيّا النبيّ عليه السلام** حكاية عن الربّ سبحانه يوبّخ بني إسرائيل على عبادة الأصنام قال: "لأنهم قالوا للخشبة: أنت أبونا، وقالوا للحجر: أنت ولدتنا."

{394} قلت: ومن المعلوم أنّ أحداً ممّن عبد الأصنام ونحوها لم يعتقد أنها ولدته ولا أنها أبوه. وإنّما هذا توبيخ لهم حيث نسبوا إلى الأصنام ما أنعم الله به عليهم. كأنه قال: "أنا أبوكم، وأنا ولدتكم، وأنتم تكفرون نعمتي، وتضيفون ذلك إلى الأصنام." فهذا يدلّ على أنّ نسبة الله خلقَه إلى نفسه بالأبوّة والولادة إنّما هو كناية عن الربوبيّة والخلق، أي "أنا ربّكم وأنا خلقتكم." وكذلك الأمر في حقّ عيسى عليه السلام.

{395} ومنه قوله في الأصحاح الخامس حكايةً عن الربّ سبحانه أنه قال موبّخاً لبني إسرائيل: "أما ترى ما يصنعون في قرى يهوذا وأسواق أوراشلم؟ إنّ الأبناء يلتقطون حطباً، والآباء يأجّجون ناراً، والنساء يَعْجِنّ العجين ليعملن قرابين لنجوم السماء. ويكثرون المرور للآلهة الأخرى ليسخطوني، وإنّما يسخطون أنفسهم ويخزون وجوههم."

{396} قال بعض مفسّري هذا الكلام: كانت قرابينهم هذه شبه خُشْكنانَج يتّخذونها من سميذ معجون بالدهن والسكّر للنجم الذي يسمّى الزهرة.

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[1] ش هـ: مطلب في التعليق على نبوة أرميا؛ ك هـ: ارميا. [2] ش: من.

[Critical Commentary on the Prophecy of Jeremiah]

{393} To the Critical Commentary on the Prophecy of Jeremiah, son of Hilkiah, the prophet, peace be upon him, belongs the following quotation from the Lord, the Glorified, Who, rebuking the children of Israel for worshipping idols, says: 'For they say to a piece of wood: "You are our Father" and they say to a stone: "You have begotten us".'[1]

{394} I say: It is a known fact that no single person amongst those who worship idols and the like believes that they have begotten him or that they are his father. This is only a rebuke to them, for they have attributed the things which God had bestowed upon them as favour, to the idols. It is as if He says: 'I am your Father, and I have begotten you, but you are ungrateful for my favour and ascribe it to the idols.' Hence, this indicates that God's attributing His creation to Himself by (the concepts of) 'fatherhood' and 'begetting' is only an allusion to (the concepts of) 'lordship' and 'creation', meaning, 'I am your Lord and I have created you.' This is also the case with regard to Jesus, peace be upon him.

{395} Among other things, (Jeremiah) says in chapter five, quoting from the Lord, the Glorified, that He said, rebuking the children of Israel: 'Do you not see what they are doing in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem? Truly, the sons gather firewood, the fathers light the fire, and the women knead the dough to make offerings to the stars of the heavens. They increase processions to the other gods to anger Me, but they anger only themselves and put their own faces to shame.'[2]

{396} One of the commentators on this speech says: 'These offerings of theirs were something like *Khushkanānaj* which they would make out of fine white flour dough soaked with oil and sugar as an offering to the star that was called Venus.'[3]

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[1] Jeremiah 2:27.

[2] Jeremiah 7:17–19.

[3] *Khushkanānaj*, dry bread (from Persian *khushk*, 'dry' and *nān*, 'bread'), is described in the famous 13th century cookery book *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* as a dessert made of fine white flour, sesame-oil, ground almonds, scented sugar and rose-water; kneaded into a firm paste and baked in the oven. See Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Karīm al-Kātib

{397} قلت: فهذا يدلّ على أنّ ما يتعاناه بعض الناس من خدمة الكواكب والتقرّب إليها كفر، وأنه مسخط للربّ سبحانه. وقد صنّف[3] فخر الدين الرازي كتاباً سمّاه **السرّ المكتوم في استخدام أرواح النجوم**[4] في هذا المعنى، وفيه الكفر الصراح والشرك البواح. يعرف ذلك من نظر فيه. وحكى في أوّله حكايات يتضمّن مساعدة الروحانيّات لخدّام الكواكب على ما يريدون، ترغيباً في ذلك. وهو إمّا كذب، أو أنّ ذلك في الحقيقة || مضاف بالاستقلال إلى قدرة الله[5] لا إلى الروحانيّات، لكنّه وافق 253و تلك الخدمة، فظنّ أنه من تأثيرها لأجلها.

{398} ومنه قول الربّ سبحانه في آخر هذا الأصحاح: "لا يفتخر الحكيم بحكمته، ولا يفتخر الجبّار بجبروته، ولا يفتخر الغنيّ بغناه. ولكن يفتخر الذي يفتخر بهذا إذا علم وفهم أنّي أنا الربّ الذي يظهر العدل والبرّ في الأرض. وبهذه أسرّ."

{399} قلت: حاصله أنّ الذي يرضي الله من عبده معرفته وتوحيده وإعطاؤه في الإلهيّة حقّه لا الحكمةُ والجبروت والغنى، لأنّ الأوّل أكبر عباداته، والثاني مزاحمة له في صفات ذاته. والسيّد إنّما يرضى من عبده بالخدمة لا بالمزاحمة. ولهذا سبق العارفون العاملون العالمين. والمقابلة هاهنا إنّما هي بين العارف المجرّد والعالم المجرّد عن تلك المعرفة الخاصّة، إذ لا بدّ لهذا العالم من معرفة يحصل بها التوحيدُ. أمّا من كان عارفاً عالماً فهو سابق لمن لم يتّصف إلاّ بإحدى الصفتين. والله أعلم.

{400} ثمّ قال الربّ سبحانه بعد هذا: "هذه أيّام يجيئكم أمرٌ فيها بعقاب جميع الذين يختتنون من أهل مصر واليهود والأدمانين وبني عَمّون والأمونيين[6] وجميع محلّقي الشوارب الذين يسكنون

[3] ش هـ: مطلب في بيان كفر ما في **السرّ المكتوم** لفخر الدين الرازي؛ ك: مطلب. [4] ك – في استخدام أرواح النجوم.
[5] ك – الله. [6] ش: والامواييين.

al-Baghdādī, *A Baghdad Cookery Book: Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, tr. A.J. Arberry, in *Medieval Arab Cookery: Essays and Translations* by M. Rodinson, A.J. Arberry and C. Perry, Devon, 2001, p. 86. See also in the same volume, *The Description of Familiar Foods: Kitāb waṣf al-aṭ'ima al-mu'tāda*, tr. Charles Perry, pp. 425 and 437.

{397} I say: This indicates that the preoccupation of some people with serving the stars and seeking nearness to them is blasphemy which angers the Lord, Glorified is He. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [d. 606/1209] compiled a book on this matter, entitled *al-Sirr al-maktūm fī istikhdām arwāḥ al-nujūm* (*The concealed secret in putting the spirits of the stars to service*),[4] which contains clear blasphemy and open polytheism. Anyone who examines it knows that. In the beginning of it, he relates narrations about the spiritual beings assisting the servants of the stars in whatever they want, thus awakening a desire for such things. It is either the case that this is a lie, or that in reality such things are attributed independently to the omnipotence of God 253a
and not to the spiritual beings, but they coincide with that service, and are thought of as being affected by it.

{398} Among other things, there is the statement of the Lord, Glorified is He, in the end of this chapter: 'Let not the wise man boast of his wisdom, nor the strong man boast of his strength, nor the wealthy man boast of his wealth, but let him who would boast, boast about this: when he knows and understands that I am the Lord Who manifests justice and kindness on earth. And in this I take pleasure.'[5]

{399} I say: The gist of this is that what pleases God is His servant's knowledge of Him, his declaration of His unity, and his giving Him His right in divinity, and not this servant's wisdom, strength or wealth, for the former are the greatest acts of worshipping Him, while the latter consist of competing with Him in the attributes of His essence. A master is pleased with his servant only by service, not by competition. It is because of this that the knowers of God who put their knowledge into practice have outstripped the scholars. Here the comparison is only between a mere knower of God and a scholar who is divested of that special knowledge, for this scholar cannot avoid knowing God through which the understanding of His unity can be attained. As for he who is both a knower of God and a scholar, he has outstripped the one who is characterised by only one of these two attributes. And God knows best.

{400} The Lord, Glorified is He, says thereafter: 'These are the days in which an order shall come to you to punish all those who are circumcised from among the people of Egypt and Judah, the Edomites, the children of

[4] Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Sirr al-maktūm fī asrār al-nujūm*, Cairo, n.d.
[5] Jeremiah 9:23–24.

البراري. لأنّ جميع الشعوب غلفتُهم في مذاكيرهم،[7] وجميع بني إسرائيل غلفتهم في قلوبهم."

{401} قلت: هذه شهادة من الربّ سبحانه على اليهود والنصارى بالبلادة وضعف الإدراك وقلّة العقل. وهذا ممّا يستدلّ به على نبوّة محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم[8] استدلالاً استئناسياً لا برهانياً، لأنّ الحقّ يعرف تارةً بالبرهان وتارةً بإطباق الألِبّاء عليه وتارةً بتخلّف البلداء عنه. وهؤلاء تخلّفوا[9] عن دين محمّد عليه السلام. وقد شهد الله عليهم بالبلادة. فهم جدراء أن يصيبوا ببلادتهم الباطل ويخطئوا الحقّ. وفي قوله: "محلّقي الشوارب" ذمّ للجوالقيّة ونحوهم ممّن يحلق لحيته وشاربه ويغيّر خلق الله.

{402} ومنه في الأصحاح السابع قال الربّ في سياق ذمّ عبدة الأصنام: "أمّا الربّ فخلق الأرض بقوّته، وأتقن البلاد بحكمته، ومدّ الأرض برأيه. وهو الذي يصيّر صوت الرعد في الماء في السماء، ويرفع [السحاب] من أقطار الأرض، ويظهر البرق ويصيّره للمطر. وهو الذي يخرج الرياح من خزائنها. قد جمد || كلّ الناس ولم يبصروا العلم." وفي الأصحاح الثاني والثلاثين ذكر هذا بعينه[10] وقال: "جمد ظ253
كلّ إنسان عند إدراك علمه."

[7] ش ك: مذاكرهم. [8] ك: محمد عليه السلام. [9] ش: تحاموا. [10] ش: نفسه.

Ammon, the Moabites, and all who shave moustaches and who reside in the wilderness. For the foreskins of all the nations are found on their penises, but the foreskins of all the children of Israel are found in their hearts.'[6]

{401} I say: This is a testimony of the Lord, the Glorified, against the Jews and the Christians on the matter of their stupidity, weakness of perception and lack of intelligence. And this is one of the arguments whereby the prophethood of Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, can be inferred through inquiry, not through setting a decisive proof, for the truth can be known sometimes by a decisive proof and sometimes by the agreement of intelligent people, and yet at other times by stupid people's holding back from it. Those people [i.e. the Jews and the Christians] hold back from the religion of Muḥammad, peace be upon him. And God indeed testified against them in the matter of their stupidity. So, by their stupidity they are better suited to hit upon falsehood and miss the truth. In His words: 'who shave moustaches' there is a disparagement of the Jawāliqiyya[7] and the like from among those who shave their beards and moustaches and alter the creation of God.

{402} Among other things, in chapter seven the Lord says, in the context of disparaging the worshippers of idols: 'As for the Lord, He created the earth by His omnipotence, established the lands by His wisdom, and stretched out the earth by His understanding. And He is the One Who makes the sound of thunder exist in the water of the heavens, Who raises the clouds from the ends of the earth, and causes the lightening to appear and makes it manifest in the rain. And He is the One Who brings out the winds from their treasuries. Every man strives, but does not perceive knowledge.'[8] Further, in 253b
chapter thirty-two He utters exactly the same words[9] and says: 'Every man strives in trying to comprehend His knowledge.'[10]

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[6] Jeremiah 9:25–26.

[7] According to C.E. Bosworth, the Jawāliqiyya were an antinomian group who neither fasted nor prayed, but were known for trimming their beards. They were followers of a Persian Qalandarī or antinomian dervish called Ḥasan al-Jawāliqī. They went around wearing old sacks (*jawāliq*; sing. *juwāliq*; derived from Persian: *guwāl*(*a*)), hence the name (see C.E. Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature*, Leiden, 1976, vol. I, p. 114).

[8] Jeremiah 10:12–14.

[9] Jeremiah 51:15–16.

[10] Jeremiah 51:17.

{403} قلت: هذا يدلّ على بطلان ما وجّه به الحكماء والفلاسفة تكوّن الحوادث السمائيّة كالرعد والبرق والبَرَد والصواعق والمطر والثلج[11] والصقيع والضباب وغيرها ممّا أبدأوا فيه في كتبهم وأعادوا. لأنّ الله سبحانه أخبر عن هذه الأشياء أنه يفعلها بحكمته، وأنّ العالم اجتهدوا فلم يعلموا علمها، مع أنّ لما تقوّله الفلاسفة في ذلك وقعاً في النفوس واتّجاهاً في المعقول. فالله أعلم.

{404} ومنه في الأصحاح التاسع يخاطب الربّ عصاة بني إسرائيل قال: "كما لا يقدر الهنديّ أن يغيّر سواد جلده، والنمر تبقيعَه، كذلك أنتم لا تقدرون على الإحسان والخير، لأنكم قد تعوّدتم الشرّ."

{405} قلت: هذا الكلام إذا تأمّله العاقل كشف[12] عن حقيقة القدر. وتلخيصه أنّ البارئ سبحانه ركز في طباع العالم وجبلاّتهم الميل إلى أفعالهم من خير وشرّ، كما ركز الإحراق في طبيعة النار والإغراق في طبيعة الماء، وكما وضع السواد في جسم[13] الأسود[14] والتبقيع في النمر والفهد والغراب الأبقع،[15] والسمّ في الحيّة والظلم والاستيلاء في طبع السبُع. لكنّه أجرى فعل تلك الطبائع على كسب أهلها. فعلى الكسب يترتّب الجزاء، وعلى ركز الفعل في الطبع وتحريك الداعي له، وهو خلقُه المنسوب إلى الله سبحانه، يترتّب التسليم. والله بكلّ شيء عليم.

{406} ومنه في الأصحاح التاسع عشر قال أرميا في أثناء كلام: "هكذا يقول الربّ الذي صيّر الشمس نور النهار،[16] وتدبير القمر والنجوم لنور الليل، الذي يزجر البحر فتسكن أمواجه."

[11] ك – والثلج. [12] ش ك: كاشف. [13] ك: الجسم. [14] ك – الأسود. [15] ش: الايقع. [16] ك: نوراً للنهار.

{403} I say: This indicates the invalidity of the approach by which the scientists and philosophers address the question of the formation of atmospheric events such as thunder, lightning, hail, thunderbolts, rain, snow, hoar-frost, fog and others among the matters they raise in their books and keep reiterating. For God, Glorified is He, has declared with regard to these things that He is making them by His wisdom, and that the people exert themselves to understand but cannot acquire knowledge of them, despite the fact that the philosophers spread lies about this issue by speaking whatever occurs to their minds, while aiming to be sensible. And God knows best.

{404} Among other things, in chapter nine the Lord addresses the disobedient children of Israel, saying: 'Just as the Indian cannot change the blackness of his skin, or the leopard its spots, likewise you cannot do what is good and right, for you are accustomed to evil.'[11]

{405} I say: When an intelligent person reflects upon this speech, he will discover the truthfulness of divine destiny. Its summary is that the Maker, Glorified is He, has embedded in peoples' natures and their tempers a proclivity for their acts, whether good or evil, just as He has embedded 'burning' in the nature of fire and 'sinking' in the nature of water, and has placed blackness in the body of the black, spots in the leopard, the lynx and the spotted crow, poison in the snake, and 'harming' and 'capturing' in the nature of the beast of prey. However, He makes the actualisation of those traits dependent on their owner's acquiring them. So, from the acquisition of the act follows the requital, while from the embedding of the act in the human nature and setting into motion the drive for doing it—that is, its creation which is attributed to God, the Glorified—follows (the servant's) submission (to the divine decree). And God is Knower of all things.

{406} Among other things, in chapter nineteen Jeremiah in the course of a speech states: 'Thus says the Lord Who makes the sun to be the light of day, and ordains the moon and the stars to be the light of night, and Who rebukes the sea, whereupon its waves calm down.'[12]

[11] Jeremiah 13:23.
[12] Jeremiah 31:35.

{407} قلت: لعلّ هذا ممّا غرّ النصارى حيث زعموا أنّ المسيح إله لكونهم نقلوا عنه أنه زجر البحر فسكنت أمواجه والريح المهيّجة له. وذلك وهم منهم قبيح، لأنّ سكون البحر بالزجر أعمّ من الإلهيّة. فكلّ إله يزجر البحر فيسكن موجه، وليس كلّ من زجر البحر فسكن موجه إلهاً، إذ لا يلزم من وجود الأعمّ وجود الأخصّ. وإنّما كان ذلك – إن صحّ عنه – بتأييد من الله سبحانه، كسائر معجزاته ومعجزات الأنبياء عليهم السلام، كما سبق.

{407} I say: Perhaps this is one of the things that have misled the Christians, causing them to claim that Christ is a god, for they relate from him that he rebuked the sea and its waves calmed down, although the wind had stirred it up.[13] This is an ugly delusion of theirs, for the calming down of the sea by rebuke is more general than divinity. For every god may rebuke the sea and its waves calm down, but not everyone who rebukes the sea and its waves calm down is a god, because the existence of that which is more general does not necessarily result in the existence of that which is more particular. That happened—if it is reported correctly from him—by the empowerment of God, the Glorified, just like his other miracles and the miracles of the other prophets, peace be upon them, as it has been mentioned previously.

[13] See Matthew 8:23–26; Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 56–57.

[التعليق من كتاب حزقيال][1]

{408} ومن **التعليق من كتاب حزقيال** || في الأصحاح التاسع منه: "قل لبني إسرائيل: لماذا[2] تقولون و254
الآباء أكلوا حِصْرِماً وأسنان الأبناء تضرس؟ وإنّما النفس التي تجرم هي تعاقب."

{409} قلت: هذا معنى قوله تعالى في القرآن المجيد:[3] ﴿وَلاَ تَزِرُ وَازِرَةٌ وِزْرَ أُخْرَى﴾، ومعنى قوله سبحانه:[4] ﴿وَإِنْ أَسَأْتُمْ فَلَهَا﴾، ومعنى قوله: ﴿أَفَتُهْلِكُنَا بِمَا فَعَلَ الْمُبْطِلُونَ﴾. وهي قضيّة عقليّة بديهيّة أنّ أحداً لا يعاقَب بجريمة أحد. وقال النبيّ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم لرجل معه ابنه: "أما[5] إنه لا يَجْني عليك، ولا تَجْني عليه".

{410} ثمّ قال الربّ سبحانه: "والرجل إن كان بَرّاً يعمل بالبرّ والعدل، ولا يأكل على الجبال ذبائح الأصنام ويرفع عينيه إلى أصنام بني إسرائيل، ولا يتنجّس بامرأة غيره، ولم يدنُ من المرأة وهي حائض، ولم يظلم ولم يخسر أحداً، وردّ الرهن على صاحبه، وبذل طعامه للجائع، وكسا[6] العريان، ولم يقرض بالربا، ولم يعط بالعِينة، وردّ يده عن الإثم، وأنصف بين الرجل وصاحبه، ولزم وصاياي وعمل بها، وحفظ أحكامي، وعمل بالحقّ، من كان هذا فعله، فهو برّ يحيا[7] ويبقى".

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[1] ش هـ: مطلب في التعليق على كتاب حزقيال؛ ك هـ: حزقيال. [2] ش: لما. [3] ك – في القرآن المجيد. [4] ك – سبحانه.
[5] ش – أما. [6] ك: وكسى. [7] ش ك: يحيى.

[Critical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel]

{408} From the Critical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel is (the following passage mentioned) in chapter nine of (the Book of Ezekiel): 'Say to the children of Israel: Why are you saying, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are dulled"? Only the soul that sins shall be punished.'[1] 254a

{409} I say: This is the meaning of His words, Exalted is He, in the Glorious Qur'an: 'And no bearer of burdens shall bear the burden of another,'[2] and the meaning of His words, Glorified is He: 'And if you do evil, it is for them'[3] [i.e. your own souls], and the meaning of His words: 'Will You then destroy us on account of that which those who follow falsehood did?'[4] It is a rational and intuitive precept that someone cannot be punished for another's sin. Further, the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, said to a man whose son was with him: 'Truly, he cannot burden you with his sin, nor can you burden him with your sin.'[5]

{410} The Lord, Glorified is He, says thereafter: 'And if a man is righteous and does what is right and just, and does not eat upon the mountains the sacrifices for the idols, or lift his eyes up to the idols of the children of Israel, and does not defile himself by another's wife, nor does he come near to a woman when she is menstruating, and he does not treat anyone unjustly or cause loss to anyone, but restores to the owner his pledge, and gives his food to the hungry, dresses the naked, and does not lend upon usury, nor does he give at interest, and he withdraws his hand from iniquity, establishes fairness between a man and his fellow, and he adheres to My commandments and acts upon them, and keeps My judgements and acts in accordance with the truth; he whose deeds are thus, he is righteous, and shall live and shall continue to do so.'[6]

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[1] Ezekiel 18:2, 4.
[2] Q 6:164; 17:15; 35:18 and 39:7.
[3] Q 17:7.
[4] Q 7:173.
[5] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Diyāt" 2. For other similar reports, see Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, "Qasāma" 41; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Diyāt" 26.
[6] Ezekiel 18:5–9.

{411} ثمّ قال في تمام هذا كلاماً طويلاً ملخّصه أنّ من ولد له ولد، فعمل بعمل أبيه الخاطئ، كان حكمه حكم أبيه لخطائه. وإن عمل بالبرّ، فلا شيء عليه من إثم أبيه.

{412} قلت: فجميع هذه الخصال منهيّ عنها في دين الإسلام على وفق ما في كتب الأوّلين. وغرضنا بهذا الردّ على بعض النصارى حيث قدح فيما جاء به محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم[8] من الشرع وقال: إنه غير موافق لشرع من قبله ولا لمصالح العالم.

{413} ومنه في الأصحاح الخامس عشر في النبوّة في ملك صُور قال له الربّ: "قلت: إنّي إله. لعلّك تقدر أن تقول بين يدي قاتليك: إنّي إله؟ ستعلم أنّك إنسان إذا وقعت في أيدي قاتليك وأنّك لست إلهاً."

{414} قلت: قد صرّح الله سبحانه بأنّ من لا يقدر أن يخلّص نفسه[9] من يد قاتليه ليس بإله، وأنّ من ثبت أنه إنسان ليس بإله. والنصارى سلّموا بموجب ما اتّفقت عليه أناجيلهم أنّ المسيح صلبه[10] اليهودُ، وأنه جهد أن يخلّص نفسه فلم يستطع. وثبت أنه كان إنساناً، لأنّ خواصّ الإنسانيّة كانت || ظ254 ظاهرةً عليه من الأكل والشرب حتى في الآخرة حيث قال: "ما عدت أشرب الخمر إلاّ في مجد أبي". فثبت أنّ المسيح إنسان وأنه ليس بإله. والله أعلم.

{415} ومنه في آخر[11] الأصحاح الخامس والعشرين منه أنّ الربّ سبحانه قال لحزقيال: "قل لآل إسرائيل البيت المسخط: أما تكتفون بكلّ نجاستكم يا بني إسرائيل حتى تأتوا بالغرباء غلف القلوب

[8] ك – صلى الله عليه وسلم. [9] ش – نفسه. [10] ك: صلبته. [11] ش – آخر.

{411} The summary of what (the Lord) then says at the end of this long speech is that if a child is born to someone and he acts the way his sinful father acts, he shall have the same judgement as his father, because of his sin. But if he acts upon what is right, then there shall be nothing upon him from his father's iniquity.[7]

{412} I say: All these characteristics are prohibited in the religion of Islam in conformity with the scriptures of the earlier communities. Our aim in mentioning this is to refute a certain Christian as he impugns the revealed law that Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, brought, saying: 'It is not consistent with the revealed law before him, nor with the public interests of the people.'

{413} Among other things, in chapter fifteen, regarding the prophecy of the King of Tyre, the Lord says to him: 'You say: "I am a god". Will you be able to say before those who kill you: "I am a god"? You shall know that you are a human when you fall into the hands of those who are going to kill you, and that you are not a god.'[8]

{414} I say: God, Glorified is He, has indeed explicitly declared that he who is not able to save himself from the hands of those who are going to kill him cannot be a god, and that he who is proven to be a human cannot be a god. And the Christians admit, on the basis of what their Gospels agree upon, that the Jews crucified Christ and that he strove to save himself but was not capable of doing so. Also, it is proven that he was a human, for human characteristics were visible in him, such as eating and drinking, even in the 254b
Hereafter, as he said: 'I shall not return to drink wine except in the glory of my Father.'[9] Thus, it is proven that Christ was a human and that he was not a god. And God knows best.

{415} Among other things, in the end of chapter twenty-five of (the Book of Ezekiel), the Lord, Glorified is He, says to Ezekiel: 'Say to the family of Israel, the house that causes anger: "O children of Israel, are you not content with all your impurities so that you bring foreigners, whose hearts and penises are

7 Ezekiel 18:10–20.
8 Ezekiel 28:9.
9 Matthew 26:29; Mark 14:25; Luke 22:18.

والمذاكر لينجّسوا بيتي، وتقرّبون[12] على مذبحي؟" وقال بعده: "كلّ غريب أغلف القلب والمذاكر لا يدخل مقدِسي!"

{416} قلت: فهذا ذمّ لغلف المذاكر وهم الذين لا يختتنون. والنصارى كذلك. فهم مذمومون على ألسنة الرسل.

{417} فإن قيل: إنّما ذمّ من اتّصف بكونه أغلف القلب والمذاكر جميعاً، وربما انضمّ إليه وصف الغربة. فمن أين لكم أنّ الأوصاف الثلاثة كملت في النصارى حتى يكونوا مذمومين؟

{418} قلنا: أمّا كونهم غلف القلوب فلما بيّنّا قبل من بلادتهم حتى سلكوا في دينهم أوعر الطرق. وأمّا الغربة فيمكن إثباتها فيهم باعتبار هذا أو غيره. ثمّ هب أنّ الوصفين فقدا فيهم. أليسوا غلف المذاكر؟ فيكون فيهم من الذمّ بقدر ما حصل فيهم من أوصافه. فهم مذمومون على ألسنة الرسل في الجملة.

[12] ش: ويُقرّبوا.

uncircumcised, to defile My house, while you are making sacrificial offerings on My altar?" '[10] Thereafter He says: 'No foreigner, whose heart and penis are uncircumcised, shall enter My sanctuary!'[11]

{416} I say: This is censure of those whose penises are uncircumcised, meaning those who do not circumcise themselves. And this is how the Christians are. Thus, they are censured by the tongues of the messengers.

{417} If it is said: It is only censure of he who is characterised by having both an uncircumcised heart and penis, while sometimes the characteristic of 'foreignness' may be added to it. But from where did you get the idea that the three characteristics are completely present in the Christians such that they are being censured?

{418} We say: As for their having uncircumcised hearts, it is due to what we have previously explained with regard to their stupidity reaching such a degree that they have entered upon the roughest paths in their religion.[12] As for foreignness, it is possible to prove its existence in them, relying on this passage or others. Moreover, suppose that the two characteristics are lacking in them. Have they not uncircumcised penises? Hence, they may be censured in accordance with the degree to which the characteristics appear in them. Therefore, they are censured by the tongues of the totality of the messengers.

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[10] Ezekiel 44:6–7.
[11] Ezekiel 44:9.
[12] See Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, §§ 344–345.

[التعليق من كتاب دانيال][1]

{419} ومن **التعليق من كتاب دانيال** أنّ بختنّصر الملك ببابل رأى رؤيا وقال: "لا يعلم تأويلها إلاّ من علم صورتها". فلم يعلمها إلاّ دانيال. وكان من سَبْيِ بيت المقدس من أولاد الأنبياء. فقال: "أيّها الملك رأيتَ حذاءك تمثالاً[2] عظيماً حسن المنظر، ومنظره مفزع مخوف. رأسه من ذهب جيّد، وصدره وذراعاه من فضّة خالصة، وبطنه وفخذاه من نحاس، وساقاه من حديد، وقدماه بعضها حديد وبعضها خَزَف. ورأيتَ أنه[3] قد قُطع حجر من الجبل بلا أيدٍ،[4] وضرب التمثالَ على قدميه اللذين[5] من حديد وخزف، ودقّهما، وطحطحهما جداً. وتطحطح الحديد والنحاس والفخّار والفضّة والذهب جميعاً، وصارت كلّها كالهشيم الذي يُذْرَى من بيادر الصيف، وحملتها الريح العاصف، ولم[6] يوجد لها أثر. والحجر الذي وقع على التمثال صار جبلاً عظيماً، وامتلأت منه الأرض || كلّها. هذه رؤياك". ثمّ عبّرها بملوك يأتون بعد بختنّصر مختلفين في[7] القوّة والضعف على حسب اختلاف جواهر أجزاء التمثال. ثمّ بعد ذلك يقيم إله السماء ملكاً لا يتغيّر إلى الأبد. و255

{420} قلت: قد[8] زعم[9] بعض مفسّري أهل الكتاب أنّ هذا "الحجر الذي صار جبلاً عظيماً" هم القوم الذين قوّاهم الله على مملكة اليونانيّين.

{421} قلت: وهو سوء تصرّف في التأويل، بل حمله على محمّد عليه السلام أولى لوجهين. **أحدهما** أنه ذكر أنّ "الحجر قطع بلا أيد"،[10] فهو يناسب ظهور محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم[11] فريداً وحيداً بغير ظهر ولا قوّة. ثمّ استوسق أمره حتى آل إلى ما آل. والذين ملكوا أرض[12] اليونانيّين ليسوا كذلك، بل كان خروجهم في مَنَعَة وقوّة وغلبة. **الثاني** أنه ذكر أنّ "الحجر صار جبلاً عظيماً، وامتلأت منه الأرض

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[1] ش هـ: مطلب في التعليق على كتاب دانيال؛ ك هـ: دانيال. [2] ش: مثالا. [3] ك – أنه. [4] ش ك: ايدى. [5] ش: الذين. [6] ش + ولم. [7] ك – في. [8] ك – قد. [9] ك: فزعم. [10] ش ك: ايدي. [11] ك: محمد عليه السلام. [12] ش – أرض.

[Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel]

{419} To the Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel belongs (the following report), that Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon, saw a dream and said: 'No one knows its interpretation except he who knows its image.' And no one knew it except Daniel. He was one of the captives of Jerusalem, from the children of the prophets.[1] And he said: 'O King, you saw before you a great image of beautiful appearance, and its appearance was terrifying and frightening. Its head was of fine gold, its breast and its two arms of pure silver, its belly and its two thighs of bronze, its two legs of iron, and its two feet partly of iron and partly of clay. And you saw that a stone was cut out from the mountain by no hands, and it struck the image on its two feet that were of iron and clay, broke them and utterly shattered them. Then the iron, the bronze, the clay, the silver and the gold, were shattered altogether, and all of them became like the chaff that is dispersed from the summer threshing floors, and the stormy wind carried them away, and not a trace of them could be found. And the stone that fell on the image became a great mountain and the whole earth was filled by it. This is your dream.'[2] Then, he interpreted it 255a
as referring to the kings who would come after Nebuchadnezzar, differing in power and weakness in accordance with the difference in the substances forming parts of the image. After them, the God of the heavens shall establish a kingdom that will never change.[3]

{420} I say: Some commentators from the People of the Book have claimed that this 'stone which became a great mountain' refers to the people whom God made prevail over the kingdom of the Greeks.

{421} I say: This is a faulty interpretation. Rather, to interpret it as referring to Muḥammad, peace be upon him, is more appropriate owing to two points. **The first point** is that (Daniel) mentions that 'the stone was cut out by no hands,' and this fits the way Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, appeared alone and singly without backing or power. Then, his affair became well-ordered until it ultimately came to the result that it came to.

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[1] Daniel 2:1–25.
[2] Daniel 2:31–36.
[3] Daniel 2:39–44.

كلّها"، وهذه صفة دين محمّد حيث طبّق أكثرَ الأرض شرقاً وغرباً،[13] سهلاً وجبلاً، براً وبحراً، إنساً وجناً. أمّا الذين ملكوا اليونانيّين، فاختصّ ملكهم بتلك الأرض، وهي رقعة من الدنيا. والله أعلم.

{422} ومنه في الأصحاح التاسع قال دانيال: "فإذا جبريل الرجل الذي رأيت في الرؤيا قبل ذلك. قد طار، وتحلّق، وأتاني من السماء، ودنا منيّ في وقت قربان المساء.[14] فقال: يا دانيال، افهم الرؤيا! سيأتي على شعبك وقرية قدسك سبعون أسبوعاً لتقضي الذنوب، وتفنى الخطايا، ولغفران الإثم،[15] وليُؤتى[16] بالحقّ الذي لم يزل قبل العالمين، ولتتمّ الرؤيا ووحي الأنبياء، ويصير قدس القدس للمسيح. وإلى مجيء الملِك المسيح سبعة سوابيع. واثنان وستّون أسبوعاً ويعود فيُبنىَ أوراشلم. وبعد اثنين وستّين أسبوعاً يقتل المسيحُ. ولا يكون لها[17] ثبات."

{423} قلت: حكاية دانيال أنّ جبريل قال له: "ويصير قدس القدس للمسيح"، يصدّق مقالة المسلمين في أنّ المسيح نبيّ لا إله، ويبطل قول النصارى في أنه الله.

{424} وقوله: "ليؤتى[18] بالحقّ الذي لم يزل قبل العالمين"، إن حمل على ما جاء به المسيح من الحكمة والنبوّة فلا شكّ أنه قبل العالمين، لأنّ علم الله تعالى[19] تعلّق به حينئذ. وإن حمل على نفس المسيح

[13] ك + و. [14] ش ك: السماء. [15] ش – الإثم. [16] ش ك: وليؤتا. [17] ش: له. [18] ش: ليؤتا؛ ك: ليوتا. [19] ش – تعالى.

Yet, those who reigned over the lands of the Greeks were not like that, but rather, they came about with vigour, power and supremacy. **The second point** is that (Daniel) mentions that 'the stone became a great mountain, and the whole earth was filled by it,' and this is an attribute of Muḥammad's religion, as it has pervaded most of the earth: east and west, plain and mountain, land and sea, human and jinn. As for those who reigned over the Greeks, their reign was particular to that land, and that is only one piece of land in the world. And God knows best.

{422} Among other things, in chapter nine Daniel says: 'All of a sudden there was Gabriel, the man I had seen earlier in the dream. He flew, formed a circle, came to me from the heavens and approached me at the time of the evening sacrifice. Then, he said: "O Daniel, understand the dream! Seventy weeks shall come upon your people and your holy city, so that the transgressions be terminated, the sins be caused to vanish, the iniquities be pardoned, and so that the truth, which has always existed since before the worlds came into being, be brought in, and that the dream and the revelation to the prophets be completed, and that the holiness of the holy will belong to the Messiah. And there shall be seven weeks until the coming of the king, the Messiah. And in sixty-two weeks he shall return and Jerusalem shall be built. And after sixty-two weeks the Messiah shall be killed. And there shall be no stability for (the city)".'[4]

{423} I say: Daniel's narration that Gabriel said to him: 'the holiness of the holy will belong to the Messiah,' confirms the saying of the Muslims that Christ is a prophet, not a god, and renders null the claim of the Christians that he is God.

{424} As for his saying: 'so that the truth which has always existed since before the worlds came into being, be brought in,' if it is interpreted as referring to that which Christ brought of wisdom and prophethood, then undoubtedly this is 'since before the worlds,' for the knowledge of God, the Exalted, included that [i.e. the wisdom and prophethood given to Christ] at that time. And if it is interpreted as referring to Christ himself, then what is intended by it is the Holy Spirit by which he was supported, after

[4] Daniel 9:21, 23–26.

فالمراد به روح القدس الذي أيّد به، وهو الذي كان منه بنفخة جبريل || في جيب مريم. فإنّ شرعنا ظ255
المعصوم ورد بأنّ الله سبحانه[20] خلق الأرواح قبل الأجساد بألفي عام. وكانت روح عيسى في تلك الأرواح.

{425} وأيضاً قوله: "إلى مجيء الملِك المسيح"، يدلّ على أنه ليس إلهاً ولا رباً بالمعنى الذي تريده النصارى، لأنّ حقيقة الملِك عرفاً غير حقيقة الإله والربّ، وإن كان من صفات الربّ الملكُ، إلاّ أنّ المراد هنا ليس تلك الصفة.

{426} بقي الكلام في قوله: "يقتل المسيح". هو ظاهر في إزهاق النفس، وشرع الإسلام ورد بأنه لم يصلب ولم يقتل.[21] فيتعيّن حمله على ما حصل له من الضرب غير المزهق، أو يقدح في صحّة هذه اللفظة. وإلاّ، فما أعلم عنه جواباً غير هذين إلاّ أن يتأوّل على معنىً يقصد قتله ويعزم عليه، أو يقتل على زعمهم، وهو في الحقيقة إنسان ألقي عليه شبهه. وقد سبق الكلام في قتل المسيح مستوفىً. والله أعلم.

{427} **فائدة**. ذكر في الأصحاح العاشر من كتاب إشعيا[22] في النبوّة في أهل البرّيّة القريبة من البحر قال: "تُسرِع العقوبةُ من البرّيّة مثل العاصف من التيمن،[23] وتقدم من أرض بعيدة. قد رأينا منظراً فظيعاً: ظالم يظلم، ومنتهب ينتهب. إصعد يا أهل[24] الأهواز وجبال ماة، لأنّي قد بطّلتُ زفراتِها كلَّها." ثمّ قال لي الربّ: "انطلق، فأقِم دَيْدَبان ليخبر بما يرى. فرأى الرِئْية: فارسين راكبين، أحدهما راكب حماراً، والآخر راكب جملاً."

[20] ك: بعالى. [21] ش: لم يقتل ولم يصلب. [22] ك هـ: اشعيا. [23] ش: الشمس. [24] ش: بِأهلِ؛ ك: باهل.

the breathing of Gabriel into the neckline of Mary('s garment). Truly, our infallible religion transmits that God, Glorified is He, created the spirits about two thousand years before the bodies.[5] And Jesus' spirit was among those spirits. 255b

{425} Moreover, his words: 'until the coming of the king, the Messiah,' indicate that he is neither a god nor lord in the meaning suggested by the Christians, for the reality of the expression 'king' in common usage is other than the reality of the expressions 'God' and 'Lord', although 'the King' is one of the attributes of the Lord. However, what is intended here is not that attribute.

{426} It still remains for us to discuss his words: 'the Messiah shall be killed'. This explicitly means 'causing the soul to pass forth', while the religion of Islam transmits that he was neither crucified nor killed.[6] Thus, it becomes clear that we should either understand that the striking which (Christ) underwent does not cause the soul to pass forth, or else that we should impugn the authenticity of this expression. For I do not know of any response to this other than these two, except to interpret it in the meaning of 'to aim to kill him' and 'to be determined to do so,' or that he should be killed according to their claim, while it was in reality a man upon whom his likeness had been cast. The killing of Christ has been exhaustively discussed previously.[7] And God knows best.

{427} **Useful Note**: It is mentioned in chapter ten in the Book of Isaiah, regarding the prophecy about the people of the wilderness near the sea: 'The punishment coming from the wilderness shall be swift, just like storms coming from the South, and it shall arrive from a distant land. We have seen a terrible vision: an unjust one who deals unjustly, and a plunderer who plunders. Go up, O people of Elam and of the mountains of Media, for I have brought to an end all its sighs.'[8] 'Then, the Lord said to me: "Go, install a watchman; let him declare what he sees." Then, he saw an image: two horsemen riding, one of them a rider on a donkey, and the other a rider on a camel.'[9]

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[5] See 'Ajlūnī, *Kashf al-khafā'*, vol. I, pp. 122–123.

[6] An allusion to the Qur'anic verse 4:157, 'They killed him not nor crucified him, but it appeared so unto them.'

[7] See Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, §§151–154 and 352–357.

[8] Isaiah 21:1–2.

[9] Isaiah 21:6–7.

{428} قلت: زعم بعض مفسّري أهل الكتاب أنّ صاحب الحمار رئيس ماة وصاحب الجمل رئيس الأهواز، لأنه قد تقدّم ذكرهما، ولأنه يقول بعد ذلك: "وإذا قد تقدّم رجل من الفارسين وهتف وقال: سقطت بابل، سقطت بابل!" وهذا كان قديماً من الزمان. وبعض المسلمين يقول: صاحب الحمار هو المسيح، كما ثبت في الإنجيل أنه ركب الحمار تصديقاً لهذا الكلام، وصاحب الجمل محمّد عليه السلام، لأنه عربيّ وكان يركب الإبل كثيراً. واتّهموا أهل الكتاب في تفسيرهم له برئيس الأهواز، وقالوا لهم: أنتم بين || جهل بالمراد وحسد وعناد، لأنّكم إن لم تعلموا مراد هذا النبيّ إشعيا بصاحب الجمل فقد جهلتم، وإن علمتم وحرّفتم فقد عاندتم. و256

{429} قلت: والإنصاف أنّ الكلام مجمل محتمل، ولا نصوصيّة له[25] على أحد من الرجلين. وذكر ماة والأهواز قرينة تدلّ على تفسير أهل الكتاب. وذكر الجمل الغالب في مراكب العرب، وكون ترجمة النبوّة في أهل البرّيّة القريبة من البحر يدلّ على ما قاله بعض المسلمين. فإنّ الحجاز خصوصاً مكّة على ساحل البحر. والله أعلم.

[25] ش – له.

{428} I say: Some commentators from the People of the Book claim that the rider on the donkey is the leader of Media, while the rider on the camel is the leader of Elam, because the two are mentioned earlier and because he says thereafter: 'And behold, one of the two horsemen approaches and shouts saying: "Babylon has fallen, Babylon has fallen!" '[10] And this was in ancient times. But a certain Muslim says: 'The rider on the donkey is Christ, as it is established in the Gospel that he rode a donkey, confirming this statement,[11] while the rider on the camel is Muḥammad, peace be upon him, for he was Arab, and he used to ride camels a lot.'[12] They [i.e. the Muslims who interpret it thus] doubt the People of the Book regarding their interpretation of him as the leader of Elam, and say to them: 'You are in a position between ignorance 256a
of what is intended, and envy and obstinacy, for if you do not know what the prophet Isaiah intended by the rider on the camel, then you are being ignorant, but if you know it and yet alter it, then you are resisting obstinately.'

{429} I say: Fairness requires us to admit that this statement is ambiguous, allowing for different meanings, and it has no specific indication of either of the two men. The mention of Media and Elam is a contextual indicator that implies the interpretation of the People of the Book. While the mention of the camel, the riding beast used predominantly among the Arabs, and the fact that the account of the prophecy is about the people of the wilderness near the sea, imply what is claimed by some Muslims. For the Hijaz, especially Mecca, is on the coast of the (Red) Sea. And God knows best.[13]

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[10] Isaiah 21:9.

[11] See Matthew 21:1–7; John 12:14–15.

[12] This discussion emerges as early as the first Muslim-Christian theological treatises. One of the well-known examples is the caliph al-Mahdī's remark that 'The rider on the ass is Jesus and the rider on the camel is Muḥammad' to which the Nestorian patriarch responds with a long explanation of how the rider on an ass is Darius, son of Ahasuerus, king of Mede, while the rider on a camel is Cyrus the Persian, king of Elam (Mingana, "The Apology of Timothy", pp. 37–38). Similarly, Ibn Rabban says that 'Did not the adversaries feel abashed in saying that the rightly guided prophets, of the family of Isaac—peace be with them—prophesied about the kings of Babylon, Media, Persia, and Khuzistān, and neglected to mention such an eminent Prophet and such a great Abrahamic nation, and such a victorious Empire, or that God had hidden and concealed such a nation from them?' (Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *The Book of Religion and Empire*, tr. A. Mingana, Manchester, 1922., p. 97).

[13] This indicates that Ṭūfī not only follows his predecessors, but also makes his own contribution to the subject. He finds both interpretations, Muslim as well as Christian, to be equally valid and plausible, rejecting the view represented by some Muslim scholars who totally censured the Christian reading. According to him, fairness requires one to admit that this particular verse may imply a number of meanings, and therefore is not a definite textual proof explicitly indicating one particular person.

التعليق من سفر الخليقة وهو السفر الأوّل من التوراة[1]

{430} فمن ذلك وقال الله: "لنخلق[2] بشراً على شبَهنا. قد رسمنا فضله ليكون كصورتنا ومثالنا. وأسلّطه على سمك البحار وطير السماء" إلى أن قال: "وخلق الله آدم بصورته، صورة الله خلقه، ذكراً وأنثى خلقهما الله، وبارك عليهما".

{431} قلت: هذا ممّا لا تشنيع فيه على أهل الكتاب، لأنه قد ثبت في دين الإسلام مثله حيث قال النبيّ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم: "لا تقبّح الوجه، فإنّ الله خلق آدم على صورته." وفي لفظ: "على صورة الرحمن". وأمّا لفظ "شبهنا ومثالنا"، فلا أعلم دين الإسلام ورد بهما إلاّ أنّ أبا حامد الغزاليّ رضي الله عنه قال في جواب فتيا سئل فيها عمّن يرى الله سبحانه في المنام ماذا يرى. قال: "يرى مثال الله".[3] قال: "والله سبحانه له مثال، لكن لا مثل له". وفرّق بين المثل والمثال.

{432} نعم، الفرق بين المسلمين واليهود في هذا أنّ اليهود يعتقدون الله سبحانه جسماً يصرّحون بذلك عملاً بظواهر ما عندهم هذا وغيره. وكذلك النصارى. أمّا المسلمون فهم في النصوص الواردة

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[1] ش هـ: مطلب في التعليق على السفر الأول من التورية في الخليقة؛ ك هـ: سفر الخليقة. [2] ك: نخلق. [3] ش – الله.

Critical Commentary on the Book of Genesis, the first book of the Torah

{430} Among other things, God says: 'Let Us create man upon Our likeness. We have delineated his merit that he may be in Our image and Our form. And I shall make him rule over the fish of the seas and the birds of the heaven,' until He says: 'And God created Adam in His image; in the image of God He created him; male and female God created them, and blessed them.'[1]

{431} I say: This is something that contains no condemnation of the People of the Book, for its equivalent is already established in the religion of Islam, as the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, says: 'Say not that the face is ugly, for God created Adam in His image.'[2] And in a different expression: 'in the image of the Most Merciful.'[3] As for the expression 'Our likeness and Our form,' I do not know that the religion of Islam has transmitted these two, except that Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī [d. 555/1111], may God be pleased with him, said in a response to a *fatwā* he was asked about concerning he who sees God, the Glorified, in a dream, as to what he actually sees. He said: 'He sees the form of God.' He further said: 'For God, Glorified is He, has a form (*mithāl*), but there is no likeness (*mithl*) of Him.' Thus, he differentiated between 'likeness' and 'form'.[4]

{432} Indeed, the difference between Muslims and Jews in this matter is that the Jews believe God, the Glorified, to be a physical body, declaring such a statement in accordance with the literal meanings of what they possess, such as this and other verses. And likewise believe the Christians. As for the Muslims, they are divided into three groups regarding the scriptural

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[1] Genesis 1:26–28.

[2] ʿAmr b. Abū ʿĀṣim al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Shaybānī, *al-Sunna li-Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim*, ed. M.N. al-Albānī, Beirut, 1980, vol. I, p. 229. For other similar reports, see Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "al-Birr wa-al-ṣila" 32, "Isti'dhān" 1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "al-Janna wa-ṣifat naʿīmihā wa-ahlihā" 12.

[3] Shaybānī, *al-Sunna*, vol. I, p. 229; Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ al-Nawawī ʿalā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Beirut, 1971, vol. XVI, p. 165.

[4] See Ghazzālī, "al-Maḍnūn bihi ʿalā ghayri ahlihi", *al-Quṣūr al-ʿawālī min rasā'il al-Imām al-Ghazzālī*, ed. M.M. Abū al-Aʿlā, Cairo, n.d., pp. 305–309. He further says that form (*mithāl*) is what explains something, while likeness (*mithl*) is what resembles it, *al-mithālu huwa ma yuwaḍḍiḥu al-shay'a wa-al-mithlu mā yushābihu al-shay'a* (p. 307).

في هذا الباب من الكتاب والسنّة على ثلاث فرق: طرفين وواسطة. ففرقة تسمّوا بالمنزّهة: تلك النصوص عندهم هباء منثور. وما لا مندوحة لهم عن صحّته يتأوّلونه ولو بأبعد التأويلات. وعمدة هؤلاء قوله تعالى: ﴿لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِ شَيْءٌ﴾. وفرقة تسمّوا[4] بالمشبّهة: اعتقدوا ظواهر النصوص على قياس الشاهد، فقالوا في البارئ سبحانه مقالة اليهود. ومن عمدتهم قوله تعالى: ﴿وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ﴾.
|| وفرقة تسمّوا بأهل التوسّط والسنّة والجماعة: فنزّهوا الله سبحانه عن مشابهة مخلوقاته ومماثلتها عملاً بقوله سبحانه:[5] ﴿لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِ شَيْءٌ﴾. وأثبتوا له بتلك النصوص صفات تليق بذاته عملاً بقوله سبحانه: ﴿وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ﴾ وغيرها من آيات الإثبات. والله أعلم. ظ256

{433} ثمّ قال بعد ذلك: "ورأى الله جميع خلقه، فرآه حسناً. وكان صباح اليوم السادس، يوم الجمعة".

{434} قلت: هذا منافٍ لما في **صحيح مسلم** وغيره من أنّ خلق آدم كان يوم الجمعة في آخر الخلق في آخر ساعة منه ما بين العصر إلى الليل. واعتمادنا على ما عندنا، لأنّ النبيّ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم قال: "إذا حدّثكم أهل الكتاب فلا تصدّقوهم ولا تكذّبوهم" كما سبق. وهذا من حديث أهل الكتاب.

[4] ش: يسمون. [5] ك – سبحانه.

proofs transmitted on this matter in the Book and the Sunna: Two extreme positions and an intermediate one. So, according to a group called the Transcendentalists (*Munazziha*), those scriptural proofs are just scattered dust. Regarding that which they have no choice but to accept its authenticity, they interpret it metaphorically, even if it be the most unlikely metaphorical interpretation. The proof on which they rely are the words of God, the Exalted: 'Nothing is as His likeness.'[5] A group called the Anthropomorphists (*Mushabbiha*), believe in the literal meanings of the scriptural proofs in analogy with the visible world, and thus they hold regarding the Maker, Glorified is He, the same opinion as the Jews. Among the proofs on which they rely are the words of God, the Exalted, 'He is the Hearer, the Knower.'[6] And a 256b
group called the People of the Middle Way (*Ahl al-Tawassuṭ*) and the People of the Sunna and the Community (*Ahl al-Sunna wa-al-Jamāʿa*), declare God, the Glorified, to be far removed from resembling His creatures and bearing their likeness, in accordance with His words, the Glorified: 'Nothing is as His likeness.' They acknowledge for Him, by those scriptural proofs, attributes that befit His essence, in accordance with His words, the Glorified: 'He is the Hearer, the Knower,' and other verses establishing (His attributes). And God knows best.

{433} (The Book of Genesis) says thereafter: 'And God saw all of His creation, and He saw that it was good. And it was the morning of the sixth day, Friday.'[7]

{434} I say: This is in contradiction with what is found in the *Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim* and other (*ḥadīth* collections), namely, that Adam's creation took place on Friday, during the last stage of creation, in its very last hour, between afternoon and evening.[8] We rely upon that which we possess, for the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, said: 'When the People of the Book narrate something, neither confirm them, nor deny them,'[9] as mentioned before.[10] And this is from the narrations of the People of the Book.

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[5] Q 42:11.
[6] Q 42:11.
[7] Genesis 1:31.
[8] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Ṣifat al-qiyāma wa-al-janna wa-al-nār" 2.
[9] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Shahādāt" 30, "Tafsīr sūrat al-Baqara" 11, "al-Iʿtiṣām bi-al-Kitāb" 26, "Tawḥīd" 51; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "ʿIlm" 2; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 4/136.
[10] Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 350.

{435} ثمّ قال: "وأكمل الله أعماله في اليوم السادس. واستراح في اليوم السابع من جميع أعماله التي عمل. وبارك عليه وقدّسه، لأنه فيه استراح من جميع أعماله وفرغ من خلقه الذي خلق".

{436} قلت: على هذا الكلام وقع الردّ في القرآن بقوله تعالى: ﴿وَلَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالأَرْضَ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا فِي سِتَّةِ أَيَّامٍ وَمَا مَسَّنَا مِنْ لُغُوبٍ﴾ أي تعب، لأنّ قولهم "استراح من أعماله" يشعر بلحوق التعب له بل يستلزمه، إذ لا راحة إلاّ عن تعب. ولحوق التعب من أمارات العلاج والعجز، والله تعالى[6] لا يفعل الأشياء على وجه يلحقه عجز ولا تعب، بل ﴿إِنَّمَا أَمْرُهُ إِذَا أَرَادَ شَيْئاً أَنْ يَقُولَ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ﴾. وإنّما خلق الكائنات في ستة أيّام لحكم ذكرها العلماء. ولا عجب من اليهود في إطلاق الاستراحة على الله سبحانه، فإنهم يعتقدونه جسماً. والتعب والراحة من لواحق الأجسام، والبارئ يتعالى عن ذلك.[7] والله أعلم.[8]

{437} ثمّ ذكر أنّ الله غرس فردوساً في عدن، وأنبت شجرة الحياة في وسط الجنّة وشجرة معرفة الخير والشرّ. وكان النهر يخرج من عدن يسقي الفردوس، ثمّ ينقسم من هناك أربعة أقسام. أحدها اسمه فيشون، وهو المحيط بأرض الهند، وثَمّ أجود الذهب، وهناك الفيروزج وحجارة البلّور. والثاني جيحان، وهو المحيط بأرض || كُوش[9] الحبشة. والثالث الدجلة، وهو الذي يذهب قِبَلي[10] المَوْصل. و257
والرابع الكبير الفرات.

{438} قلت: بعض هذا موافق لما جاء به شرعنا، وهو أنّ من أنهار الجنّة جيحان والفرات، وبعضه مخالف، وهو أنّ منها دجلة وفيشون، إن لم يُرَدْ به سيحون. فإنّ شرعنا لم يذكر ذلك. والوارد في السنّة النبويّة أنه عليه السلام قال: "رأيت سدرة المنتهى، وإذا تخرج من أصلها أربعة أنهار: سيحان،

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[6] ك – تعالى. [7] ك – والباري يتعالى عن ذلك. [8] ش – والله أعلم. [9] ش – كوش. [10] ش: قنلي.

{435} Then, it says: 'And God completed His works on the sixth day. And He rested on the seventh day from all His works which He had made. And He blessed it and sanctified it, for in it He had rested from all His works and concluded His creation which He had created.'[11]

{436} I say: It is this statement that is met with refutation by the words of God, the Exalted, in the Qur'an: 'And verily We created the heavens and the earth and all that is between them in six days, and nothing of weariness touched Us,'[12] meaning 'nothing of fatigue', for their saying, 'He rested from His works,' implies and even necessitates that fatigue overtook Him, since there is no rest except from fatigue. Being overtaken by fatigue is one of the signs of labour and incapacity, while God, the Exalted, does not do things in the manner where either incapacity or fatigue can overtake Him, but rather, 'His command, when He intends a thing, is only that He says to it: "Be!" and it is.'[13] He created the universe only in six days for the wise reasons the scholars mention. It is no wonder that the Jews attribute taking rest to God, Glorified is He, for they believe Him to be a physical body. Fatigue and rest are among the things that overcome physical bodies, while the Maker is far above that. And God knows best.

{437} Then, it mentions that God planted a Garden in Eden, and caused the tree of life to grow in the midst of the Garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. And the river was flowing out from Eden, watering the Garden, then from there dividing into four parts. The first is called the Pishon, and it is the one that compasses the land of India, where there is the best of gold, and there are the turquoise and the quartz crystals. The second is the Jayhan (Gihon), and it is the one that compasses the land of Cush of Ethiopia. The third is the Tigris, and it is the one that flows south of 257a
Mosul. And the fourth big river is the Euphrates.[14]

{438} I say: Some of this report is in accord with what our religion has brought, namely, that the Jayhan and the Euphrates are two of the rivers of the Garden, while some of it is in opposition, namely, that among them are the Tigris and the Pishon, unless the Sayhan is meant thereby. However, our religion does not mention that. Rather, what is transmitted in the prophetic Sunna is that he, peace be upon him, said: 'I saw the lote-tree of the utmost

[11] Genesis 2:2–3.
[12] Q 50:38.
[13] Q 36:82.
[14] Genesis 2:8–14.

وجيحان، والنيل، والفرات". وأمّا توجيه كون هذه الأنهار في أصل سدرة المنتهى وفي الأرض، أو تأويله، فموضعه غير هاهنا. وقد تكلّم عليه النووي[11] في **شرح صحيح مسلم**. والله أعلم.

{439} ثمّ ذكر أنّ الله سبحانه جمع لآدم جميع حيوان البرّ وطير السماء، وجاء بهم إلى آدم ليسمّيهم. فسمّاهم بأسماء صارت أسماءهم.

{440} قلت هذا موافق لقوله تعالى: ﴿وَعَلَّمَ آدَمَ الأَسْمَاءَ كُلَّهَا﴾. ولم يتعرّض في التوراة لعرضهم على الملائكة.

{441} ثمّ ذكر أنّ الله سبحانه خلق من ضِلْع آدم امرأةً، وقرّبها إليه. فقال آدم: "هذه المرأة، لأنها أخذت من المرء".

{442} قلت: وهذا موافق لما ورد في السنّة.

{443} ثمّ ذكر أنّ آدم وامرأته كانا كلاهما عريانين لا يستحيان، وأنّ الله سبحانه أذن لهما أن يأكلا من جميع شجر الجنّة إلاّ شجرة معرفة الخير والشرّ: "فإنّك يوم تأكل منها تموت موتاً".

{444} قلت: التوراة والقرآن أطلقت[12] فيها الشجرةُ، فلم تُسَمّ.[13] ولم يعيّن جنسُها ولا نوعها غير أنّ التوراة وصفتها[14] بأنها شجرة معرفة الخير والشرّ. نعم، اختلف مفسّرو[15] القرآن في عينها. فقيل:

[11] ش: النواوي. [12] ش: اطلقا. [13] ش: يسم. [14] ك: وصفها. [15] ش ك: مفسروا.

boundary, and behold, four rivers were flowing out from its root: the Sayhan, the Jayhan, the Nile and the Euphrates.' As for addressing the question of these rivers being under the root of the lote-tree of the utmost boundary and yet on the earth, or its interpretation, this is not the place for it. Nawawī [d. 676/1277] has spoken about it in the *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.[15] And God knows best.

{439} It mentions thereafter that God, Glorified is He, gathered before Adam all the animals of the land and the birds of the heaven and brought them to Adam to name them. And he gave them those names which became their names.[16]

{440} I say: This is in accord with the words of God, the Exalted (in the Qur'an): 'And He taught Adam all the names, [then showed them to the angels, saying: "Inform Me of the names of these, if you are truthful"].'[17] There is nothing in the Torah to object to these being shown to the angels.

{441} Then, it mentions that God, Glorified is He, created from Adam's rib a woman, and brought her close to him. And Adam said: 'This is woman, for she was taken out from man'.[18]

{442} I say: This is also in accordance with what is transmitted in the Sunna.[19]

{443} Then, it mentions that both of them, Adam and his wife, used to be naked without feeling ashamed,[20] and that God, Glorified is He, allowed them to eat from all the trees of the Garden, except the tree of knowledge of good and evil: 'On the day you eat from it, you shall truly die.'[21]

{444} I say: In both the Torah and the Qur'an[22] the tree is mentioned without being named. Neither its kind nor its type is specified, except that the Torah describes it as being the tree of knowledge of good and evil.[23] Indeed, Qur'an

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15 Nawawī, *Sharḥ al-Nawawī ʿalā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. II, pp. 224–225.

16 Genesis 2:19.

17 Q 2:31.

18 Genesis 2:22–23.

19 In a *ḥadīth* the Prophet is reported to have said: 'When God, Exalted is He, created Adam, Eve was created from his short rib' (Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "al-Ṭahāra wa-sunanuhā" 77).

20 Genesis 2:25.

21 Genesis 3:2–3.

22 See Q 2:35 and 7:19.

23 See Genesis 2:9.

هي السنبلة، وقيل: شجرة التين. ولهذا قال معبّرو[16] الرؤيا: من رأى أنه يأكل التين أصابه حزن، لأنّ آدم لمّا أكلها أصابه الحزن بخروجه من الجنّة.

{445} وذكر[17] بعد هذا في التوراة أنّ الحيّة قالت للمرأة: "لم لا تأكلان من شجرة الفردوس؟" فقالت: "لئلاّ نموت". فقالت الحيّة: "إنّكما لا تموتان من أكلها. ولكنّ الله علم أنّكما يوم تأكلان منها تنفتح أعينكما وتكونان كآلهة تعرفان الخير والشرّ". فأكلت المرأة، وأطعمت بعلها، فانفتحت أعينهما، وعلما || أنهما عريانان. فأخذا من ورق التين، وجعلا يوصّلان مآزِر. ظ257

{446} قلت: هذا الكلام مخالف للقرآن في البعض دون البعض. أمّا قوله إنّ الحيّة هي أغوت المرأة حتى أكلت فهو بالظاهر مخالف، لأنّ القرآن العظيم[18] نصّ على أنّ المغوي[19] لها إبليس. لكن الجمع ممكن بأنّ إبليس دخل الجنّة في فم الحيّة. فنسب الإغواء في التوراة إليها، لأنها محلّ للشيطان المغوي. وفي القرآن إلى الشيطان اعتباراً بحقيقة المتكلِّم، وهو أولى بالصواب والحقّ في العقل. وأمّا قوله إنّ الحيّة قالت: "يوم تأكلان منها تكونان كآلهة"، فهو موافق لما في القرآن من قوله تعالى حكاية عن إبليس: ﴿مَا نَهَاكُمَا رَبُّكُمَا عَنْ هَذِهِ الشَّجَرَةِ إِلاَّ أَنْ تَكُونَا مَلَكَيْنِ أَوْ تَكُونَا مِنَ الْخَالِدِينَ﴾ أي لئلاّ تكونا كذلك، أو كراهة أن تكونا كذلك.

[16] ش ك: معبروا. [17] ك هـ: مطلب. [18] ك – العظيم. [19] ش: المغرى.

commentators disagree on its identity. So, some say: 'This is spikenard', while some others say: 'The fig tree'.[24] It is because of this that dream interpreters say: 'He who sees that he eats a fig (in his dream), sadness shall afflict him, for when Adam ate it, sadness afflicted him in the form of his leaving the Garden.'

{445} It is subsequently mentioned in the Torah that the serpent said to the woman: 'Why do you not eat from the tree of the Garden?' And she said: 'Lest we die.' And the serpent said: 'Surely, you shall not die from eating it. However, God verily knows that on the day you eat from it, your eyes shall be opened, and you shall be like gods, knowing good and evil.' So the woman ate and gave her husband to eat, then their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked. Then they took some fig leaves and began to weave 257b
them together into loincloths.[25]

{446} I say: This statement is in opposition to the Qur'an in some parts, but not so in other parts. As for its saying that it was the serpent who led the woman astray until she ate, this is in opposition by its literal meaning, for the Glorious Qur'an explicitly declares that the one who led her astray was Satan.[26] However, it is possible to reconcile the two by saying that Satan entered the Garden in the serpent's mouth. Hence, leading astray is attributed to it in the Torah, for that is the location of the Devil who led them astray. In the Qur'an, however, [this is attributed] to the Devil by taking into consideration the real speaker, which, according to reason, is more likely to be what is right and true. As for the words that the serpent said: 'on the day you eat from it, you shall be like gods,' they are in accordance with what is in the Qur'an, namely, His words, Exalted is He, quoting Satan: 'Your Lord forbade you (to eat) from this tree only lest you should become angels or become of the immortals,'[27] meaning lest you should become thus, or out of dislike that you should become thus.

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[24] For these interpretations, see Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, vol. I, pp. 302–305.

[25] Genesis 3:1–7.

[26] 'But Satan caused them to slip therefrom and expelled them from the state (of felicity) in which they were' (Q 2:36); 'Then Satan whispered to them' (Q 7:20) and 'Thus did he lead them on with guile' (Q 7:22).

[27] Q 7:20.

{447} وذكر في التوراة بعد هذا أنّ الله سبحانه قال لبزيان:[20] "آدم قد صار كأحدنا، فعلم الخير والشرّ. لعلّه الآن يمدّ يده، فيأخذ أيضاً من شجرة الحياة، ويأكل منها، فيحيا[21] [إلى] الدهر". فأخرجه الله الربّ من فردوس عدن ليحرث الأرض.[22]

{448} وذكر عبد الرزّاق[23] في تفسيره، حدّثنا[24] عمر بن عبد الرحمن قال: "سمعت وهب بن منبّه يقول: لمّا أسكن الله آدم وزوجته الجنّة ونهاه عن الشجرة، وكانت شجرة غصونها متشعّب بعضها إلى بعض وكان لها ثمر تأكلها[25] الملائكة لخلدهم". وساق القصّة إلى أن قال: "قيل لوهب: هل كانت الملائكة تأكل؟ فقال: يفعل الله ما يشاء".

{449} قلت: هذه أسهل ممّا ذكر في التوراة، فإنّ فيه محذورين شنيعين: **أحدهما** أنه مشعِر، بل ظاهر بأنّ الله سبحانه إنّما كان حياً خالداً عالماً بالخير والشرّ لكونه أكل من الشجرة! **الثاني** أنّ بزيان[26] مثل الله سبحانه في ذلك لقوله: "قد صار كأحدنا". وفيه محذور آخر وهو أنه يشعر بأنّ الله لم يعلم أنّ آدم سيأكل من الشجرة ولا أنه أكل منها حين أكل حتى أخبره على ما صرّح به[27] أو أشار إليه قبل

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[20] ك: ليزيان. [21] ش: فيحيي. [22] ك: للدهر. [23] ك هـ: صاحب التأويلات القاشاني. [24] ك: سا. [25] ش: ياكله.
[26] ك: يزيان. [27] ش – به.

{447} It is mentioned thereafter in the Torah that God, Glorified is He, said to Bazayān:[28] 'Adam has become like one of Us, knowing good and evil. Perhaps he may now stretch his hand, and take also from the tree of life, and eat from it, and live forever.' So God the Lord took him out from the Garden of Eden to till the earth.[29]

{448} ʿAbd al-Razzāq [al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827)] mentions in his *Tafsīr*,[30] a report narrated by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who said: 'I heard Wahb b. Munabbih saying: "When God gave the Garden to Adam and his wife to inhabit and prohibited him (to eat) from the tree, which was a tree whose branches were branching out from one to another, and which had fruits that the angels ate for their immortality".' He continued the story until he said: 'Wahb was asked: "Did the angels eat?" And he said: "God does whatever He wills."'[31]

{449} I say: This is less problematic than what is mentioned in the Torah, for in the latter there are two dreadful dangers. **One of them** is that this implies and even manifests that God, the Glorified, was living, immortal and knowing good and evil due to His having eaten from this tree! **The second one** is that Bazayān was like God, the Glorified, in this regard because of His words: 'He has become like one of Us'. Yet there is another danger in it, and that is the implication that God did not know that Adam would eat from the tree, and neither did He know that he ate from it when he ate until (Adam) informed Him, according to what (the text of the Torah) explicitly declares

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[28] As understood from Ṭūfī's subsequent explanations, this appears to be the name of an angel or angels. It is difficult to determine the meaning and etymology of this word, although it seems to bear some resemblance to the name *zabāniya*, i.e. the angels who guard Hell, as mentioned in the Qur'an 96:18. Furthermore, *Bazayān* might be a reference to the chief of the angels called Metatron in Jewish mystical literature. There are many etymologies and meanings suggested for the name Metatron. Some scholars propose that it means 'keeper of the watch', 'guardian' and 'protector' (see A.A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, Tübingen, 2005, p. 93), which seems to fit Ṭūfī's description in the subsequent passages. It might be the case that the Arabic version of the Pentateuch used by Ṭūfī contained this additional information, i.e. the name *Bazayān*, or that Ṭūfī misread some parts of the text.

[29] Genesis 3:22–23.

[30] A marginal note in the Köprülü MS mistakenly attributes this passage to ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (d. 730/1329).

[31] ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, ed. M.M. Muḥammad, Riyadh, 1989, vol. II, pp. 226–227. The same quotation is also mentioned in Ṭūfī's theological treatise, the *Ḥallāl*, f. 13b.

على ما سيأتي. وكلّ هذا قبيح رديء يجلّ سوقة المخلوقين أن يحكوه عن أنفسهم فضلاً عن الخالق.

{450} وقوله: "وكانا عريانين، وعلما أنهما[28] عريانان" ينافي بظاهره قوله سبحانه: ﴿فَأَكَلاَ مِنْهَا فَبَدَتْ لَهُمَا سَوْآتُهُمَا﴾، لأنّ بدوّ الشيء يستدعي استتاره. لكن قد يقال: الاستتار تارةً يكون لمعنىً في المرأى وتارةً لمعنىً في الرائي. لكن حمل الأمر || على أنهما كانا مستترين أنسب بحكمة الله ولطفه وإكرامه 258و
آدم عليه السلام. ويدلّ عليه أنّ في التوراة أنّ الله سبحانه صنع لهما بعد المعصية سرابيل من الجلود وألبسهما. فإذا كان بعد المعصية لا يجعلهما عريانين، فما الظنّ فيما قبلها حين الكرامة.

{451} وقوله: "فأخذا من ورق التين، وجعلا يوصّلان مآزر" موافق لقوله تعالى: ﴿وَطَفِقَا يَخْصِفَانِ عَلَيْهِمَا مِنْ وَرَقِ الْجَنَّةِ﴾. وفيه تنبيه على أنّ الشجرة كانت شجرة التين، كما حكينا عن بعض المفسّرين.

{452} وذكر أنّ آدم وامرأته سمعا صوت الربّ يمشي في الفردوس، فاستترا من بين يدي الله الربّ بين شجر الفردوس. ونادى الله آدم، فقال: "آدم أين أنت؟" فقال: "سمعت صوتك تمشي في الفردوس، ورأيت أنّي عريان، فاستترت". فقال الله الربّ: "ومن أدراك أنّك عريان؟ لعلّك أكلت من الشجرة التي نهيتك عنها". وساق القصّة.

[28] ك: انها.

or alludes to earlier (in the chapter), as it will be mentioned. All of this is so repugnant and vile, that even the common people among created beings are far above narrating such a thing of themselves, let alone of the Creator.

{450} (The words of the Book of Genesis): 'And the two were naked, and they knew that they were naked,'[32] literally contradict the words of God, Glorified is He: 'Then they both ate from it, so that their shame became apparent to them,'[33] for becoming apparent demands being covered. But it is also possible to say: The need for covering up may sometimes be due to a reason found in that which is seen and sometimes due to a reason found in he who sees. However, to interpret the matter as meaning that they were 258a
both covered (from the beginning) is more befitting to God's wisdom, His kindness and His favour to Adam, peace be upon him. This is also indicated by what is mentioned in the Torah that after the disobedience, God, the Glorified, made garments of skins for them both and clothed them.[34] If He had not left them naked after the disobedience, just imagine the time before the disobedience, during the period of (divine) favour.

{451} (The words of the Book of Genesis): 'Then, they took some fig leaves, and began to weave them together into loincloths,'[35] are in accordance with the words of God, Exalted is He: 'And they began to hide by heaping on themselves some of the leaves of the Garden.'[36] In this statement there is an implication that the tree was a fig tree, as we have quoted from some commentators.

{452} It is also mentioned that Adam and his wife heard the sound of the Lord walking in the Garden, and they hid themselves from God the Lord among the trees of the Garden. God called to Adam and said: 'Adam, where are you?' Then, (Adam) said: 'I heard the sound of You walking in the Garden and saw that I was naked, so I hid myself.' And God the Lord said: 'And who made you realise that you were naked? Perhaps you ate from the tree that I prohibited you from?'[37] And the story goes on.

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[32] Genesis 3:7.
[33] Q 20:121.
[34] Genesis 3:21.
[35] Genesis 3:7.
[36] Q 7:22 and 20:121.
[37] Genesis 3:8–11.

{453} وهذا الكلام فيه تشانيع. منها صفة الله بالمشي في الجنّة، وهو تجسيم. وقد يعارض بما صحّ عنه في دين الإسلام من صفة النزول. والجواب مشترك. لكن مع التحقيق يلزم اليهودَ التشنيعُ دون المسلمين، لأنّ المسلمين إمّا[29] متأوّل أو ساكت، واليهود ليسوا كذلك. الثاني قوله: "آدم أين أنت؟" الثالث قوله: "و[30]من أدراك أنّك عريان؟ لعلّك أكلت من الشجرة". فإنّ هذا ظاهر في أنه تعالى لم يعلم أين آدم حتى أخبره، ولم يعلم أنه أكل حتى استدلّ عليه بالعُرْي. وهذا افتراء عظيم على الله يدلّ على أنّ هذه التوراة ليست التي أنزلت على موسى، كما سبق تقريره في الإنجيل. ومن نظر ببصيرة وعقل في القرآن والتوراة علم بعد الإنصاف أنّ القرآن أشبه بالحكمة والصواب من التوراة، فإنها تشبه خرافات الصبيان. وما سبب ذلك إلاّ تقادم العهد واستيلاء التحريف.

[29] ش: أما. [30] ش – و.

{453} This statement contains various unseemly things that must be condemned. One of them is the attribution of walking in the Garden to God, and that is anthropomorphism. One may oppose this with what is authentically reported about Him in the religion of Islam, such as the attribute of descending.[38] So, both sides [i.e. the Jews and the Muslims] are equally called to respond to this. However, upon investigating the matter, it appears that the condemnation clings to the Jews but not the Muslims, for the Muslims either interpret this metaphorically or remain silent, while the Jews are not like that. The second condemnation regards God's words: 'Adam, where are you?' The third regards His words: 'And who made you realise that you were naked? Perhaps you ate from the tree.' For here it is evident that God, the Exalted, did not know where Adam was until he informed Him, and that He did not know that (Adam) ate until He inferred this from (Adam's) nakedness. This is a great calumny against God, which proves that this Torah is not the one that was sent down to Moses, as it has been previously determined in [the *Critical Commentary on*] *the Gospels*. Whoever looks into the Qur'an and the Torah with discernment and reason will know in fairness that the Qur'an corresponds more closely to wisdom and correctness than does the Torah, for the latter resembles children's fairy tales. And the reason for this is only the lapse of time and its being overcome by alteration.[39]

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[38] Ṭūfī is referring to the following *ḥadīth*: 'Our Lord, Blessed and Exalted is He, descends every night to the lowest heaven when there remains the final third of the night and says: Who is supplicating Me so that I may answer him? Who is asking something of Me so that I may give it to him? Who is asking forgiveness from Me so that I may forgive him?' (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Daʿawāt" 14, "Tawḥīd" 35, "Tahajjud" 14; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn" 24; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Taṭawwuʿ" 22, "Sunna" 21; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Ṣalāt" 217, "Daʿawāt" 80; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Iqāmat al-ṣalā wa-al-sunna" 182; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭā*, "Qur'ān" 8).

[39] Ṭūfī provides a much more detailed analysis of the Torah's alteration in two of his other writings. According to him, *taḥrīf* has occurred in the Torah firstly because of the lapse of time (*taqādum ʿahdihā*)—a rather ambiguous phrase which also occurred earlier in reference to the Gospels (Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 181; see also § 350). It can be taken as the remoteness of time between the period of oral tradition and that of the written text, as well as the long temporal lacuna between Moses and Ṭūfī's contemporary Jews. The second instance of *taḥrīf* in Ṭūfī's scheme is more explicit, as it is related to the period in which the Torah was lost during Nebuchadnezzar's destruction until the time when it was revived by ʿUzayr (Ezra). On this point he seems to share similar views held by various other polemicists, such as Ibn Ḥazm (*Faṣl*, vol. I, p. 298), Juwaynī (*Shifāʾ*, pp. 45, 47) and Dimashqī (Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic*, p. 242). Thirdly, according to Ṭūfī, rabbis have altered many of the references to the Prophet and his attributes (Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. III, p. 97. See also *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 327–328, 383). Therefore, in Ṭūfī's view, not only was the Torah subject to *taḥrīf* in the pre-Islamic period, but it continued to be changed and corrupted in the post-Islamic era.

{454} وذكر فيها أنّ الله وكّل بطريق شجرة الحياة ملكاً كروبياً بحربة يحرسها.

{455} قلت: كأنه يريد من آدم وغيره[31] لئلاّ يأكل منها فيصير مثل الله سبحانه. وهذه عقول سخيفة!

{456} وذكر أنّ آدم سمّى زوجته حوّاء، لأنها أمّ كلّ حيّ.

{457} قلت: هذا قريب، وهو من باب الاشتقاق، كتسميته إيّاها امرأةً، لأنها من المرء. فالمرأة اسم لجنسها أو نوعها، وحوّاء اسم لشخصها. ويقال || سمّيت حوّاء، لأنها حَوَت عليه لمّا نزلا إلى الأرض وقبل ذلك، أي اجتمعت معه وألفته. وقد تسمّى المرأة حوّاء من الحُوَّة، وهي حمرة في الشفتين. والله أعلم. ظ258

{458} وذكر قصّة قابيل وهابيل مبسوطةً.

{459} وهي غير منافية لما في القرآن الكريم، وبينهما تفاوت في الزيادة والنقص. وليس ذلك موجباً للتنافي.

{460} وذكر أنّ آدم عاش تسعمائة[32] وثلاثين سنة: ثمانمائة بعد أن ولد شيثاً، ومائة وثلاثين قبلها.

{461} وهذا مخالف لما صحّت به السنّة النبويّة من أنّ آدم وهب ابنه داود من عمره، وهو ألف سنة، أربيعن سنة، فيبقى تسعمائة وستّون سنة، على أنّ محمّد بن سعد ذكر أنّ الله سبحانه أكمل لآدم ألف سنة ولداود مائة سنة[33] في القصّة المشهورة في السنّة.

[31] ك: او غره. [32] ش ك + سنة. [33] ك – سنة.

{454} It is also mentioned in (the Book of Genesis) that God put a cherub angel with a spear in charge of the way to the tree of life in order to guard it.[40]

{455} I say: As if He wanted from Adam and others not to eat from it lest they become like God, the Glorified. These are foolish minds!

{456} It is further mentioned that Adam named his wife Eve (*Ḥawwāʾ*), for she is the mother of all living (*ḥayy*).[41]

{457} I say: This is feasible, and it refers to the etymological meaning, just like his naming her 'woman' (*ʿimraʾa*), for she was from 'man' (*marʾ*). So, 'woman' is the name of her genus or kind, while Eve is her personal name. One may also say she was named Eve (*Ḥawwāʾ*), because 'she accompanied' (*ḥawat*) 258b
him when they descended to the earth and before, i.e. 'she joined with him and was fond of him'. The woman may have also been named Eve, from 'dark redness' (*ḥuwwat*), and that is the redness of the lips. And God knows best.

{458} The story of Cain and Abel is mentioned extensively.[42]

{459} This is in no contradiction with what is found in the Noble Qurʾan, yet between the two stories there are disparities in both addition and omission. However, that does not necessarily result in contradiction.

{460} It is mentioned that Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years: eight hundred after the birth of Seth, and hundred and thirty years before that.[43]

{461} This is in opposition to what is authentically reported by the prophetic Sunna, that Adam granted forty years to his son David from his own life, which was one thousand years, thus leaving nine hundred and sixty years. In addition, Muḥammad b. Saʿd mentions that God, Glorified is He, let Adam complete a thousand years and David one hundred years, according to the famous story found in the Sunna.[44]

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[40] Genesis 3:24.
[41] Genesis 3:20.
[42] Genesis 4:1–15.
[43] See Genesis 5:3–5.
[44] See Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Tafsīr al-Qurʾān" 94; Muḥammad Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. ʿA.M. ʿUmar, Cairo, 2001, vol. I, p. 12.

{462} وذكر أنّ أخنوخ وهو إدريس عليه السلام رفع إلى الفردوس من بعد ثلاثمائة وخمس وستّين سنة.

{463} وهذا لا ينافي القرآن.

{464} وذكر بعد ذكره مولد نوح أنّ الرب[34] سبحانه قال: "لا تسكن روحي في البشر إلى الدهر من أجل أنهم لحم. ولتكن أيّام الإنسان مائة وعشرين سنة".

{465} قلت: التوراة عند النصارى حجّة لهم وعليهم. وهذه التوراة تنطق بأنّ روح الله لا تحلّ في البشر لكونه لحماً، وبالاتفاق أنّ المسيح كان لحماً ودماً بشراً سوياً. وروح الله هي الله بدليل[35] قوله في أوّل[36] هذا السفر من التوراة: "وكانت روح الله تَرِفُّ على الماء". فدلّ ذلك على أنّ الله لم يحلّ في المسيح كما قالت النصارى وذكر في أناجيلهم.

{466} وأمّا قوله: "لتكن أيّام الإنسان مائة وعشرين سنة"، فهذا إن ثبت فهو تقدير إلهيّ لعمر الإنسان غير معقول العلّة. وقد اعتبره أهل العلم في ميراث المفقود ونحوها من المسائل، وتكلّم أهل الطبّ في توجيهه. وسألت بعض أفاضلهم عنه، فقال: لم يأتوا فيه بمَقْنَع غير أنهم زعموا أنّ الإنسان لا يزال في نموّ إلى أربعين، ثمّ يقف أربعين، ثمّ يأخذ في الانحطاط والضعف أربعين.

{467} قلت: وهذا بنظر إلى قوله تعالى: ﴿اللهُ الَّذِي خَلَقَكُمْ مِنْ ضَعْفٍ ثُمَّ جَعَلَ مِنْ بَعْدِ ضَعْفٍ قُوَّةً ثُمَّ جَعَلَ مِنْ بَعْدِ قُوَّةٍ ضَعْفاً وَشَيْبَةً﴾. لكن التقدير بأربعين أربعين في كلّ طور لا برهان عليه. وإلاّ

[34] ش: الله. [35] ك: تدلل. [36] ش – أول.

{462} It is mentioned that Enoch, namely, Idrīs, peace be upon him, was raised to the Garden after three hundred and sixty-five years.[45]

{463} This also does not contradict the Qur'an.

{464} Thereafter it is related concerning Noah's birth that the Lord, Glorified is He, said: 'My spirit shall not abide in mankind forever, for they are flesh. And let the days of man be one hundred and twenty years.'[46]

{465} I say: The Torah in the possession of the Christians is a proof both for them and against them. This Torah says that the Spirit of God shall not descend into the human being due to his being flesh, while it is by agreement that Christ was flesh and blood, and perfectly human. And the Spirit of God is God Himself, as indicated by His words in the beginning of this book of the Torah: 'And the Spirit of God was hovering over the water.'[47] Therefore, this indicates that God did not descend into Christ, as claimed by the Christians and mentioned in their Gospels.

{466} As for His saying: 'Let the days of man be one hundred and twenty years,' if it is authentic it means there is divine determination of human life, the reason for which is difficult to fathom. The people of knowledge have taken this into consideration in the case of a lost person's inheritance and other similar matters, while the medical professionals speak of guidelines in this matter. I have asked one of the eminent among them about this, and he said that they have not come up with anything satisfying regarding the matter other than claiming that a man continues to grow until he is forty (years old), after which he comes to a standstill for forty (years), and then begins to decline and weaken for forty (years).

{467} I say: This is so in view of the words of God, the Exalted: 'God is He Who created you out of weakness, then appointed after weakness strength, then appointed after strength weakness and grey hair.'[48] However, there is no decisive proof that every stage is determined by the number forty. Otherwise, one may also suggest regarding His saying: 'Let the days of man

[45] Genesis 5:23–24.
[46] Genesis 6:3.
[47] Genesis 1:2.
[48] Q 30:54.

فقد يقال على قوله: "لتكن أيّام الإنسان مائة وعشرين سنة" || إن أريد أنّ كلّ إنسان يبلغها، فهو و259
باطل بالمشاهدة. وإن أريد أنّ كلّ إنسان لا يتجاوزها، فباطل أيضاً بالمشاهدة، فإنّ كثيراً من الناس يتجاوزها. وإن أريد أنّ بعضهم يبلغها وبعضهم لا يتجاوزها، فإن أريد بالبعض أكثر الناس أو شطرهم، فباطل أيضاً بالمشاهدة. وإن أريد أقلّهم فالوحي الإلهيّ لا يصدر لمثل هذه الفائدة القليلة.

{468} وذكر أنّ الشرّ لمّا كثر في أيّام[37] نوح أسف الربّ، وحزن قلبه على خلقه لآدم في الأرض. وعزم على إهلاك من في الأرض من كلّ ذي روح إلاّ نوحاً. فإنه وجد رحمة بين يدي الربّ.

{469} قلت: هذا من وضع اليهود وكذبهم على الله حيث نسبوه إلى الجهل في الابتداء حتى احتاج إلى الاستدراك بالبداء، ونسبوه إلى الأسف وحزن القلب بناءً على رأيهم في التجسيم. تعالى الله عمّا يقولون علواً كبيراً! والصواب في هذا وغيره ما عليه العقلاء من أنّ الله سبحانه يتصرّف في مُلكه بمقتضى مِلكه، وأنّ علمه تعلّق في الأزل بأنّ بقاء هذا الشيء مصلحة في وقت كذا، مفسدة في وقت كذا. فيبقيه في وقت المصلحة، ويهلكه في وقت المفسدة. ثمّ تلك المصلحة والمفسدة قد تكون ظاهرةً للناس، وقد تقصر عقولهم عن إدراكها، والحكيم المجرّب لا يتّهَم. وبهذا قرّر المسلمون جواز النسخ في الشرائع والأحكام. وجعلوا نظيره الطبيب حيث يصف للمريض اليوم شيئاً، ثمّ ينهاه عنه غداً لحسب مصلحة مزاجه وتدبيره واختلاف الأزمنة والأمكنة والأمزجة. والله أعلم.

{470} وذكر أنّ الله سبحانه أمر نوحاً أن يصنع فلكاً طوله ثلاثمائة ذراع وعرضه خمسون ذراعاً وارتفاعه ثلاثون.

[37] ك: زمن.

be one hundred and twenty years,' that if it is meant that every man will reach it, then this is obviously incorrect. And if it is meant that no man will go beyond it, then again this is obviously incorrect, for many people do go beyond it. And if it is meant that some of them will reach it and some of them will not go beyond it, and if by 'some' the majority or half of the people are meant, then again this is obviously incorrect. And if just a few of them are meant, then divine revelation does not come about for something of such little benefit. 259a

{468} It is mentioned that when evil increased during Noah's days, the Lord felt regret, and His heart grieved for having created Adam on the earth. And He resolved to destroy everyone on the earth who possessed a spirit, except Noah. For he found mercy before God.[49]

{469} I say: This is one of the Jewish fabrications and their lies about God, since they attribute ignorance to Him at the beginning (of His act), so that He is in need of emendation by an opinion that occurs to Him, and they attribute regret and grievance of heart to Him based on their notion of anthropomorphism. High and Greatly Exalted is God above what they say![50] What is correct in this matter and others is that which the intelligent follow, which is that God, the Glorified, acts freely over His dominion in accordance with His right to rule, and that He knows by His pre-existent knowledge that the existence of a certain thing is beneficial at such-and-such a time, while it is harmful at such-and-such a time. Thus, He permits it to exist at the time of benefit and causes it to end at the time of harm. Furthermore, that benefit and harm may either be apparent to people, or their minds may fail to discern them, yet the Wise and the Experienced One cannot be accused of not being aware. It is by this that the Muslims have determined the permissibility of abrogation in the field of the revealed laws and injunctions. They compare it to the doctor who prescribes something to an ill person one day, but then prohibits it for him the next day in accordance with what is beneficial for his temperament and its regulation, as well as for differences in time, place and nature. And God knows best.

{470} It is mentioned that God, Glorified is He, commanded Noah to make an ark: three hundred cubits in length, fifty cubits in width, and thirty cubits in height.[51]

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[49] Genesis 6:5–8.

[50] 'Glorified is He, and High (and) Greatly Exalted above what they say!' (Q 17:43).

[51] Genesis 6:14–15.

{471} وهذا لم يرد في شريعة الإسلام له تقدير، ولا في التصديق به محذور.

{472} وذكر أنّ الماء لمّا أخذ في النضوب أرسل نوح عليه السلام الغراب ليكشف له خبر الأرض هل ظهرت. فذهب، فلم يرجع. ثمّ أرسل الحمامة، فلم تجد لرجليها مستقراً، فعادت. ثمّ أرسلها بعد سبعة أيّام، فعادت وفي فمها ورقة زيتون. فعلم أنّ الماء قد قلّ. ثمّ أرسلها بعد سبعة أيّام، فذهبت ولم تعد.

{473} قلت: فلعلّ هذا سبب استيحاش الغراب واستيناس الحمامة حيث رجعت ولم يرجع. وكأنه[38] أبعد في المذهب حتى وجد مستقراً نادراً فأقام به، أو بقي || طائراً حتى وجد مستقراً. ظ259

{474} وذكر أنّ الله لمّا أهلك العالم بالطوفان قال في قلبه: "لا أعود أبيد الأرض لموضع. إنّ ضمير قلب الإنسان إلى الشرّ مذ حداثته. ولا أعود أهلك كلّ حيّ كالذي فعلت".

{475} قلت: كأنه عذر الإنسانَ لكونه مطبوعاً على الشرّ، فندم على إهلاك العالم، وتاب عن ذلك. فنسبوه إلى الجهل في خلق الخلق وإهلاكه. تعالى الله عمّا يقولون علواً كبيراً![39] فإنّ هذا من تحريف اليهود. والله أعلم.

{476} وذكر أنّ الله سبحانه أطلق لنوح وبنيه أكل كلّ شيء من حيوان وخضر قال: "غير أنّي أنهاكم عن أكل لحم فيه دم نفسه جامد. فلا تأكلوا الدم! فإنّي أنتقم للدم[40] من الرجل وأخيه.[41] ومن يُهريقُ[42] دم إنسان ففي الإنسان يُهراقُ دمُه، من أجل أنه على صورة الله خلق آدم".

[38] ش: فكانه. [39] ك – علوا كبيرا. [40] ك: الدم. [41] ش: اخته. [42] ش: محريق.

{471} In the religion of Islam no measurements have been transmitted for this ark. Hence, there is no problem in accepting it.

{472} It is mentioned that when the water began to seep away in the ground, Noah, peace be upon him, sent forth the raven to unveil the news of the earth for him, as to whether it had become visible. So he went, but did not return. Then he sent forth the dove, and she did not find a resting place for her feet, so she came back. Then he sent her forth again after seven days, and she came back with an olive leaf in her beak. So, he knew that the water had decreased. Then he sent her forth again after seven days, and she went, but did not come back.[52]

{473} I say: Perhaps this is because of the raven's wildness, and the dove's tameness, as the latter returned, but the former did not return. It might be that (the raven) went further away until he found an unusual resting place and remained there, or continued to fly until he found a resting place. 259b

{474} It is mentioned that when God destroyed the world by the flood, He said in His heart: 'I shall never again eradicate any piece of earth. For the secret thought of man's heart is evil from his youth. Neither shall I ever again destroy every living creature, as I have done.'[53]

{475} I say: It is as if (God) excuses man for having a disposition for evil, and so He regrets having destroyed the world and repents from doing that. Thus they are attributing ignorance to Him in creating the creation and destroying it. High and Greatly Exalted is God above what they say![54] This is from the alteration of the Jews. And God knows best.

{476} It is mentioned that God, Glorified is He, permitted Noah and his sons to eat every animal and vegetable, and said: 'Except that I prohibit you from eating flesh in which the lifeblood has clotted. So, do not eat blood! For I shall take revenge for blood on man and on his brother. Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed, for the reason that in God's image Adam was created.'[55]

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[52] Genesis 8:7–12.
[53] Genesis 8:21.
[54] 'Glorified is He, and High (and) Greatly Exalted above what they say!' (Q 17:43).
[55] Genesis 9:3–6.

{477} قلت: قد مرّ الكلام على الصورة. وفي هذا الكلام إشارة إلى أنّ القصاص حقّ لله تعالى. ولهذا مُنع من قبلنا من قبول الدية. وإنّما أحلّت لنا رخصةً ونحلةً. وليس في دين الإسلام ما ينافي هذا، وقد قرّرته في **الفوائد**. وأمّا الدم فإنه محرّم في دين الإسلام إلاّ ما يشقّ اجتنابُه، كما في عروق اللحم ونحوه، واليهود يتتبّعون ما في عروق اللحم منه. فهو من الآصار التي عليهم وخفّفت عنّا.[43]

{478} وذكر أنّ الله سبحانه أعطى نوحاً وبنيه ومن بعدهم ميثاقاً أن لا يهلك أحداً بالطوفان العامّ بعد ذلك. وجعل علامة ذلك ظهور القوس في السحاب.

{479} قلت: هو المسمّى بقوس قزح. ولهذا جاء عن بعض السلف أنه قال: "قوس قزح أمان من الغرق". وبلغنا عن بعض المنجّمين والفلاسفة أنه يزعم أنه لا بدّ للأرض من طوفان من كلّ عنصر من عناصير العالم. فقد مضى طوفان الماء. ولا بدّ من طوفان الأرض، وهو رمل تنسفه الريح حتى يطمّ الأرضَ. ومن طوفان الهواء يهدم كلّ ما على وجه الأرض. ومن طوفان النار يحرق كلّ ما[44] على وجه الأرض. قلت: وهذا لا ينافي الأمان من طوفان الماء. لكن يظهر منه أنه من الخرافات الواردة عن الأَقْيِسة الفاسدة.

{480} وذكر أنّ نوحاً غرس كرماً. وشرب من خمره، فانكشفت عورته في نشوته. فأبصرها حام أبو[45] كنعان، فأخبر إخوته. فأخذ سام ويافث رداءاً، وألقياه على عواتقهما، ومشيا على أعقابهما لئلاّ ينظرا

[43] ش: علينا. [44] ش: كلنا. [45] ش: او.

{477} I say: We have already discussed the 'image'.[56] In this statement there is an allusion to the fact that retaliation is God's right, Exalted is He. Therefore, those before us were not allowed to accept blood money. It was made lawful to us only as dispensation and gift. There is nothing in the religion of Islam that contradicts this and I have already established this in the *Fawā'id*.[57] As for the blood, it is made unlawful in the religion of Islam except that which is hard to avoid, such as what is in the veins of the flesh and the like, while the Jews track whatever is found of it [i.e. the blood] in the veins of the flesh. And this is one of the burdens which are upon them, but which have been lifted from us.

{478} It is mentioned that God, Glorified is He, granted Noah, his sons and those who came after them a covenant that He would never again destroy anyone by a universal flood. And He established the appearance of the bow in the cloud as the sign for that.[58]

{479} I say: This is what is called a rainbow. In this regard a report has come down from one of the predecessors that he said: 'A rainbow is an assurance of safety from drowning.'[59] Another report has reached us from a certain astrologer and philosopher in which he claimed that the earth could not escape a flood from each element of the elements of the universe. **The flood of water** has already passed. **The flood of earth** is inescapable, meaning the sand which the wind carries away and scatters until it covers the earth. By **the flood of air** everything on the face of the earth is demolished. And by **the flood of fire** everything on the face of the earth is burnt. I say: This does not contradict the assurance of safety from the flood of water. Yet, it appears to be one of the fairy tales that originate from false analogies.

{480} It is mentioned that Noah planted a vineyard. He drank from its wine and his nakedness became exposed while he was intoxicated. Ham, the father of Canaan, saw it and informed his brothers. Then Shem and Japheth took a garment, laid it upon both their shoulders, and walked backward lest

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[56] See Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, §§ 430–432.

[57] According to his *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, pp. 377 and 384), this seems to be a work in which Ṭūfī apparently lists Jesus' prophecies about the advent of Muḥammad and analyses how people went astray regarding Jesus, the sign (*āya*) of God, most probably referring to the *Ta'līq*.

[58] Genesis 9:8–13.

[59] Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtāra*, ed. 'A-M. b. 'Abdallāh b. Duhaysh, Makka, 1990, vol. II, p. 125.

عورة أبيها حتى وارياها. فلمّا صحا نوح وعلم ما كان من ذلك || دعا لسام ويافث وقال: "ملعون و260
كنعان! وعبدَ العبيد يكون لإخوته".

{481} قلت: هكذا وجدته في نسخة من أصحّ النسخ بالتوراة أنّ الناظر إلى عورة أبيه هو حام أبو كنعان وأنّ دعاء نوح كان على كنعان. وهذا جور لا تليق نسبته إلى نوح عليه السلام، بل إلى عوامّ الناس أنّ رجلاً يسيء أدبه عليه فيدعو[46] على ابنه. وقد قال الله سبحانه في القرآن الكريم: ﴿وَلاَ تَزِرُ وازِرَةٌ وِزْرَ أُخْرَى﴾ خصوصاً على مذهب اليهود في القدر وأن لا يعاقب إلاّ من أذنب.

{482} فإن قيل: فلو لم يصرّح بلعن كنعان للحقه شؤم اللعنة بطريق التلقّي عن أبيه حام، فلا فرق.

{483} قلت:[47] بلى![48] فرق بين أن يلحقه شؤمها عن غير قصد وبين أن يقصد بالعقوبة غير المذنب. ولو جاز هذا لجاز أن يعذّب الله جميع بني آدم بذنب أبيهم آدم. وأنتم لا تقولون به.

{484} وذكر أنّ الطوفان كان لستمائة سنة من عمر نوح، وأنه عاش بعده ثلاثمائة[49] وخمسين سنة ومات.[50]

{485} قلت: هو موافق لما في القرآن من قوله تعالى: ﴿فَلَبِثَ فِيهِمْ أَلْفَ سَنَةٍ إِلاَّ خَمْسِينَ عَاماً﴾.

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[46] ك: فدعوا. [47] ك: قلنا. [48] ش – بلى. [49] ش ك + سنة. [50] ش – ومات.

they should see the nakedness of their father, until they hid it. Then, when Noah became sober and realised what had happened, he invoked a blessing 260a upon Shem and Japheth and said: 'Cursed be Canaan! A servant of servants shall he be to his brothers.'[60]

{481} I say: This is how I have found it in one of the most authentic copies of the Torah: that the one who saw the nakedness of his father was Ham, the father of Canaan, and that Noah's invocation of evil was upon Canaan. However, to invoke evil upon someone's son if the father himself misbehaved is an injustice which does not befit Noah, peace be upon him, and not even anyone among the common people. Indeed, God, Glorified is He, says in the Noble Qur'an: 'And no bearer of burdens shall bear the burden of another.'[61] This is especially about the Jews' position regarding divine destiny, and that no one will be punished except he who commits a crime.

{482} If it is said: Had he not explicitly cursed Canaan, the calamity of the curse would have touched him by the medium of receiving it from his father Ham. Hence, there is no difference.

{483} I say: Certainly not! There is a difference between unintentionally being touched by calamity and an innocent person being intentionally punished. If this were permissible, then it would be permissible for God to punish all the children of Adam because of the sin of their father Adam. But you [i.e. the Jews] do not claim this.

{484} It is mentioned that the flood occurred when Noah was six hundred years old[62] and that he lived afterwards for three hundred and fifty years more, and then died.[63]

{485} I say: This is in accordance with what is found in the Qur'an, the words of God, the Exalted: 'And he remained among them a thousand years, save fifty years.'[64]

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60 Genesis 9:20–25.
61 Q 6:164; 17:15; 35:18 and 39:7.
62 Genesis 7:6.
63 Genesis 9:28.
64 Q 29:14.

{486} وذكر أنّ الأرض كانت كلّها بعد نوح وكثرة ولده لساناً واحداً سريانياً. فارتحلوا من المشرق إلى بقعة من الأرض. فجعل الرجل منهم يقول لصاحبه: "هلمّوا فلنضرب لبناً ونحرقه بالنار، فيصير حجارةً. فنبني قريةً وصرحاً رأسه في السماء". فقال الربّ: "هذا شعب واحد ولسان واحد. فهلمّ، نهبط، فنقسّم هناك ألسنتهم لئلاّ يفهم أحدهم كلام صاحبه". ففعل الربّ ذلك. فتفرّقوا وتركوا بناء الصرح. ولذلك سمّيت البقعة بابل، لأنّ ثمّ تبلبلت[51] الألسن ومن هناك افترقوا[52] في الأرض.

{487} قلت: كان الحكمة في اختلاف ألسنتهم[53] أن يتفرّقوا فيعمروا الدنيا، ولا يلزموا مكاناً واحداً. هذا محمل قريب. أمّا إن قيل: إنّ الله حذر من أن يرتقوا إليه أو نحو هذا، كما سبق من حكايته أنه وكّل بالشجرة كروبياً بحربة يحرسها لئلاّ يأكل منها آدم أو غيره فيصير إلهاً، فهذا من الخرافات.

{488} وذكر أنّ إبراهيم ولوطاً بعد أن عادا من مصر سكنا أرض كنعان. فكان رعاتهما يقتتلون. فاتّفقا على أن يفترقا. فأقام إبراهيم بكنعان، وشرّق لوط إلى الأرض سدوم. فلمّا فارق لوط قال الله لإبراهيم: "ارفع عينيك، وانظر المكان الذي أنت فيه إلى الشمال والجنوب والمشرق والمغرب. || فإنّ[54] ظ260
جميع الأرض التي ترى كلّها لك أعطيها[55] ولنسلك إلى أبد الآباد.[56] وأكثّر ذرّيّتك مثل تراب الأرض".

{489} قلت: فنظرنا فإذا ملك بني إسرائيل ارتفع عن أرض كنعان وغربها وشرقها وجملة من شمالها وغالب جنوبها بظهور محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم.[57] وصار للعرب بمقتضى وعد الله الصادق لخليله

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[51] ش: بلبلت. [52] ش + اولاد نوح. [53] ش – ألسنتهم. [54] ش: وأن. [55] ش + لك. [56] ش: الأبد؛ ك: الابد.
[57] ك: محمد عليه السلام.

{486} It is mentioned that after Noah and many of his children, the whole earth spoke one single language, Syriac.[65] Then they all migrated from the east to a particular piece of land. They began saying to one another: 'Come, let us make bricks and burn them, so that they become like stone. And let us build a city and a tower whose top shall be in the heavens.' Then the Lord said: 'This is one nation and one language. Come, let us go down, and there divide their tongues, so that they may not understand one another's speech.' And the Lord did thus. And they dispersed and abandoned building the tower. And for that reason, that piece of land was called Babel, because it was there that the languages became confused (*tabalbalat*), and from there they dispersed throughout the earth.[66]

{487} I say: The wisdom behind making their languages diverse was that they should disperse and inhabit the world, and not cling to one single place. This is a feasible interpretation. But if it is said: 'God was wary that they might ascend to Him,' or the like, such as the story that was previously narrated, suggesting that He put a cherub angel with a spear in charge of the tree in order to guard it, lest Adam or someone else should eat from it and thus become a god,[67] then this is one of the fairy tales.

{488} It is mentioned that Abraham and Lot, after returning from Egypt, dwelled in the land of Canaan. And their herdsmen used to fight with one another. So, they agreed to go their separate ways. Abraham remained in Canaan, while Lot went eastwards to the land of Sodom. And when Lot had left, God said to Abraham: 'Lift up your eyes, and look from the place you are: northward, southward, eastward and westward. Truly, the whole land that 260b
you see, all of it, I shall give to you and your offspring forever. And I shall multiply your progeny like the dust of the earth.'[68]

{489} I say: Our view is that the dominion of the children of Israel vanished from the land of Canaan, and from its west and east, and the totality of its north, and most of its south at the appearance of Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace. It came to belong to the Arabs in accordance

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[65] According to a report attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih: 'Syriac was the first language spoken by mankind. And people shall be called to account in it [i.e. Syriac], but when they enter the Garden they shall all speak Arabic.' See Wathīma, *Kitāb bad' al-khalq*, p. 330.

[66] Genesis 11:1–9.

[67] See Genesis 3:24; Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, §§ 447–449.

[68] Genesis 13:5–16.

إبراهيم عليه السلام. وذلك يدلّ على فضيلة العرب وصحّة النبوّة فيهم، لأنهم من بني إبراهيم، وغالب بني إسرائيل صاروا تحت الذلّ والصغار والخزي والعار بكفرهم وفجورهم. والله أعلم.

{490} وذكر أنّ إبراهيم سأل ربّه ولداً يرثه ويرث أرضه، فوعده بذلك. فسأله آيةً على ذلك. فقال له: "خذ عجلاً ثُلاثياً وكبشاً ثلاثياً وعَنْزاً ثلاثياً وشُقَيّقَةً[58] وفَرْخَ حمام، ففصّلهم على الاستواء. واجعل كلّ عضو منهم بإزاء صاحبه، ولا تفصّل الطير. واجعله كأنه واقع على تلك الأجساد".

{491} قلت: هذا مخالف لما في القرآن في الصورة والسبب. أمّا الصورة، فإنّ في القرآن قال: ﴿فَخُذْ أَرْبَعَةً مِنَ الطَّيْرِ﴾ لم يذكر شيئاً من ذوات الأربع. وأمّا في السبب، فلأنه قال: ﴿أَرِنِي كَيْفَ تُحْيِي الْمَوْتَى﴾ وهاهنا ذكر أنه سأله علامةً على حصول الولد. وما في القرآن[59] أشبه بالحكمة والصواب وحال إبراهيم. فإنّ إبراهيم كان[60] مقامه مقام من لا يفكّر إلاّ في أمر الآخرة والنظر في عجائب حكمة الله، لا في ملك الأرض وإرثها من بعده. وإذا كان النبيّ في حياته لا يلتفت إلى الدنيا، فما ظنّك به بعد موته؟ لكن هذا المذكور في التوراة يقدح في قول من قال: "إنّ زكريّا إنّما أمسك عن الكلام حين بشّر بيحيى عقوبةً له حيث سأل العلامة ولم يبادر بالإيمان"، لأنّ العقوبات تزيد بزيادة المقامات والأحوال. وإبراهيم عليه السلام[61] أعلى مقاماً وأقوى حالاً من زكريّا، وقد سأل الآية من الله سبحانه لا من جبريل، ومع هذا لم يعاقَب بشيء. فهذا يقدح فيما في الإنجيل من ذلك. وقد سبق، فاعرفه.

[58] ش لك: وشقتين. [59] ش – في القران. [60] ش –كان. [61] ك – عليه السلام.

with the truthful promise of God to His friend Abraham, peace be upon him. This indicates the merit of the Arabs and the authenticity of prophethood among them, for they are of the children of Abraham, while most of the children of Israel entered into humiliation, lowliness, disgrace and shame due to their disbelief and iniquity. And God knows best.[69]

{490} It is mentioned that Abraham asked his Lord for a child who would inherit from him and inherit his land, and He promised him that. Then, he asked Him for a sign to confirm it. And He said to him: 'Take a calf three years old, a ram three years old, a goat three years old, a turtledove and a young pigeon, and divide them into equal parts. Put each of their limbs opposite the other, but do not divide the birds. Arrange them as if they have fallen upon those corpses.'[70]

{491} I say: This is in opposition to what is found in the Qur'an, both in form and motive. As for the form, in the Qur'an (God) truly says: 'Take four of the birds'[71] without mentioning any four-footed animals. As for the motive, it is because (Abraham) says: 'Show me how you raise the dead,'[72] while here it is mentioned that he asked Him for a sign of the arrival of the child. And what is found in the Qur'an is more suitable to wisdom, soundness, and Abraham's state. For Abraham's position was the position of someone who only reflects upon the matter of the Hereafter and contemplates the marvels of God's wisdom, and not worldly gain or its inheritence after him. If a prophet does not care for this world in his lifetime, can you imagine him caring for it after his death? However, what is mentioned in the Torah impugns the statement of he who states: 'Truly, Zechariah stopped speaking at the time that was given the glad tidings about John only as a punishment to him, as he had asked for a sign and had not hastened to believe,' for punishments increase in parallel with the elevation of positions and states. Abraham, peace be upon him, was in a higher position and a stronger state than Zechariah, and he had even asked the sign from God, the Glorified, not from Gabriel, and yet he was not punished. Therefore, this impugns what is found in the Gospel in this regard. This has been discussed before, so be aware of it.[73]

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69 Ṭūfī offers a similar interpretation in the *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, p. 378).
70 Genesis 15:2–10.
71 Q 2:260.
72 Q 2:260.
73 See Luke 1:18–20; Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 218–220.

{492} وذكر أنّ الله سبحانه قال لإبراهيم: "إنّ نسلك يكون ساكناً في غير أرضه، ويعملون فيها،[62] ويُستعبدون، ويُستَكَدّون[63] أربعمائة سنة. والشعب الذي يستعبدهم أنتقم منه أيضاً. وإنهم يخرجون من بعد ذلك بملك عظيم". ‖ و261

{493} قلت: هذا إشارة إلى بني إسرائيل الخالفين بمصر بعد يعقوب ويوسف. فإنّ فرعون استبعدهم حتى أرسل موسى فخلّصهم، فأغرق الله فرعون. وقوله: "يخرجون من بعد ذلك بملك عظيم" دليل على أنّ موسى بعد إغراق فرعون عاد إلى مصر بنفسه أو بنائبيه[64] يوشع وكالب – على خلاف [ما] ذكره أهل القصص[65] – فملك أرضَ فرعون ونعمه، وأنّ الأرض المذكورة في قوله تعالى: ﴿وَأَوْرَثْنَا الْقَوْمَ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا يُسْتَضْعَفُونَ مَشَارِقَ الأَرْضِ وَمَغَارِبَهَا الَّتِي بَارَكْنَا فِيهَا﴾ هي أرض مصر. وقد نصّ على ذلك القرآن حيث يقول: ﴿كَذَلِكَ وَأَوْرَثْنَاهَا – بني إسرائيل[66] – قَوْماً آخَرِينَ﴾. والله أعلم.

{494} وذكر أنّ سارة امرأة إبراهيم لم يكن لها ولد، وكان لها أمة مصريّة اسمها هاجر. فقالت سارة لإبراهيم: "ادخل على هاجر. عسى الله أن يرزق منها ولداً نتعزّى[67] به". فدخل على هاجر، فحملت. فهانت[68] مولاتُها في عينها. فشتمتها سارة، فهربت هاجر. فتلقّاها ملك الربّ، فقال: "ارجعي إلى مولاتك، فكوني تحت يدها. يكثّر الله نسلك إكثاراً لا يحصى عدده". وقال لها: "إنّك حبلى، وستلدين غلاماً اسمه إسماعيل، لأنّ الله قد سمع تعبّدك. وهو يكون بدوياً من جميع الآدميّين، ويبارَك فيه. يده على الكلّ ويد الكلّ به. وعلى خدّ جميع إخوته ينزل". وكان إبراهيم حين ولادة إسماعيل ابن ستّ وثمانين سنة.

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[62] ش – فيها. [63] ك: وستكدوا. [64] ش: بنابيه. [65] ش ك + الى مصر. [66] العبارة "بني إسرائيل" هي عبارة توضيح للمؤلّف وهي ليست من نصّ القرآن. [67] ش: تتعزا؛ ك: نتعزا. [68] ش: فهابت.

{492} It is mentioned that God, Glorified is He, said to Abraham: 'Truly, your offspring shall dwell in a land other than their own and shall work there, and they shall be enslaved and worn out for four hundred years. And I shall take revenge for them upon the nation that will enslave them. After that they shall truly come out with great possessions.'[74] 261a

{493} I say: This is an allusion to the succeeding generations of the children of Israel in Egypt after Jacob and Joseph. Truly, Pharaoh enslaved them until Moses was sent and delivered them and God drowned Pharaoh. His saying: 'after that they shall truly come out with great possessions,' is an indication that after the drowning of Pharaoh, Moses returned to Egypt by himself or with his deputies Joshua and Caleb—in opposition to what is mentioned by the story-tellers—and he ruled over Pharaoh's land and its blessings. It is also an indication that the land mentioned in the words of God, the Exalted: 'And We made the folk who were despised to inherit the eastern parts of the land and the western parts thereof which We had blessed,'[75] is the land of Egypt. The Qur'an indeed declares this explicitly as it says: 'Thus it was, and We made it an inheritance for another folk,'[76] i.e. the children of Israel.[77] And God knows best.

{494} It is mentioned that Sarah, Abraham's wife, did not have a child and that she had an Egyptian handmaid whose name was Hagar. And Sarah said to Abraham: 'Go in unto Hagar. God may bless us from her with a child in whom we shall find solace.' And he went in unto Hagar, and she conceived. And her mistress became despised in her eyes. So Sarah scolded her, and Hagar ran away. Then, the angel of the Lord met her, and said: 'Go back to your mistress and stay under her hand. God shall multiply your offspring so greatly that their number cannot be counted.' Also he said to her: 'Truly, you are pregnant and shall give birth to a boy whose name is Ishmael (*Ismāʿīl*), for God has indeed heard (*samiʿa*) your devotion (to Him). He shall be a nomad among all the children of Adam and shall be blessed. His hand shall be against everyone, and everyone's hand shall be with him. He shall dwell before the face of all his brethren.' Abraham was eighty-six years old at the time of Ishmael's birth.[78]

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[74] Genesis 15:13–14.
[75] Q 7:137.
[76] Q 44:28.
[77] For this interpretation, see Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, vol. IX, pp. 51–53; vol. XXV, pp. 141–142.
[78] Genesis 16:1–12, 16.

{495} قلت: قد نطق الوحي الإلهيّ بأنّ إسماعيل يبارك فيه، ويكون يده على الكلّ، أي على كلّ ولد إبراهيم، وأنه ينزل على خدّ إخوته، أي يرأس ويعلو عليهم. ولم تظهر بركة إسماعيل وعزّه ورفعته على بقيّة بني إبراهيم إلاّ بظهور محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم.[69] فهذا[70] دليل على نبوّته في التوراة. وثبت بهذا أنّ بكر إبراهيم هو إسماعيل.

{496} وذكر أنّ الله سبحانه استعلن لإبراهيم بعد ذلك، فوعده بأشياء. منها أن قال: "أعطيك وذرّيتك من بعدك أرض مسكنك جميع أرض كنعان ميراثاً إلى الأبد، وأكون لهم إلهاً".[71]

{497} وقد بيّنّا فيما سبق أنّ أرض كنعان خرجت من أيدي بني إسحاق، وصارت لبني إسماعيل، محمّد وأمّته. وهو يدلّ على صحّة نبوّة محمّد، إذ من المحال أن يَمُنَّ الله على إسماعيل بأن يورث أرضه الكفّارَ الكذّابين على الله سبحانه.

{498} وذكر أنّ الله سبحانه عاهد إبراهيم عهداً || أن يختتن هو ونسله ومن تبعهم من غيرهم كالعبيد ونحوهم. قال: "فيكون[72] عهداً بيني وبينك وميثاقاً بخلوفكم إلى الدهر". قال: "وأيّ ذكر بقي أغرل ولا يختتن فتهلك تلك النفس من شعبها، إذ[73] أضاعت ميثاقي". ظ261

{499} قلت: فهذا فيه وجوب الختان على الرجال دون النساء، وهو مذهب جماعة من المسلمين، وقال قوم بالطرفين: الوجوب عليها وعدمه. وفيه تضليل للنصارى، لأنهم يتركون الختان مع أنّ الله أوجبه على إبراهيم ونسله إلى الدهر. فيلزمهم إمّا الضلال أو أنهم ليسوا من نسل إبراهيم إلاّ أن

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[69] ك: محمد عليه السلام. [70] ك: وهذا. [71] ش ك: الاها. [72] ك: يكون. [73] ش: اذا.

{495} I say: The divine revelation has pronounced that Ishmael would be blessed, and his hand would be against everyone, meaning against every child of Abraham, and that he would dwell before the face of his brethren, meaning he would be the chief and would have power over them. Ishmael's blessing, glory and high standing over the rest of the children of Abraham did not emerge, except by the appearance of Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace. So, this is a proof for his prophethood in the Torah.[79] It is also proven by this that the firstborn of Abraham was Ishmael.

{496} It is mentioned that afterwards God, Glorified is He, revealed Himself to Abraham and promised him certain things. One of them is that He said: 'I shall grant you and your progeny after you the land of your residence, the whole land of Canaan, as an inheritance forever, and I shall be a god for them.'[80]

{497} We have already explained before that the land of Canaan ceased to be in the hands of the children of Isaac and became the property of the children of Ishmael: Muḥammad and his followers. This proves the truthfulness of Muḥammad's prophethood, since it is absurd that God would bestow blessings upon Ishmael by making his land the inheritance of the unbelievers who perpetually tell lies about God, the Glorified.

{498} It is mentioned that God, Glorified is He, made a covenant with Abraham that he, his offspring and those who followed them from among others, such as servants and the like, should be circumcised. He further said: 'So, this shall be a covenant between Me and you and a covenant for your successive generations forever.' He also said: 'Any male that still has a foreskin and is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from its nation, since he has broken My covenant.'[81] 261b

{499} I say: Herein is the obligation of circumcision for men but not for women, and this is the opinion of one group among the Muslims, while other folk hold two extreme positions: it being obligatory for both of them [i.e. men and women] and it not being obligatory at all. This statement demonstrates that the Christians are misguided, because they have abandoned circumcision, although God made it obligatory for Abraham and his

[79] Ṭūfī offers a similar interpretation in the *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, p. 379).
[80] Genesis 17:8.
[81] Genesis 17:9–14.

يبيّنوا أنّ حكم التوراة في هذا نسخ عندهم. وربّما استروح النصارى في ترك الختان إلى أنّ المحذور من الغرلة إنّما هو احتقان البول فيها، لكن ذلك[74] ليس محذوراً عندنا لقول المسيح: "النجس ما خرج من القلب، لا ما خرج من الفرج"، أو[75] إلى قوله لخلفائه: "ما ربطتموه في الأرض فهو مربوط في السماء، وما حللتموه في الأرض فهو محلول في السماء". وقد حكم خلفاؤه بعدم وجوب الختان. لكن هذه خرافات. إذا نوقشوا فيها[76] تعذّر عليهم القيام بنصرها.

{500} وذكر أنّ الله سبحانه بشّر إبراهيم بإسحاق من سارة. وإبراهيم يومئذ ابن تسع وتسعين سنة وسارة لها تسعون سنة. فقال لإبراهيم حين استبعد ذلك: "حقًّا إنّ[77] زوجتك سارة تلد لك غلاماً، ويدعى[78] اسمه[79] إسحاق. وأقيم معه ميثاقاً إلى الأبد ولخلفه من بعده. وعلى إسماعيل فقد سمعتك، وقد باركت عليه، وكثّرته كثيراً جداً. ويولد له اثنا عشر شريفاً، وأجعله لشعب عظيم".

{501} قلت: ففي هذا دليلان على صحّة نبوّة محمّد عليه السلام:

{502} **أحدهما** قوله: "يولد لإسماعيل اثنا عشر شريفاً". وصفهم الله بالشرف، والكفّار ليسوا عند الله أشرافاً. وعبّاد الأصنام كفّار، فلا يكونون شرفاء. ولم يعلم من بني إسماعيل من ظهر بما يناسب الناموس الإيمانيّ والدين التوحيديّ الجاري على عادة الأنبياء المتقدّمين إلاّ محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم.[80]

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[74] ش – ذلك. [75] ش – أو. [76] ش: عليها. [77] ك: ات. [78] ش ك: ويدعا. [79] ش – اسمه. [80] ك: محمد عليه السلام.

progeny forever. So, this necessarily implies that they are either misguided or that they are not of Abraham's progeny. Otherwise, they should demonstrate that the Torah's decree on this matter was abrogated for them. Perhaps while abandoning circumcision, the Christians may find relief in saying that the only harm emanating from the foreskin is the congestion of urine under it. [They say:] 'In our view, however, that should consitute no harm, because of Christ's words: "Impurity is that which comes out of the heart, not that which comes out of the private parts".'[82] (They may also rely) on (Christ's) words to his successors: 'Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'[83] And his successors decreed that circumcision was not obligatory. However, these are fairy tales. When (the Christians) are criticised with regard to these fairy tales, then it becomes impossible for them to stand up in support of them.

{500} It is mentioned that God, Glorified is He, announced to Abraham the glad tidings about Isaac's birth from Sarah. At that time Abraham was ninety-nine years old, while Sarah was ninety years old. And when Abraham regarded that as far from being probable, (God) said to him: 'In truth, your wife Sarah shall bear you a son, and his name shall be called Isaac. I shall establish a covenant with him forever and with his descendants after him. As for Ishmael, I have heard you. I have blessed him and I shall truly multiply him exceedingly. Twelve nobles shall be born to him. I shall make him into a great nation.'[84]

{501} I say: Herein are two proofs for the authenticity of Muḥammad's prophethood, peace be upon him:

{502} **The first proof** comprises His words: 'Twelve nobles shall be born to Ishmael.' God ascribes to them nobility, while the unbelievers are not nobles before God. The worshippers of idols are unbelievers, hence they cannot be nobles. There is not known among the children of Ishmael anyone who appeared with what befits the law of faith and the religion of monotheism, following the tradition of the earlier prophets, except Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace. The twelve nobles consist of him [i.e. Muḥammad], those of his companions whom he had promised the Garden, and his two grandsons [Ḥasan and Ḥusayn] or his two uncles Ḥamza and

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[82] See Matthew 15:11, 17–18.
[83] See Matthew 18:18.
[84] Genesis 17:19–20. Ṭūfī refers to the same passage in his *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, pp. 379–380).

والاثنا عشر شريفاً هو وأصحابه الذين قطع لهم بالجنّة وسبطاه أو عمّاه حمزة وعبّاس.[81] فهؤلاء نظراء نقباء موسى الاثني عشر[82] وحواري عيسى الاثني عشر. ومن أنكر أنّ هؤلاء هم[83] المشار || إليهم في 262و التوراة[84] بهذا الخطاب فعليه أن يبيّن لنا في بني إسماعيل من هو أحقّ منهم بذلك.

{503} **الدليل الثاني** قوله: "وأجعله لشعب عظيم". وصف الله سبحانه هذا الشعب بكونه عظيماً، وهو شعب العرب. والله لا يعظم عنده إلاّ الخير الفاضل، إذ الشرير أهون عليه من الذرّة. ولا يرد علينا من مات في الفترة قبل النبوّة، لأنّ أولئك يمتحنون في الآخرة كما تمتحن الأطفال، وقد جاء في ذلك حديث ذكره وثيمة في أواخر **القصص**. ولا من كفر حين النبوّة، لأنهم قليلون بالنسبة إلى العرب، فالاعتبار بالأكثر. وإذا ثبت أنّ شعب العرب عظيم عند الله وجب أن لا يخلو[85] من رسول، كشعب إسحاق حيث كان لله به عناية لم يُخلِه من الرسل. ولم يظهر من العرب من ادّعى الرسالة وظهر ناموسه حتى طبّق الأرض شرقاً وغرباً إلاّ محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم.[86] فوجب أن يكون هو النبيّ الحقّ الذي عظّم الله به شعب إسماعيل. والله أعلم.

{504} وذكر أنّ إبراهيم لمّا تخلّى عنه خطاب الربّ بما ذكر ذهب فاختتن وهو ابن تسع وتسعين سنة. وختن إسماعيل وهو يومئذ ابن ثلاث عشرة سنة. وختن كلّ ذكر كان في بيته من تلاد أو مستفاد.[87] وإسحاق لم يكن ولد بعد، بل قد بشّر به في العام القابل.

{505} قلت: قوله: "اختتن إبراهيم وهو ابن تسع وتسعين" مخالف لما جاءت به السنّة النبويّة أنه اختتن وهو ابن ثمانين سنة بالقدوم. والسنّة عندنا أوثق.

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[81] ش: والعباس. [82] ك + سربها. [83] ش – هم. [84] ك – في التوراة. [85] ك: نحلوا. [86] ك: محمد عليه السلام.
[87] ش: سستفاد.

'Abbās. These are the equivalents of Moses' twelve chiefs and Jesus' twelve disciples. Whoever denies that these are the ones alluded to by this passage 262a
in the Torah, it is incumbent upon him to explain to us who among the children of Ishmael is more deserving of this title than them.

{503} **The second proof** comprises His words: 'I shall make him into a great nation.' God, Glorified is He, describes this nation being great, and that is the Arab nation. And with God there is nothing great but excellent goodness, for evil is to Him worth less than an atom. The case of those who died in the period (*fatra*)[85] prior to the prophethood (of Muḥammad) does not contradict us, because they will be tried in the Hereafter in the same manner in which small children will be tried, and a *ḥadīth* has come down in regard to this, which Wathīma mentions in the last parts of the *Qiṣaṣ*.[86] Nor does the case of those who were unbelievers during the time of the prophethood (of Muḥammad) contradict us, because they are a small number in respect to the Arabs and consideration is given to the majority. Since it is established that the Arab nation is great before God, it also requires that they be not devoid of a messenger, just like Isaac's nation, as God took care of them, not leaving them devoid of messengers. And none appeared among the Arabs who claimed to be a messenger and whose law triumphed until it pervaded the earth, east and west, except Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace. Thus, it necessarily follows that he was the true prophet by whom God made Ishmael's nation great. And God knows best.

{504} It is mentioned that when the Lord's address mentioned above was complete, Abraham went and circumcised himself, and he was ninety-nine years old. He also circumcised Ishmael who was thirteen years old at that time. And he circumcised every male who was in his house, those born in the house and those acquired.[87] But Isaac was not yet born, rather, the glad tidings about him were announced in the following year.

{505} I say: Its words, 'Abraham circumcised himself, and he was ninety-nine years old,' are in contradiction with what the prophetic Sunna has brought, which deems that he circumcised himself when he was eighty years old.[88] The Sunna is more reliable, in our opinion.

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[85] *Fatra*, literally meaning 'interval of time', 'intermission' or 'pause', is a theological term referring to the interval between two consecutive prophets.

[86] This *ḥadīth* is not found in the published text of Wathīma's work. However, it is reported in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, 4/24.

[87] See Genesis 17:23–27.

[88] See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Aḥādīth al-anbiyā' " 11, "Isti'dhān" 51; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Faḍā'il" 41.

{506} وذكر قصّة ضيف إبراهيم وضيافته لهم بالعجل وبشرى سارة بالولد ومجادلة إبراهيم في قوم لوط على وجه لا ينافي القرآن، غير أنه ذكر أنّ امرأة لوط خرجت معه في جملة أهله فالتفتت إلى ورائها فصارت قائمة من ملح، وأنّ الله أمطر على قوم لوط كبريتاً وناراً.

{507} قلت: فالمطر مذكور في القرآن، لكن ذكر أنه: ﴿حِجَارَةً مِنْ سِجِّيلٍ مَنْضُودٍ﴾. وزاد مع ذلك أنه خسف بها، فجعل: ﴿عَالِيَهَا سَافِلَهَا﴾. ولا تنافٍ[88] لجواز أنه عذّبها بجميع هذه الأنواع من العذاب. وأمّا خروج امرأة لوط معه، فاختلف فيه أهل الإسلام بناء على ما دلّت عليه || قراءتا الرفع والنصب في "امرأتك" في قوله تعالى: ﴿فَأَسْرِ بِأَهْلِكَ بِقِطْعٍ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ وَلاَ يَلْتَفِتْ مِنْكُمْ أَحَدٌ إِلاَّ امْرَأَتُكَ﴾. فمن رفع وجعله استثناءً متّصلاً قال: هي بدل من "أحد"، فتقديره "لا يلتفت منكم إلاّ امرأتك". فيدلّ على أنها كانت من لوط وأهله السارين. ومن نصب جعله مستثنى من "أسر"، فتقديره "أسر بأهلك إلاّ امرأتك، فلا تسر بها". فأمّا بقيّة القرآن، فإنّما دلّ على استثنائها من الناجين كسورة الأعراف، والحجر، والشعراء، والنّمل، والعنكبوت. وجمع بعضهم بين[89] القراءتين بأنها سرت هي معهم وأنّ لوطاً لم يسر بها. ظ262

[88] ش ك: تنافى. [89] ش + بين.

{506} The story of Abraham's guests and his repast of calf he offered to them, the glad tidings of a child to Sarah, and Abraham's argument about Lot's folk are all mentioned[89] in a way that does not contradict the Qur'an, except for the mention that Lot's wife left with him together with all his family, and she turned round behind her and became a pillar of salt, and that God rained on Lot's folk sulphur and fire.[90]

{507} I say: The rain is mentioned in the Qur'an, but it is mentioned that it consisted of 'stones of clay, one after another.'[91] It is also added that this caused the city to be swallowed up by the earth and turned it 'upside down'.[92] Yet, there is no contradiction between the two, for He may have punished it with all these types of punishment. As for Lot's wife leaving with him, the followers of Islam have disagreed on it based on what is implied by the two recitations of 'your wife' in their nominative and accusative forms 262b
respectively, as found in the words of God, Exalted is He: 'So, travel with your family in a part of the night, and let not one of you turn round, except your wife.'[93] Therefore, he who reads it in the nominative case and regards it as a connected exception (*istithnāʾ muttaṣil*),[94] would say: This is the substitute (*badal*) of 'one', so its implication would be: 'Let none of you turn round, except your wife.' So, it would indicate that she was one of those who were travelling amongst Lot and his family. But he who reads it in the accusative case would regard it as an exception from 'travel,' so its implication would be: 'Travel with your family, except your wife; do not travel with her.' As for the rest of the Qur'an, such as *sūrat al-Aʿrāf*,[95] *al-Ḥijr*,[96] *al-Shuʿarāʾ*,[97] *al-Naml*,[98] and *al-ʿAnkabūt*,[99] this indicates only her exception from those who were saved. One of the commentators has reconciled the two recitations by saying that she travelled together with them, but that Lot did not travel with her.'

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[89] See Genesis 18:1–33.

[90] Genesis 19:15–16, 24, 26.

[91] Q 11:82.

[92] Q 11:82.

[93] Q 11:81.

[94] An exception in which the thing excepted belongs to the same kind or category as that of the generality from which the exception is made.

[95] 'And We saved him and his family, except his wife, who was of those who stayed behind' (Q 7:83).

[96] 'So travel with your family in a part of the night and yourself follow their backs. Let none of you turn round, but go whither you are commanded' (Q 15:65).

[97] 'So We saved him and his family, all except an old woman among those who stayed behind' (Q 26:170–171).

[98] 'Then We saved him and his family except his wife; We destined her to be of those who stayed behind' (Q 27:57).

[99] 'We are to save him and his family, all except his wife, who is of those who stay behind' (Q 29:32).

{508} قلت: والذي دلّت عليه القصص والتفاسير أنها سرت معهم. فيحمل الأمر إمّا[90] على تأويل هذا المتأوّل المذكور، أو على الاستثناء في قراءة الرفع منقطعاً فتقديره "لكن امرأتك مصيبها ما أصابهم". وأمّا[91] جعل امرأته قائمةً من ملح، فهو على جهة المسخ. وقد نقل أنهم أصابهم مسخ.[92] فتكون قد أصابها ما أصابهم من جنس المسخ، إن صحّ هذا المذكور في التوراة. وإلاّ، فالذي ذكره المسلمون أنها التفتت فأصابها حجر فقتلها. والله أعلم.

{509} وذكر أنّ لوطاً بعد هلاك قومه سكن مغارةً ومعه ابنتاه. فقالت الكبرى للصغرى: "إنّ أبانا قد شاخ، وليس على وجه الأرض من يغشانا كسبيل جميع أهل الدنيا. فهلمّي، فلنَسْقِ أبانا خمراً، ونضاجعه، ونقيم من أبينا خلفاً ونسلاً". وإنهما سقتاه الخمر، وضاجعتاه في ليلتين. فواقعها ولم يعلم، فأحبلها. فولدت الكبرى ابناً سمّته موآب، فهو أبو الموآبين. وولدت الصغرى غلاماً سمّته بوعام، فهو أبو بني عمّون إلى يومنا هذا.

{510} قلت: لعن الله اليهود! فإنّ هذا من أكاذيبهم على الله ورسله. أمّا شرب الخمر، فيقال: كان مباحاً لهم. وأمّا وطء البنات، فلم نعلمه جائزاً في شرع آدم فمن بعده بعقد النكاح، مع أنه قد كان يجوز[93] فيه نكاح الأخوات. فكيف يجرّد الله سبحانه[94] رسله الكرام المحفوظين من قيد العصمة حتى يوقعهم

[90] ش: أما. [91] ك + من. [92] ش – مسخ. [93] ش – يجوز. [94] ش – سبحانه.

{508} I say: What is indicated by these stories and commentaries is that she walked together with them. So, the matter should be interpreted either in accordance with the interpretation of this exegete mentioned above, or in accordance with the interrupted exception in the recitation of the nominative case,[100] so its implication would be: 'However, your wife shall be afflicted by that by which they shall be afflicted.' As for his wife's turning into a pillar of salt, that is in the manner of metamorphosis. It has been reported that (the inhabitants of the city) were afflicted by a kind of metamorphosis. Therefore, it could be that she was afflicted by the same kind of metamorphosis that they were afflicted by, if this statement mentioned in the Torah is authentic. Otherwise, the case should be that which is understood by the Muslims; that she turned round, then a stone struck her and killed her. And God knows best.

{509} It is mentioned that Lot, after his folk's perdition, dwelled in a cave and his two daughters were with him. And the older said to the younger: 'Our father has grown old, and there is not a man on the face of the earth to come in unto us in the manner of all the people of this world. Come, let us make our father drink wine, lie with him, and raise successors and descendents from our father.' They made him drink wine, and lay with him two nights. So, he had intercourse with the two, without knowing, and impregnated both of them. And the older bore a son whom she named Moab, and he is the father of the Moabites. And the younger bore a boy whom she named Boam, and he is the father of the children of Ammon to this day of ours.[101]

{510} I say: May God curse the Jews! Truly, this is one of their lies about God and His messengers. As for drinking wine, one may say: It was allowed to them. But as for having sexual intercourse with daughters, we are not aware of it being permissible by the contract of marriage in the revealed law of Adam and those who came after him, although it used to be permissible in it to marry sisters. Then how would God, the Glorified, divest His noble and protected messengers of the bond of infallibility and let them fall by fornication and adultery into that which He has never even made permissible by

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[100] *Istithnā' munqaṭiʿ* is an exception in which the thing excepted belongs to a different kind or category. This statement seems to be in contradiction with what Ṭūfī said in the previous paragraph, namely, that when read in the nominative case this would be a connected exception (*istithnā' muttaṣil*). So, perhaps instead of *muttaṣilan* he has mistakenly said *munqaṭiʿan* here.

[101] Genesis 19:30–38.

فيما لم يجزه[95] قطّ بالنكاح سفاحاً وزناً، وقد كان يحوطهم ويحرسهم ممّا هو أيسر من هذا بكثير، كما عصم يوسف من امرأة العزيز بعد السجن والإكراه به وغير ذلك.

{511} وذكر قصّة سارة زوجة إبراهيم حين أخذها الجبّار || واسمه أبيمالخ،[96] وقال إبراهيم: "هي أختي". 263و
فلمّا عاتبه الجبّار على ذلك قال: "حقاً هي أختي، ابنة[97] أبي وليست من أمّي. وجعلها الله لي امرأةً".

{512} قلت: يحتمل أنها كانت أخته من أبيه الأقرب دون أمّه على ما عرف من دين آدم في نكاح الأخوات. وكان هذا قبل النسخ في شرع موسى. ويحتمل أنه أراد من أبيه الأبعد آدم أو نوح. وتبيّن بهذا أنّ إبراهيم لم يكذب في هذا الإخبار. وإنّ ما جاء في السنّة من قوله عليه السلام: "لم يكذب إبراهيم إلاّ في ثلاث" ليس المراد به الكذب الحقيقيّ المطلق، بل إمّا التعريض وسمّاه كذباً مجازاً، أو الكذب من وجه دون وجه، أي من جهة كونها زوجةً لا أختاً، أو باعتبار دليل الخطاب، أي إنه لمّا قال:[98] "هي أختي" فهم منه أنها ليست زوجةً، وهو مفهوم لقب.

[95] ش: يجز. [96] ش: ايتمالخ. [97] ش: امة. [98] ش – قال.

marriage, when He used to protect them and guard them from what was far lighter than this, just as he preserved Joseph from Potiphar's wife after she tried to compel him (to lie with her) and imprisoned him, and other such instances.

{511} The story of Sarah, Abraham's wife, is also mentioned, when the tyrant whose name was Abimelech took her, and Abraham said: 'She is my sister.'[102] 263a
And when the tyrant reproved him for that, he said: 'In truth, she is my sister, daughter of my father, but not from my mother. And God made her my wife.'[103]

{512} I say: It is possible that she was his sister from his direct father,[104] but not from his mother, as it is a known fact that marrying one's sister was permissible in the revealed law of Adam. And this occurred before its abrogation by the revealed law of Moses. It is also possible that he meant (she was his sister) from his paternal ancestor, Adam or Noah. Thus, it becomes clear that Abraham did not lie in regard to this information. Yet, what has come down in the Sunna, namely, (the Prophet's) words, peace be upon him, 'Abraham never lied, except for three times,'[105] does not indicate a real and absolute lie, but rather, this is either a case of speaking equivocally, so (the Prophet) called it a lie metaphorically, or it is a lie in one respect but not in another respect. It may be a lie, in respect of her being a wife, not a sister, to the degree that what is indicated by the speech, 'She is my sister', would make the addressee understand from it that she was not his wife, for this is what is customarily understood from the title 'sister'.[106]

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[102] Genesis 20:2.

[103] Genesis 20:12.

[104] i.e. not some other male ancestor, for example, a grandfather.

[105] The first is the above-mentioned case where he referred to his wife as his sister, the second is his statement, 'I feel sick', uttered in a discussion he held with idolworshippers (Q 37:89), and the third is his response, 'this, their chief has done it', when he was asked who had smashed the idols in the temple, despite the fact that he had done it himself (Q 21:63). See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Aḥādīth al-anbiyā'" 11; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Faḍā'il" 41; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Ṭalāq" 16; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Tafsīr al-Qur'ān" 22.

[106] Ṭūfī examines the same subject in his *Ishārāt*, where he says that these cases were metaphorically called 'lies' by the Prophet only with regard to the high status of Abraham. Although they were not lies in the real sense of the word, someone like Abraham would call his equivocal statement a lie due to his elevated position. Ṭūfī supports his interpretation with the proverb: 'The virtues of the pious are the faults of those brought near to God' (*Ḥasanāt al-abrār sayyi'āt al-muqarrabīn*). See Ṭūfī, *Ishārāt*, vol. III, p. 29.

{513} وذكر أنّ سارة ولدت إسحاق بعد هذه القضيّة،[99] ولإبراهيم يومئذ مائة سنة، وأنه ختن إسحاق لثمانية أيّام من مولده، كما عهد الله إليه.

{514} وذكر أنّ سارة لمّا ولدت إسحاق رأت ابن هاجر المصريّة يهزأ، فقالت لإبراهيم: "اخرج عنّي هذه الأمة لئلاّ يرث ابنها مع ابني إسحاق!" فخرج إبراهيم بهاجر وابنها.

{515} وذكر نحو القصّة المشهورة في الستّة في ذلك من إعوازه الماء، ومقارنته الموت من العطش، ومخاطبة الملك لها، وإظهاره[100] الماء. لكن في القصّة[101] في التوراة تحريفات لا تخفى على عاقل. منها أنه ذكر: "أنّ الغلام سكن في برّيّة فاران، وتعلّم الرمي فيها". لكنّه فسّر برّيّة فاران بأنها برّيّة بئر سَبْع وأنها من بلاد أبيمالخ[102] صاحب التيمن الذي جرى[103] له القصّة المذكورة آنفاً مع سارة. والصحيح أنّ فاران إنمّا هي مكّة. ومنها أنه قال: "وأنكحته أمّه، يعني إسماعيل، من أهل مصر". والصواب أنه إنمّا تزوّج من جرهم قوم وردوا عليه بمكّة من العرب اليمانيّة. ومنها وهو أدلّها على الكذب أنه قال، يعني لمّا أراد إبراهيم أن يعتزل بالغلام كما قالت سارة: "فابتكر إبراهيم بالغداة، وأخذ خبزاً وسقاءً مملوءاً ماءً، ودفعه إلى هاجر، ووضع الغلام على عاتقها، وأرسلها. فمضت، فأتت برّيّة بئر سبع. وفنى الماء من السقاء، ورمت الغلام تحت أصل شيح. ومضت، فجلست || بإزائه برَمْيَة سهم لئلاّ تراه حين يموت". ظ263

[99] ش: القصة. [100] ش: في اظهاره. [101] ك: القضه. [102] ش: ايتمالخ. [103] ك: حرا.

{513} It is mentioned that Sarah bore Isaac after this incident, when Abraham was one hundred years old, and that he circumcised Isaac eight days after his birth, as God had enjoined upon him.[107]

{514} It is mentioned that when Sarah bore Isaac, she saw the son of Hagar, the Egyptian, mocking, and she said to Abraham: 'Cast out this handmaid from me lest her son becomes an heir alongside my son Isaac!' So, Abraham cast out Hagar and her son.[108]

{515} It is further mentioned that (Ishmael) was in desperate need of water and was close to death due to thirst, and that an angel addressed (Hagar) and caused water to appear, all in line with the famous story reported in the Sunna about this.[109] However, the story in the Torah[110] contains alterations that cannot be concealed from an intelligent person. One of them is its mention that 'the boy dwelled in the wilderness of Paran and learned archery there.'[111] But it interprets the wilderness of Paran as being the wilderness of Beersheba and being among the lands of Abimelech,[112] the leader of the South, who is included in the above-mentioned story about Sarah. However, what is correct is that Paran is Mecca itself. Another alteration puts it: 'And his mother took a wife for him, namely, Ishmael, from the people of Egypt.'[113] But the truth is that he married from Jurhum, a folk from among the Yemenite Arabs who had come to him in Mecca. Yet another alteration, which is the most indicative of lies, is its saying that Abraham wanted to withdraw from the boy as Sarah had told him: 'And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a water-skin filled with water and gave that to Hagar, and placed the boy on her shoulder, and sent her away. So, she departed and came to the wilderness of Beersheba. The water of the water-skin was spent and she cast the boy under the trunk of a shrub. She went and sat down opposite him about the distance of a bow shot, lest she saw him when dying.'[114] 263b

[107] Genesis 21:1–5.
[108] Genesis 21:9–10.
[109] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Aḥādīth al-anbiyā'" 12.
[110] See Genesis 21:14–19.
[111] Genesis 21:20.
[112] See Genesis 21:14, 25–31.
[113] Genesis 21:21.
[114] Genesis 21:14–16.

{516} وبيان الكذب الصريح من هذا الكلام أنه قد سبق أنّ إسماعيل ولد لإبراهيم وعمر إبراهيم ستّ وثمانون سنة، وأنّ إسحاق ولد له وعمره مائة سنة، وأنّ هذه القصّة كانت بعد ولادة إسحاق، لأنّ سارة خشيت أن يرث إسماعيل مع ابنها إسحاق. وهذا لا يكون إلاّ بعد ولادته، إذ قبلها هو معدوم وكانت هي آيسة من الولد. وإذا عرف هذا تبيّن أنّ إسماعيل كان له حين نفته سارة وأمّه أربع عشر سنة. وذلك من سنة ستّ وثمانين من عمر إبراهيم إلى سنة مائة من عمره. ومن يكون في هذا السنّ يكون رجلاً بالغاً مشتداً، لاسيّما وهو[104] يحكى في التوراة أنّ الله كان مع الغلام، فشبّ. ثمّ هو مع ذلك يحكى أنّ إسماعيل كان على عاتق هاجر مع سقاء مملوء ماءاً ومع خبز الزوّادة، وأنها لمّا فنى الماء رمته تحت أصل شيح. وهذه صفات الأطفال المراضيع، لا صفات الرجال البُلَّغ والغلمان المراهقين. فهذا يوجب إمّا[105] تناقض ما في التوراة من هذه الحكاية على ما وصفنا، أو بطلان أحد النقيضين المذكورين منها، أعني كون إسماعيل له حينئذ أربع عشرة سنة، أو كون هاجر حملته على عاتقها، أو أنّ هاجر لم تكن آدميّة بل ثنيّة جبل نفخ فيها الروح حتى حملت زوّادتها خبزاً وسقاءاً مملوءاً ماءاً وإنساناً عمره أربع عشرة سنة إلى برّيّة فاران!

{517} فإن تكلّف متكلّف وادّعى أنّ إسماعيل لم يكن على عاتقها، بل على عاتق إبراهيم وعلى عاتقها هي الزاد والماء،[106] وأنّ ما[107] ذكرناه أوّلاً تحريف قلميّ من بعض النسّاخ. قلنا له: لا يصحّ ذلك أيضاً، لأنّ العادة إنّما جرت بحمل الأطفال، لا بحمل من له أربع عشرة سنة، خصوصاً وإبراهيم يومئذ له مائة سنة شيخ كبير. كيف يطيق على حمل رجل مثله على عاتقه مسافة طويلة؟ وإذ قد ثبت بما ذكرناه التحريف والتناقض في التوراة، سقط احتجاج اليهود والنصارى بها لجواز وقوع التحريف في كلّ ما[108] يحتجّون به منها. لكن يصحّ لنا أن نحتجّ عليهم بما فيها إلزاماً وجدلاً، لأنهم يعتقدون أنها

[104] ش: وهى. [105] ش: أما. [106] ك: هى المآ والزاد. [107] ش ك: وانما. [108] ش: كلما.

{516} The following explains the explicit lie found in this statement: It has been previously mentioned that Ishmael was born to Abraham when Abraham was eighty-six years old, and that Isaac was born to him when he was a hundred years old, yet this story mentioned above must have happened after the birth of Isaac, for Sarah feared that Ishmael would become an heir alongside her son Isaac. This could only have happened after his birth, since before that he did not exist and she had despaired of having a child. When this is acknowledged, it becomes clear that Ishmael was fourteen years old at the time that Sarah expelled him and his mother, for that is the time span between Abraham being eighty-six and a hundred years old. Whoever has reached this age is a mature, strong man, particularly since it is narrated in the Torah that God was with the boy, and that he had become a young man. Despite this, however, it is narrated that Ishmael was on Hagar's shoulder in addition to a water-skin filled with water and in addition to the bread of their provisions, and that when the water was spent, she cast him under the trunk of a shrub. These details suggest the attributes of suckling infants, not the attributes of mature men and adolescent boys. Therefore, this requires either that there is an internal contradiction in what is found in the Torah of this narration, as we have described, or the invalidity of one of the two above-mentioned contradictory statements, namely, that Ishmael was fourteen years old at that time and that Hagar carried him on her shoulder. Otherwise, (this suggests) that Hagar was not a human being, but rather, a mountain pass into which the spirit was breathed, so that she herself carried her provisions of bread, the water-skin filled with water, and a fourteen year old human being to the wilderness of Paran!

{517} If a pretender dissembles and claims that Ishmael was not on her shoulder but was on Abraham's shoulder, while on her shoulder there were provisions and water, and that what we mentioned earlier is a scribal error made by one of the copyists, we say to him: This is not correct either, for custom entails carrying small children, not carrying those who are fourteen years old, particularly when Abraham was one hundred years old, i.e. an extremely aged man, at that time. How could he carry a man like him on his shoulder for such a long distance? Since the existence of alteration and contradiction in the Torah is proven by what we have mentioned, the Jewish and Christian use of it as an argument has become invalid, because an alteration may have occurred in everything they use as an argument from it. However, it is right for us to use as an argument against them the things (the Torah) contains by way of compelling them to accept our argument and in debating, for they believe it to be a proof. Hereby a certain Christian's use of

حجّة. وبهذا يسقط احتجاج بعض النصارى على الطعن في صدق محمّد عليه السلام بالقدح في صحّة
إخباره عن زواج موسى ببنت شعيب على رعاية غنم أيها ثماني حجج، || وأنّ القضيّة[109] التبست عليه و264
بتزوّج يعقوب براحيل ابنة خاله. فإنّ رعاية الغنم في زواجه كانت، لا في زواج موسى. وستأتي القصّة
إن شاء الله تعالى.[110] فاعلم ذلك.

{518} ثمّ قال: ومن بعد هذه الخطوب ابتلى الله إبراهيم، فقال له: "خذ ابنك وحيدك إسحاق الذي
تحبّه، وامض به إلى أرض كذا، فاجعله لي قرباناً على بعض الجبال." وذكر قصّة الذبيح وفدائه بالكبش
إلى أن قال: وناداه ملك الربّ فقال: "يقول الله لك: إنّي أقسمت، حيث أنّك لم تبخل عليّ بابنك
وحيدك، لأبرّكنّ عليك، وأكثّر خلفك كنجوم السماء ومثل الرمل الذي على ساحل البحر. ويرث
خلفك أرض أعدائهم. ويتبرّك بخلفك سائر الشعوب الذي على الأرض."

{519} قلت: اعلم أنّ المسلمين اختلفوا في الذبيح من ولدي إبراهيم من هو. فقال قوم: هو إسحاق كما
في التوراة، وقال آخرون: هو إسماعيل. والقولان روايتان عن الإمام[111] أحمد. ورجّح كلاًّ من القولين
قوم، والمختار الذي دلّ عليه ظاهر القرآن وأقوال أكثر العلماء، وهو مستفاد من فحوى التوراة، أنه
إسماعيل. ولكن نصّ التوراة محرّف مبدّل في ذلك. أمّا ظاهر القرآن، فإنّ الله سبحانه حكى في سورة
الصافّات[112] قصّة الذبيح مستوفاةً. ثمّ عقّبها بقوله: ﴿وَبَشَّرْنَاهُ بِإِسْحَاقَ نَبِيّاً مِنَ الصَّالِحِينَ﴾. والظاهر

[109] ش: القصة. [110] ش – تعالى. [111] ك – الإمام. [112] ك: والصافات.

it as an argument also becomes invalid when challenging the truthfulness of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, by impugning the authenticity of his report about Moses marrying Shuʿayb's daughter on the condition of herding her father's sheep for eight years,[115] and claiming that the matter got mixed 264a
up in (the Prophet's) mind with Jacob's marriage to Rachel, his uncle's daughter.[116] For herding the sheep happened in (Jacob's) marriage, not in Moses' marriage. The story will be mentioned, if God, Exalted is He, wills. So, be aware of that.[117]

{518} Subsequently, (the Book of Genesis) says: 'After these events God tested Abraham, and said to him: "Take your only son Isaac whom you love, and go with him to such-and-such a land, and offer him as a sacrifice to Me on one of the mountains".' And it mentions the story of the intended sacrifice and his ransom with a ram until it says: 'The angel of the Lord called to him and said: "God is saying to you: Lo! I have sworn, as you have not withheld with niggardliness your only son from Me, that I shall surely bless you and multiply your descendants like the stars of the heaven and the sand on the seashore. Your descendants shall inherit the land of their enemies. By your descendants, other nations on the earth shall be also blessed".'[118]

{519} I say: Know that the Muslims have disagreed as to which of the two sons of Abraham was the (intended) sacrifice. One group said: 'It is Isaac, just as in the Torah,' while others said: 'It is Ishmael.' Both opinions are found in two reports from Imām Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal].[119] There is also a group that has favoured both opinions, but the preferred opinion, which is indicated by the explicit meaning of the Qur'an and the sayings of most scholars and which is also deducible from the purport of the Torah, is that it was Ishmael.[120] However, the Torah's text on this matter has been altered and changed. As for the explicit meaning of the Qur'an, God, Glorified is He, narrates the story of the (intended) sacrifice in full in *sūrat al-Ṣāffāt*.[121] Then He follows that up with His words: 'And We gave him the glad tidings of Isaac, a prophet of

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115 Q 28:27.
116 See Genesis 29:18–20.
117 See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 540.
118 See Genesis 22:1–18.
119 See Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1/297, 306.
120 Ṭūfī discusses the very same topic in his Qur'an commentary. See *Ishārāt*, vol. III, pp. 170–173.
121 Q 37:101–111.

منه أنه حكى قصّته على الترتيب في الواقع كما حكى في التوراة. ويدلّ عليه أنه ابتدأ بذكر جهاده قومَه وتكسير أصنامهم وما كادوه به من وضعهم له في النار إلى قوله: ﴿فَأَرَادُوا بِهِ كَيْداً فَجَعَلْنَاهُمُ ٱلْأَسْفَلِينَ﴾. ثم[113] قال: ﴿وَقَالَ إِنِّي ذَاهِبٌ إِلَىٰ رَبِّي سَيَهْدِينِ. رَبِّ هَبْ لِي مِنَ الصَّالِحِينَ. فَبَشَّرْنَاهُ بِغُلَامٍ حَلِيمٍ﴾. وساق القصّة مرتّبة إلى قوله: ﴿وَبَشَّرْنَاهُ بِإِسْحَاقَ﴾. وهذا ظاهر في قصد الترتيب الوجودي، وإن لم يكن الواو للترتيب.

{520} وأيضاً فإنّ الله سبحانه وصف الذبيح بأنه حليم بقوله: ﴿وَبَشَّرْنَاهُ بِغُلَامٍ حَلِيمٍ﴾. ونحن إذا نظرنا بعين التحقيق، وجدنا الحلم في بني إسماعيل أغلب منه في بني إسحاق. وبيان ذلك أنّ أكمل بني إسماعيل محمّد، وأكمل بني إسحاق موسى كليم الله عليهما السلام.[114] وإذا نظر في سيرتهما، وقوبل بين حلميهما، وجد بينهما بون عظيم. فمن ذلك أنّ موسى لمّا استغاثه الإسرائيلي على القبطي، بادر به فوكزه، فمات، حتى عاتبه الله على ذلك وقال:[115] إنه ﴿مِنْ عَمَلِ الشَّيْطَانِ. إِنَّهُ عَدُوٌّ || مُضِلٌّ مُبِينٌ﴾. ظ264
ومحمّد صلّى الله عليه[116] مرّ بعمّار وأمّه وهما يعذَّبان في الله، فقال: "صبراً[117] آلَ سُمَيّةَ،[118] فإنّ موعدكم

[113] ش – ثم. [114] ك – عليهما السلام. [115] ك: فقال. [116] ك: ومحمّد عليه السلم. [117] ش – صبراً. [118] ش هـ: آل ياسر.

the righteous.'[122] Its explicit meaning is that He narrates this story according to the sequence of what happened, just as He narrates it in the Torah. This is indicated by the fact that He begins by mentioning (Abraham's) fighting his people, and smashing their idols, and what they plotted against him, namely, casting him into the fire,[123] until He says: 'And they sought a plot against him, but We made them the lowest.'[124] Then, He says: 'And he said: Lo! I am going to my Lord Who shall guide me! My Lord! Grant me one of the righteous! So, We gave him the glad tidings of a clement boy.'[125] And He continues the story in the sequence (of events) until He says: 'We gave him the glad tidings of Isaac.'[126] This is clearly the intention of the sequence, even if the (conjunction) *wāw* does not stand for the sequence of events.

{520} Furthermore, by His words: 'So We gave him the glad tidings of a clement boy,'[127] God, Glorified is He, describes the (intended) sacrifice to be clement. If we observe with a careful eye, we find clemency[128] to be more abundant among the children of Ishmael than among the children of Isaac. The demonstration of this is that the most perfect of the children of Ishmael is Muḥammad, and the most perfect of the children of Isaac is Moses, God's interlocutor, peace be upon them both. When their biographies are examined and (the manifestations of) their clemency are compared with each other, a great difference is discerned between the two. Illustrating this is the incident in which an Israelite called Moses for help against a Copt, whereupon he ran up to him and struck him with his fist, and he died—so that even God reproved (Moses) for that and said that this is 'of the Devil's doing. Lo! He is an enemy, a mere misleader.'[129] Muḥammad, may God bless 264b
him, however, passed by ʿAmmār and his mother when they were being tortured for the sake of God, and said: 'Patience, O family of Sumayya! For truly your appointed place is the Garden.'[130] He could have violently attacked

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122 Q 37:112.
123 Q 37:83–97.
124 Q 37:98.
125 Q 37:99–101.
126 Q 37:112.
127 Q 37:101.
128 Based on Ignaz Goldziher's analysis that *ḥilm* includes characteristics such as 'forbearance, patience, clemency and freedom,' and stands in opposition to *jahl*, Toshihiko Izutsu finds *ḥilm* to be an Arabic equivalent of the Greek *ataraxia*, tranquillity of the soul, and defines it as 'a freedom from being moved and stirred up on the smallest provocation.' (T. Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'ān*, Montreal, 2002, pp. 28, 31 and 69).
129 Q 28:15.
130 Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, vol. I, p. 342.

الجنّة". وكان قادراً أن يبطش بمن حولها من الكفّار. ثمّ يستنجد ربّه، فينجده بما أنجده به[119] حين أراد[120] أبو جهل أن يرمي الحجر على رأسه وهو يصلّي، أو يستنجد عشيرتَه بني هاشم، أو يهرب كما فعل موسى. هذا أقلّ ما يقال. لكنّه كان أوقر[121] وأحلم وأثبت.

{521} ومن ذلك أنّ موسى عليه السلام لمّا عاد من[122] ميقات ربّه ووجد قومه عاكفين على العجل، ألقى الألواح فكسّرها. وبادر إلى هارون، فأخذ بلحيته حتى عطّفه بقوله: ﴿يَا بْنَ أُمَّ لاَ تَأْخُذْ بِلِحْيَتِي وَلاَ بِرَأْسِي﴾ وأبان له عذره. ولمّا قتل الخضر الغلام بادر موسى عليه السلام،[123] فأخذ[124] برجله، وأراد أن يلقيه في البحر. ولمّا فرّ الحجر بثوبه تبعه[125] يعدو،[126] وطفق يضربه بالعصا حتى أثّر فيه آثاراً. ولمّا قذفه قارون وأمر الله الأرض بطاعة موسى، أمرها فاخذته. فجعل قارون يستغيث به، ولا يعرّج عليه حتى عاتبه الله[127] فيه وقال: "يستغيث بك، ولا تجيره؟ لو استغاث بي، لأجرته!"

{522} ومحمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم[128] يقول: "لو سمعت شعرها قبل هذا – يعني قُتيلةَ – لما قتلته"، يعني أخاها النضر بن الحارث.[129] ولمّا قيل له: "إنّ هذه قسمة لم يُرَد بها وجه الله"، قال: "قد أوذي موسى بأكثر من هذا، فصبر". ولمّا قال له الأنصاريّ: "أن كان ابن عمّتك؟" في قصّة شراج الحرّة،

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[119] ش – به. [120] ش: أدل. [121] ك: اوفر. [122] ك: عن. [123] ك – عليه السلام. [124] ش: واخذ. [125] ك – تبعه.
[126] ك: يعدوا. [127] ش – الله. [128] ك: ومحمد عليه السلم. [129] ش: الحرث.

any of the unbelievers who were around them. Moreover, he could have sought aid from his Lord, and He would have aided him with that He aided him with at the time when Abū Jahl intended to cast a stone onto his head while he was praying, or he could have sought aid from his clan, i.e. the Banū Hāshim, or else he could have fled just as Moses did. This is the least of what can be said. Nevertheless, he was more composed, more clement, and more stable.

{521} Among these proofs is that when Moses, peace be upon him, returned from the appointed time with his Lord and found his folk bowing down to the calf, he threw down the tablets and shattered them. He ran up to Aaron, and seized his beard until (Aaron) softened (Moses') heart by saying: 'O son of my mother, seize me not by my beard, nor by my head,'[131] and explained his excuse to him.[132] Further, when Khiḍr killed a boy, Moses, peace be upon him, ran up and seized him by his leg and wanted to throw him into the sea.[133] And when the stone ran away with (Moses') clothes, he ran after it and began to strike it with the staff until marks appeared on it.[134] And when Karun threw him down and God commanded the earth to obey Moses, he commanded the earth, and it swallowed (Karun) up. Then, Karun began to call him for help, but he did not turn to him until God reproved him for that, saying: 'He is calling you for help, and you are not rescuing him? Had he called Me for help, surely I would have rescued him!'[135]

{522} However, Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, said: 'Had I heard her poem before this—meaning Qutayla—I would not have killed him,' meaning her brother al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith.[136] And when he was told: 'This is a portion by which God's countenance has not been sought,' he said: 'Moses was harmed by more than this, yet he endured patiently.'[137]

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131 Q 20:94.

132 See Exodus 32:19–24.

133 See Wathīma, *Kitāb bad' al-khalq*, p. 30.

134 See ibid., p. 34.

135 See Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, vol. XX, pp. 125–128.

136 See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Kitāb mu'jam al-buldān*, vol. I, p. 122. As reported by Ibn Isḥāq in his *Sīra*, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, an eminent man of Quraysh, was one of the fierce opponents of the Prophet, insulting him publicly and showing great enmity. He faught at the Battle of Badr alongside other Meccan polytheists, after which he fell captive and was later killed. It is after this incident that his sister Qutayla bint al-Ḥārith recited a poem weeping for the loss of her brother (see Guillaume, *The Life of Muḥammad*, pp. 136, 162–163, 308 and 360). Ṭūfī also discusses al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith's account in his *Intiṣārāt* (vol. II, pp. 612–613).

137 See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Farḍ al-khams" 19, "Maghāzī" 58, "Adab" 71; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Zakāt" 47.

غضب ولم يفعل غير أن استوفى للزبير حقّه في صريح الحكم. وكان يبالغ الكفّار في أذاه، وهو يقول: "اللّهمّ اغفر لقومي، فإنهم لا يعلمون". وضرب يوم أحد، فشُجَّ وجهه. فجعل يمسح الدم ويقول: "كيف يفلح قوم أدمّوا وجه نبيّهم، وهو يدعوهم إلى الله". هذا مع أنّ موسى صلوات الله عليه إنّما كانت غضباته في الله ولله، ولكنّها كانت تخرجه في بعض الأوقات عن حال مثله، ومحمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم[130] لم يخرج عن ذلك مع أنّ غضبه لله كان[131] هو ما هو.

{523} وأيضاً فمن قابل[132] حلم حلماء العرب المشهورين، كقيس بن عاصم، والأحنف بن قيس، وخلفاء النبيّ الأربعة في ولايتهم وقبلها، وأهل البيت وما حكي عنهم من الحلم، ومعاوية بن أبي سفيان في بني عبد شمس الذين يقول فيهم الشاعر:

حين بانت بنو[133] أميّة عنه والبهاليلُ من بني عبد شمسِ

خطباءٌ على المنابر فرسانٌ على الخيل قالةٌ غيرُ خُرّسِ‖ و265

بحلومٍ إذ الحلوم استُخفّت ووجوهٍ مثل الدنانير مُلّسِ

بحلوم آحاد بني إسرائيل، لم تجد بين الحلمين نسبةً. وكذلك رعاع العرب مع رعاع بني إسرائيل. فقد بان أنّ آثار الحلم أظهر في بني إسماعيل منها في بني إسحاق. والموصوف بالحلم في القرآن هو الذبيح.

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[130] ك: ومحمد عليه السلام. [131] ش –كان. [132] ك: قايل. [133] ش ك: بنوا.

Further, when someone from the Helpers (*Anṣār*) told him: 'Is it because he is your aunt's son?' in the account of the water canals of Ḥarra, he became angry, but did not do anything except that he let Zubayr have his full share with a clear decree.[138] The unbelievers used to do their utmost in harming him, but he would say: 'O God, forgive my people, for they do not know.'[139] He was struck on the day of the Battle of Uḥud, and the skin of his face was split open. He began to wipe off the blood, saying: 'How can a people prosper, who stain the face of their prophet with blood when he is calling them to God!'[140] Although the angry outbursts of Moses, may the blessings of God be upon him, were only about God and for the sake of God, at certain times they would take him out of the state of those of his position, whereas Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, did not leave that state, although his anger for the sake of God was as it was.

{523} Moreover, he who compares the clemency of the famous clement people among the Arabs—such as Qays b. ʿĀṣim, al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, the four successors of the Prophet during their rule and before that, the Household of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) and what is narrated concerning them regarding clemency, and Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān among the Banū ʿAbd Shams about whom the poet[141] says: 'While the Banū Umayya distance themselves from it [i.e. the quality of clemency],[142] the noble chiefs among the Banū ʿAbd Shams are preachers on the pulpits, riders on horses, speakers and not dumb due to their qualities of clemency, when the qualities of clemency 265a
are valued lightly [by the Banū Umayya], and due to their faces that are in the likeness of smooth golden coins'[143]—to the qualities of clemency among the individuals of the children of Israel, will find no affinity between the two kinds of clemency. Likewise is the rabble of the Arabs in comparison with the rabble of the children of Israel. Thus it becomes clear that the traces

[138] See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Masāqāt" 7, "Ṣulḥ" 12, "Tafsīr al-Nisāʾ" 12; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Faḍāʾil" 36; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Aqḍiya" 31; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Aḥkām" 26, "Tafsīr al-Qurʾān" 5; Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, "Adab al-quḍāh" 19, 27; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Muqaddima" 2, "Ruhūn" 20.

[139] See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Aḥādīth al-anbiyāʾ" 57, "Istatābat al-murtaddīn" 5; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "al-Jihād wa-al-siyar" 37; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Fitan" 23.

[140] See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Maghāzī" 22; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "al-Jihād wa-al-siyar" 37; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Tafsīr al-Qurʾān" 4; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Fitan" 23.

[141] Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aʿmā, a poet from Mecca (d. ca 100/718).

[142] If read *ghābat* instead of *bānat*, as found in the published edition of the poem, then it could be translated as 'While the Banū Umayya are lacking it (or are unacquainted with it) [i.e. the quality of clemency]'.

[143] See M.b. Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut, 1974, vol. II, p. 40.

فدلّ على أنّ الذبيح هو إسماعيل.

{524} وأمّا أقوال العلماء، فروي عن ابن عبّاس أنه قال: "الذبيح إسماعيل"، واحتجّ بقوله تعالى: ﴿وَفَدَيْنَاهُ بِذِبْحٍ عَظِيمٍ﴾، ﴿وَبَشَّرْنَاهُ بِإِسْحَاقَ﴾. ووجه دلالته ما قرّرناه آنفاً. وعن الحسن البصريّ أنه كان لا يشكّ أنه إسماعيل. وقال أبو معشر عن محمّد بن قيس قال: "دخل رأس الجالوت على عمر بن عبد العزيز، فقال له عمر: "أيّ ابنيْ إبراهيم أُمر أن يذبح؟" فقال: "إسحاق". قال: "ويحك! أما تجدون في كتابكم أن "اذبح لى ابنك الوحدانيّ"؟" قال: "بلى، ولكنّ اليهود يحسد العرب"." ذكر هذه الآثار وثيمة بإسناده في **القصص**. ولم يذكر وثيمة أنّ أحداً من السلف قال هو إسحاق إلاّ كعب الأحبار،[134] وهو إمّا حاكٍ أو معتقد لما في التوراة.

{525} قلت: ووجه احتجاج عمر من قوله: "اذبح لي ابنك الوحدانيّ"، هو أنّ هذه الصفة لا تتصوّر إلاّ في إسماعيل، لأنه الذي ولد له أوّلاً وبقي وحداناً أربع عشر سنةً حتى ولد إسحاق. فبعد ولادته لم تبق هذه الصفة تصدق على واحد منهما، لأنّ صفة الوحدة زالت عنه بصاحبه.

{526} فإن قال قائل: إنه أراد الوحدانيّ في محبّتك له، وإيثاره على صاحبه، وهو إسحاق.

[134] ش: الحبر.

of clemency are more visible among the children of Ishmael than they are among the children of Isaac. The one to whom clemency is attributed to in the Qur'an is the (intended) sacrifice. So, this indicates that the (intended) sacrifice was Ishmael.

{524} As for the opinions of the scholars, it is reported from Ibn ʿAbbās that he said: 'The (intended) sacrifice was Ishmael,' and he based his argument on the words of (God), the Exalted: 'Then We ransomed him with a great sacrifice,'[144] 'And we gave him the glad tidings of Isaac.'[145] The manner of its indication is as we have established above. Furthermore, it is reported from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī that he did not doubt that this was Ishmael. And Abū Maʿshar says, as reported from Muḥammad b. Qays: 'The Exilarch [i.e. the head of the Jewish community] came to see ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and ʿUmar said to him: "Which of his two sons was Abraham commanded to sacrifice?" And he said: "Isaac." He said: "Woe unto you! Do you not find in your scripture, 'Sacrifice your single son for Me'?"[146] He said: "Yes, but the Jews envy the Arabs".'[147] Wathīma mentions these accounts with his *isnād* (chain of transmission) in his *al-Qaṣaṣ*.[148] And Wathīma does not mention anyone among the *Salaf* (early generation of Muslims) who claimed he was Isaac except Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, who might have been either quoting from or believing in what is found in the Torah (on this matter).

{525} I say: The way ʿUmar uses as an argument the words of God: 'Sacrifice your single son for Me,' shows that this attribute cannot possibly be applied to anyone other than Ishmael, for he is the one who was born to (Abraham) first and remained the 'single' (son) for fourteen years until Isaac was born. Then after his birth, this attribute no longer applied to either of the two, because the attribute of singleness ceased to be applicable to any of them due to the existence of the other.

{526} If someone says: Truly, (God) meant 'the single (son) in your love for him and in preferring him to the other', and that is Isaac.

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144 Q 37:107.

145 Q 37:112.

146 See Genesis 22:2, 12, 16.

147 This account is also mentioned by Ibn Kathīr in his *Bidāya*, vol. I, p. 151; *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, p. 18.

148 This must have been in the first part of Wathīma's work which is lost. As pointed out earlier (see p. 161, fn. 45), only the second part of this work, from the story of Khiḍr to the account of the Light of Muḥammad, is extant and published.

{527} قلنا: هذه دعوى تحتاج إلى حجّة، وسيأتي الكلام عليها. وهذا البحث كلّه مع المخالفين من المسلمين، إذ اليهود لا تقوم عليهم الحجّة بما ذكرناه.

{528} ومن المسلمين من احتجّ على أنّ الذبيح إسحاق بقوله تعالى: ﴿وَاذْكُرْ عِبَادَنَا إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْحَاقَ وَيَعْقُوبَ أُولِي الْأَيْدِي وَالْأَبْصَارِ إِنَّا أَخْلَصْنَاهُمْ بِخَالِصَةٍ ذِكْرَى الدَّارِ﴾. ومعناه أنه أخلصهم بالامتحان بالبلاء فإبراهيم بالنار، وإسحاق بالذبح، ويعقوب بفراق يوسف، وغيره. والجواب أنّ هذا ليس نصاً في المطلوب، بل هو[135] إمّا ظاهر أو محتمل. وعندنا ما يعارضه أبين منه، وهو قوله سبحانه في سورة الأنبياء: ﴿وَإِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِدْرِيسَ وَذَا الْكِفْلِ كُلٌّ مِنَ الصَّابِرِينَ﴾. فجعل إسماعيل من الصابرين، والصبر لا يكون إلاّ على بلاء. وهذا أولى أن يُستدلّ به على أنه الذبيح، لأنه الوصف الذي وصفه به في قصّة الذبيح || حيث قال: ﴿سَتَجِدُنِي إِنْ شَاءَ اللهُ مِنَ الصَّابِرِينَ﴾. وأمّا المستفاد من فحوى التوراة، فقوله: "خذ ابنك وحيدك". وإسحاق لم يتّصف بصفة الوحدة ذلك الوقت قطّ. إنّما ذلك إسماعيل، كما سبق في توجيه استدلال عمر بن عبد العزيز بقوله: "ابنك الوحدانيّ". ظ265

{529} وقوله: "الذي تحبّه" يدلّ على أنه إسماعيل، لأنه كان بكره وأوّل ما فرح به من الولد. والعادة في طباع الناس أنّ الإنسان[136] يحبّ من كان كذلك من ولده أكثر. وقد يعارَض هذا بقضيّة عبد المطّلب حيث كان عبد الله ابنه أحبّ ولده إليه وكان أصغرهم. لكنّا نجيب عنه بأنه إنّما كان كذلك لما كان في وجهه من نور نبوّة نبيّنا محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم.[137] وبهذا بعينه يرجَّح أنّ إسماعيل كان

[135] ك – هو. [136] ش – أن الإنسان. [137] ك: محمد عليه السلام.

{527} We say: This claim requires a proof, and a discourse against it will follow. However, the whole of this investigation is concerned with the opponents among the Muslims, because no proof can be furnished against the Jews due to (their envy of the Arabs), which we have mentioned above.

{528} Among the Muslims there are those who base their argument that the intended sacrifice was Isaac on the words of God, the Exalted: 'And make mention of our servants, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, possessors of power and vision. Lo! We purified them by a pure quality, remembrance of the (final) abode.'[149] This means that He purified them by testing them with affliction; Abraham with fire, Isaac with sacrifice, and Jacob with Joseph's separation and other things. The response is that this does not constitute an explicit statement in favour of what is suggested, rather, the matter could be either obvious or probable. In our opinion, the opposing view is clearer than this one, and it comprises the words of God, Glorified is He, in *sūrat al-Anbiyā'*, 'And (mention) Ishmael, Idris, and Dhū al-Kifl. All were of the patient ones.'[150] For He placed Ishmael among the patient ones, and patience cannot exist without an affliction. It is more appropriate to deduce from this that he was the (intended) sacrifice, because this is the attribute by which He describes him in the story of the sacrifice where he says: 'God willing, 265b
you shall find me of the patient ones.'[151] As for what is deducible from the purport of the Torah, it consists of His words: 'Take your only son.'[152] Isaac could certainly not be ascribed the attribute of singleness at that time. That could only be Ishmael, as was mentioned above regarding the way 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz deduced his argument from His words: 'Your single son.'

{529} Also His words: 'whom you love,'[153] indicate that this was Ishmael, because he was his firstborn and the first child he rejoiced at. The norm according to human nature is that a human being tends to love more the one who holds this position among his children. One may oppose this with the case of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, as his son 'Abdallah was the most beloved child to him, and yet he was the youngest of them. However, we respond to this by saying that it was so only because of that which showed on his face of the light of the prophethood of our Prophet Muḥammad, may God bless him

149 Q 38:45–46.
150 Q 21:85.
151 Q 37:102.
152 Genesis 22:2, 12, 16.
153 Genesis 22:2.

أحبّ ولدي إبراهيم إليه. ويقال: إنّ لفظ التوراة كان قبل التحريف "اذبح ابنك بكرك".[138] وقد ثبت أنه إسماعيل.

{530} وقوله: "وأكثّر خلفك كنجوم السماء والرمل"، والعرب أكثر من بني إسرائيل بن إسحاق. وكلّما جاءوا في قلّة، والعرب في كثرة. وكذلك قوله: "ويرث خلفك أرض أعدائهم". وهذا في سياق ذكر الذبيح. فيكون خلف إبراهيم من جهة الذبيح أولى بذلك. والعرب بنو إسماعيل هم الذين ورثوا أرض اليهود وكثيراً من أرض النصارى.

{531} وقوله: "يتبرّك بخلفك سائر الشعوب"، وهذه صفة العرب. عمّت بركتهم شعبهم بإقامة التوحيد، وشعبَ بني[139] إسرائيل بإقامة العدل فيهم وإقرارهم بالجزية. وإلاّ، فهم يستحقّون القتل على كفرهم بإنكارهم نبوّة محمّد عليه السلام.

{532} وذكر أنّ إسحاق توجّه إلى أبيمالخ[140] ملك أهل فلسطين، فتراءى الله له، وقال له كما قال لإبراهيم حين عزم على ذبح ولده، ووعده كذلك.

{533} فإن صحّ هذا، لم يناف حملَنا لما وعد به إبراهيم من ذلك على ولد إسماعيل، لجواز أن يكون البركة وتكثير العدد في[141] ولدهما جميعاً.[142] وقد أنجز الله في بني إسحاق حيث أورثهم أرض فرعون والعمالقة وغيرهم، وفي بني إسماعيل حيث جعلهم بعدهم في أرضهم وغيرها إلى الآن.

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[138] ش: بكفك. [139] ك – بني. [140] ش: ايتمالخ. [141] ش – العدد في. [142] ك – جميعا.

and grant him peace. In the very same way, one may favour the opinion that Ishmael was the more beloved one of Abraham's two children to him. And one may also say that before the alteration the Torah's text read: 'Sacrifice your firstborn son.' And indeed it is proven that this was Ishmael.

{530} As for His words: 'And I shall multiply your descendants like the stars of the heaven and the sand,'[154] the Arabs are more numerous than the children of Israel, the son of Isaac. Whenever they decrease in number, the Arabs increase in number. Likewise are His words: 'Your descendants shall inherit the land of their enemies,'[155] which are in the context of the account of the (intended) sacrifice. So, Abraham's descendants by the line of the (intended) sacrifice would be more deserving of that promise. And the Arabs, the children of Ishmael, are the ones who have inherited the land of the Jews and much of the land of the Christians.

{531} As for His statement: 'By your descendants, other nations on the earth shall be also blessed,'[156] this is the attribute of the Arabs. Their blessing encompasses their own nation for they established monotheism, and it encompasses the children of Israel for they established justice among them and instituted the poll tax for them. Otherwise, they would have deserved to be killed because of their unbelief in denying the prophethood of Muḥammad, peace be upon him.

{532} It is mentioned that Isaac headed for Abimelech, the king of the people of Palestine, and God appeared to him and spoke to him just as He spoke to Abraham at the time when he was resolved to sacrifice his child, and promised him the same thing.[157]

{533} If this is authentic, then it does not contradict our understanding that these things which He had promised to Abraham refer to the children of Ishmael, because it is possible that the blessings and multiplication in numbers (of progeny) may refer to both of his children. God has indeed carried this out with regard to the children of Isaac when He made them inherit the lands of Pharaoh, the Amalekites and others, and with regard to the children of Ishmael when He made them successors of the former [i.e. the children of Isaac] in their lands and others until now.

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[154] Genesis 22:17.
[155] Genesis 22:17.
[156] Genesis 22:18.
[157] Genesis 26:1–4.

{534} وذكر[143] أنّ إبراهيم، لمّا ماتت سارة، طلب مغارة عفرون بن صاغر ليدفنها فيها. فلمّا أجابه عفرون إلى ذلك مع ملاطفة في الكلام، سجد إبراهيم قدّام شعب الأرض كلّه. وذكر قبل ذلك أنه سجد لشعب الأرض.

{535} وهذا لا محذور فيه بناءً على أنّ ذلك كان تحيّتهم.[144] ففعله إبراهيم تحيّةً وشكراً للإحسان، لا على سبيل العبادة. وهذا يردّ على من قدح في صدق قوله تعالى في سورة يوسف: ﴿وَرَفَعَ أَبَوَيْهِ عَلَى الْعَرْشِ وَخَرُّوا لَهُ سُجَّداً﴾، لأنّ السجود إذا ثبت أنه من ملّة إبراهيم شكراً للمنعم، فيوسف كان أمنَّ على إخوته وأبويه أو أبيه وخالته على خلاف في ذلك من عفرون على إبراهيم، فهم أولى بالسجود شكراً.

{536} وذكر أنّ إسماعيل ولد اثني عشر شريفاً: نَبَيوث وقيذر وأَدبِيل ومبْسَم ومشْمَع || وذوما وماسّا 266و
وجادر وتِيما وناظور ونافِش وقادَم.

{537} قلت: وقد سبق أنه وعد أن يولد لإسماعيل اثنا عشر شريفاً، لكن هؤلاء لم يشتهروا شهرة محمّد في الاثني عشر المذكورين من أصحابه. فحمل الخطاب المذكور عليهم أولى.

{538} وذكر أنّ إسحاق لمّا دخل أرض أبيمالخ،[145] وكانت زوجته رفقا بنت عمّه جميلة، فقال: "إنها أختي". وإنّ أبيمالخ[146] أشرف يوماً من طاقة، فوجد إسحاق يلاعب امرأته، فقال له: "ما صنعت؟ لقد كاد[147] رجل من شعبنا يضاجع هذه المرأة، وهي امرأتك، فلم تخبرنا. ولقد كادت تلحقنا الخطيئة!"

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[143] ش هـ: مطلب في جواز السجود على الآدميين مكان تحيّة. [144] ك: يحيّتهم. [145] ش: ايتالخ. [146] ش: ايتمالخ.
[147] ش: كان.

{534} It is mentioned that when Sarah died, Abraham requested the cave of Ephron, son of Zohar, in order to bury her therein. And when Ephron complied with his request with amiable speech, Abraham prostrated himself before all the people of the land.[158] It was also mentioned before that he prostrated himself to the people of the land.[159]

{535} There is no harm in this, provided that this was their manner of greeting. So, Abraham did this as an act of greeting and as thanks for the kindness offered, not by way of worship. This also refutes the one who impugned the truthfulness of the words of God, Exalted is He, in *sūrat Yūsuf*, 'And he raised his parents upon the throne, and they fell down before him, prostrate',[160] since if it is proven that prostration out of thankfulness to the benefactor is part of Abraham's tradition, then Joseph was more bountiful to his brothers and his parents, or his father and his aunt, than Ephron to Abraham in that regard. Therefore, they are more entitled to prostrate themselves out of thankfulness.[161]

{536} It is mentioned that Ishmael begot twelve nobles: Nebaioth, Kedar, Areel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Jader, Tema, Nazor, Naphish, and Kadem.[162] 266a

{537} I say: It has been previously mentioned that it was promised that twelve nobles would be born to Ishmael,[163] however those did not reach the fame of Muḥammad with regard to the twelve aforementioned individuals from among his companions. Thus, it is more befitting to interpret this speech as referring to them.

{538} It is mentioned that when Isaac entered the land of Abimelech, and his wife Rebekah, daughter of his uncle, was beautiful, he said: 'Truly, she is my sister.' But one day Abimelech looked down from a window, and found Isaac playing with his wife and said to him: 'What have you done? A man from our nation almost lay with this woman, when she is your wife, and you have not informed us. We were almost overtaken by sin!'[164]

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158 See Genesis 23:8–12.

159 Genesis 23:7.

160 Q 12:100.

161 Ṭūfī will later mention this again in §§ 550 and 564. He also discusses this thoroughly in his apology for Islam where he refutes the anonymous Christian author's arguments (see *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, pp. 312–313 and 320–324).

162 Genesis 25:13–16.

163 See Genesis 17:20; Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, §§ 500–503.

164 Genesis 26:7–10.

{539} قلت: ففي هذا ردّ على من قدح في طهارة محمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم،[148] من النصارى، بكونه كان يحبّ النساء، ويلاعبهنّ، ويستمتع بهنّ. فهذا إسحاق بن خليل الله قد لاعب امرأته، وسائر الأنبياء كانوا يستمتعون بنسائهم. وإنمّا ذلك شهوة مباحة كأكل الطيّب ولبس الناعم، فلا يقدح في الطهارة. ولعلّ المسيح لو تزوّج وأولد لكان خيراً له وأكمل كسائر الأنبياء. على أنّ في علم المسلمين أنه ينزل في آخر الزمان، فيقتل الدجّال، ويكسر الصليب، ويحرّم الخنزير،[149] ويتزوّج ويولد له، ويدفن إذا مات بالمدينة في حجرة النبيّ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم.

{540} وقد تضمّنت التوراة أنّ[150] إبراهيم وإسحاق تواطأت قصّتاهما في إخبار كلّ منهما بأنّ زوجته أخته، لما خاف من غائلة الإخبار بالزوجيّة. فلا يبعد أنّ قصّة يعقوب وموسى توافقا في أنّ كلاً منهما آجر نفسَه بصداق امرأته حتى تزوّج. وبهذا يردّ على من قدح في صحّة إخبار محمّد بقوله: ﴿عَلَى أَنْ تَأْجُرَنِي ثَمَانِيَ حِجَجٍ﴾، وزعم أنّ ذلك خاصاً بيعقوب بناءً على أنّ التوراة لم تتضمّنه. وليس ذلك بشيء، فإنّا ندّعي تحريف التوراة. وبتقدير التسليم نقول: التوراة لم تتضمّن جميع تفاصيل ما وقع لموسى وغيره، ولعلّ هذا ممّا أخلّت به.

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[148] ك: محمد عليه السلام. [149] ك – ويكسر الصليب ويحرم الخنزير. [150] ك – وقد تضمنت التوراة أن (بياض، أي ممحي غير مقروء) ، + و.

{539} I say: In this report there is a refutation of a certain man among the Christians who impugned the purity of Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, for having been a man who used to love women, play with them and enjoy them. And here is Isaac, the son of God's friend, playing with his wife, and the other prophets also used to enjoy their wives. This is only a lawful desire, just like eating pleasant food and wearing fine clothes; hence its purity cannot be impugned. Perhaps, had Christ married and begotten, it would have been better for him and more perfect, as it was for the other prophets. However, according to the knowledge the Muslims possess, he will descend at the end of time, kill the Antichrist, break the cross, make pork unlawful,[165] get married and have children,[166] and when he dies in Medina he will be buried in the chamber of the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace.[167]

{540} The Torah contains evidence that both of the stories of Abraham and Isaac are in agreement regarding the fact that each one of them declared his wife to be his sister, since they feared the danger of declaring their marital relationship. Therefore, it is not far-fetched to also say that the accounts of Jacob and Moses coincide with one another regarding the fact that each one of them offered his employment as a bridal dowry until he was married. Hereby one may refute the one who impugned the truthfulness of Muḥammad's proclaiming His words: 'on condition that you serve me for eight years,'[168] and who claimed that this was a particular case with regard to Jacob, relying on the fact that the Torah does not contain (the account about Moses). However, this does not matter, for we claim the Torah was altered. Yet assuming we accepted its authenticity, we would say: the Torah does not contain all the details of what happened to Moses and others. So, perhaps this is one of the things omitted.[169]

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[165] See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Buyūʿ" 102, "Maẓālim" 31, "Aḥādīth al-Anbiyāʾ" 52; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Īmān" 73; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Malāḥim" 14; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Fitan" 54; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, "Fitan" 33. Ṭūfī previously referred to this *ḥadīth* in §§ 127 and 243.

[166] According to a *ḥadīth*, the Prophet reportedly said that when Jesus son of Mary descends to the earth he will get married and have children, remain 45 years, and then die and be buried where the Prophet is buried, i.e. between the tombs of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. The *ḥadīth* is quoted by Ibn al-Jawzī in his *al-Wafā bi-aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. II, p. 814.

[167] Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Manāqib" 1.

[168] Q 28:27.

[169] Ṭūfī referred to the Christian author's comparison between the Biblical story of Jacob's marriage to Laban's two daughters and the Qur'anic story of Moses' marriage to Shuʿayb's daughter earlier in the *Taʿlīq* (§ 517). He would also discuss this topic in detail in his subsequent work, the *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, pp. 325, 337–342).

{541} وذكر أنّ يعقوب لمّا قضى الأجل الذي كان بينه وبين خاله لابان في رعاية الغنم عن مهر ابنته، استأجره ليرعى له مدّة أخرى. وجعل يعقوب أجرته كلّ أَجْلَح يولد من المعز، وكلّ حمل أبقع[151] وملمّع أبيض بسواد، وكلّ أملح ببياض. فرضي[152] لابان، وأخرج عن غنمه كلّ فَحْل خالطه لونان، وأبعد بيعقوب وما معه من الغنم عن بقيّة رعاته ثلاثة أيّام. فأوحى الله إلى || يعقوب أن: "خذ القضبان الرطبة من اللوز والدلب، فقشّرها حتى يظهر بياضها، وانصبها في موارد الغنم حيث تأتي لتشرب". ففعل يعقوب ذلك، فكانت الغنم إذا أقبلت تفزع[153] وترجع إلى ورائها. فتضطرب الأجنّة في بطونها، يعني فتتكيّف بكيفيّة البياض مع سوادها في أنفسها، فتَنتِج بُقعاً ومُلحاً وجُلحاً ومُتمَّرةً حتى صار له من ذلك شيءٌ كثير. وكان أوّل نتاجها ليعقوب وآخره لخاله لابان. ظ266

{542} قلت: هذا سبب مشهور مؤثّر في أنّ الجنين يتكيّف بكيفيّة ما تراه الأمّ، وهو من الأسباب التي يأتي لها ابن الأسودين أبيض وابن الأبيضين أسود. وقد نصّ على ذلك الحكماء.

{543} وذكر بعد هذا أنّ يعقوب أخبر أنه رأى في المنام أنّ الفحول التي تسفد الغنم جلح وبقع ومتمّرة.

{544} قلت: فهذا يحتمل أنّ هذا[154] بشرى ليعقوب: "أنّ النتاج يأتي على الصفة التي اشترطتَ لنفسك". فيكون هذا من باب التنبيه بالسبب على المسبَّب، لأنّ كون الفحل أملحَ سببٌ لمجيء نتاجه كذلك. وإنّما السبب الذي جاء النتاج له على ما وصف يعقوب هو ما ذكر أوّلاً من القضبان

[151] ش: ايقع. [152] ك: فرهى. [153] ش: تفرع. [154] ش ك: هدى.

{541} It is mentioned that when Jacob fulfilled the term which had been agreed between him and his uncle Laban for herding the flock as a bridal dowry for his daughter, (Laban) hired (Jacob) to herd for him for another period of time. And Jacob arranged his hire to consist of all hornless goats, and all the speckled young, the white ones with black spots, and all the greyish ones with white spots. And Laban approved it, and removed from his flock every male of two mixed colours, and distanced Jacob and that part of the flock which was with him from the rest of his shepherds (a distance of) three days' (journey). Then God revealed to Jacob to 'Take 266b
fresh twigs of almond and plane-tree, and peel them until their white stems appear, and set them up in the watering places of the flock as they come to drink.' And Jacob did so, and when the flock approached they would get frightened[170] and turn back. So the young in their wombs would be in a state of commotion, meaning they would take on the form of whiteness with its blackness, and come forth speckled, greyish, hornless, and white-and-black spotted until he had a great number of them. The first of their offspring belonged to Jacob, while the last of them belonged to his uncle Laban.[171]

{542} I say: This is a well-known cause that affects the young in the womb, making them take on the form of what their mother sees, and this is one of the reasons that the son of two black people may turn out to be white and the son of two white people, black. Physicians have confirmed this.

{543} Afterwards, it is mentioned that Jacob declared that he had seen in his dream that the male ones which mated with the flock were hornless, speckled, and white-and-black spotted.[172]

{544} I say: It may be that this is an announcement of glad tidings for Jacob 'that the offspring shall come with the attribute you have set as a condition for yourself.' So, this falls under the category of indicating what is caused by the cause, because the male's being greyish can be a cause for its offspring to come forth likewise. However, the cause for the offspring to come forth according to how Jacob described consists of that which was mentioned first, namely, the peeled twigs. It is also possible that God, the Glorified,

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[170] 'They would bring forth the first offspring', according to the reading of the Şehid Ali Paşa MS.

[171] See Genesis 30:31–43.

[172] See Genesis 31:10.

المقشورة. ويحتمل أنّ الله سبحانه خلق فحولاً ملحاً وبقعاً، أو قَلَب ألوان فحول الغنم عند سِفادها كذلك، أو أرسل ملكاً ساق فحول بقيّة غنم لابان[155] التي عزلها عن يعقوب فجاءت فسفدت. ويكون ذلك جزء سبب مضموماً إلى القضبان المقشورة لطفاً ليعقوب ومبالغةً في إعانته. فكلّ[156] ذلك ممكن. فإذا نسب إلى قدرة الله فهو قريب.

{545} وذكر أنّ يعقوب لمّا رجع من حوران أرض خاله لابان إلى كنعان أرض أبيه إسحاق، وجاز بأهله برّيّة يابّق، عرض له رجل، فقاتله، وصارعه إلى أن أسفر الصبح. ورأى أنه لا يطيقه، فدنا منه، ومسّ خاصرته، فوُهنت خاصرة يعقوب. ثم قال ليعقوب: "اطلقني!" قال: "لا، حتى تبارك عليّ!" فقال له: "ما اسمك؟" قال: "يعقوب." قال: "بل أنت إسرائيل، لأنّك قاومت الملك والرجل، فاستطعته". وقال يعقوب للرجل: "ما اسمك؟" فقال: "ما لك ولاسمي؟" ثم بارك على يعقوب. ودعا يعقوب اسم ذلك البلد منظر الله، لأنه رأى الملك || وجهاً لوجه. و267

{546} قلت: ظنّ بعض النصارى أنّ المصارع ليعقوب في هذه القصّة هو الله سبحانه. واحتجّ بذلك وبقضايا أخر على أنّ الله سبحانه له مظاهر يظهر فيها تارةً رجلاً، وتارةً ناراً، وتارةً كبشاً. وجوّز لذلك أن يكون ظهر في ناسوت المسيح. وليس في هذه القصّة في التوراة ما يدلّ على أنّ المصارع له كان[157] هو الله سبحانه. كيف وقد غلبه يعقوب حتى جعل يقول له: "اطلقني! فقد أسفر[158] الفجر"، وهو يقول: "لا، حتى تبارك عليّ!" وإنّما[159] هو ملك من الملائكة.

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[155] ك: لابن. [156] ك: وكل. [157] ش – له كان. [158] ش + الصبح. [159] ش + وانما.

created the male ones greyish and speckled, or turned the colours of the male flock to that during their mating, or else He may have sent an angel who drove the males of the rest of Laban's flock, which he had separated from Jacob, to come and mate. These acts, performed out of (God's) kindness to Jacob and (His) unsparing support for him, may constitute part of the cause in addition to the peeled twigs. So, all this is possible. And when ascribed to God's omnipotence, it is feasible.

{545} It is mentioned that when Jacob was returning from Haran, the land of his uncle Laban, to Canaan, the land of his father Isaac, and was traversing with his family the wilderness of Jabbok, a man appeared to him, fought him and wrestled with him until the morning dawned. (The man) saw that he was not able to overcome (Jacob), so he drew near to him and struck his flank, thus Jacob's flank was weakened. Then, he said to Jacob: 'Let me go!' (Jacob) replied: 'Not until you bless me!' And (the man) asked him: 'What is your name?' He said: 'Jacob.' (The man) said: 'Nay! You are Israel, for you have withstood the angel and the man, and you were able to overpower him.' And Jacob asked the man: 'What is your name?' He said: 'What will you do with my name?' Then, he blessed Jacob. And Jacob called that place *Manẓar Allāh* (Appearance of God), for he saw the angel face to face.[173] 267a

{546} I say: A certain Christian assumed that in this story he who wrestles with Jacob is God, the Glorified.[174] He used this story and other matters as an argument that God, Glorified is He, has various forms in which He appears: sometimes as a man, sometimes as a fire, and sometimes as a ram.[175] Therefore, he thought it possible that God could appear in the human nature of Christ. However, there is nothing in this story in the Torah that would indicate that he who wrestled with him was God Himself, the Glorified. How could it be so, when Jacob defeated him so much so that he was compelled to say to him: 'Let me go! The morning has dawned,' and he replied: 'Not until you bless me!' He was only an angel from among the angels.

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[173] Genesis 32:22–30.

[174] The same quotation also appears in Ṭūfī's *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, p. 445) where this Christian figure is identified as Ibn al-Amthal (or, according to another reading, as Ibn al-Ashal), the archbishop or metropolitan (*maṭrān*) of Homs (Ḥimṣ), who is further described by Ṭūfī as the author of a theological work, *Taqrīr al-thālūth*, discussing the Trinity, the Incarnation and Jesus' divinity (vol. I, p. 423 and vol. II, pp. 686, 694).

[175] As in the cases of Jacob, Moses and Abraham respectively (see ibid., vol. I, p. 445).

{547} وذكر أنّ يعقوب عبر من منظر الله، وهو يعرج من وركه من غمزة الملك له. ولذلك صار في بني إسرائيل عِرْق النسا [لا يؤكل].

{548} قلت: ولعلّه السبب في لحوق عرق النسا لإسرائيل حتى نذر إن شفاه الله منه حرّم أحبّ الأشياء المأكولة إليه، فكان ذلك لحم الجزور. فامتنع منه كما ذكره المفسّرون في قوله تعالى: ﴿كُلُّ الطَّعَامِ كَانَ حِلاًّ لِبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ إِلاَّ مَا حَرَّمَ إِسْرَائِيلُ عَلَى نَفْسِهِ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ تُنَزَّلَ التَّوْرَاةُ﴾.

{549} وذكر أنّ يعقوب سجد لأخيه العيص لمّا التقاه سبع مرّات بالأرض، وسجد له كلّ من معه من أزواجه وإمائه وأولاده حتى يوسف وهو صبيّ.

{550} فيوسف إذ صار ملكاً وسُرّي به حزنُ يعقوب أولى أن يُسجد له. وهذا ردّ على من أنكر سجود يعقوب ليوسف في القرآن، وقد سبق.

{551} وذكر أنّ يعقوب نزل سالِم قرية سجيم في أرض كنعان، وأنّ أبا سجيم بن حمورا سيّد الأرض زنى[160] بجارية يعقوب وابنته وخطبها من يعقوب وبنيه. فغضبوا لذلك فقالوا له: "إن اختتنت أنت وجميع من في قريتك زوّجناك، وكنّا وإيّاك شعباً واحداً". فقبل ذلك واختتن هو وأهل قريته. فدخل بنو يعقوب القرية وأهلها جَرْحَى[161] في ألم الختان، فقتلوا كلّ من فيها، وأخذوا مالهم.

[160] ش ك: زنا. [161] ك – جرحى.

{547} It is mentioned that Jacob left *Manẓar Allāh* limping because of his hip, for the angel had touched it. And it is because of this that the sinew of the thigh became (impermissible to eat) among the children of Israel.[176]

{548} I say: Perhaps the reason why (avoiding) the sinew of the thigh became imperative for Israel lies in the fact that he swore that if God healed him of it, he would make his most beloved food forbidden to himself, and that was the meat of a slaughtered camel. Thus, he abstained from it, as mentioned by the commentators with respect to the words of God, Exalted is He: 'All food was lawful to the children of Israel, except that which Israel forbade to himself, before the Torah was revealed.'[177]

{549} It is mentioned that when Jacob encountered his brother Esau, he prostrated himself onto the ground before him seven times, and also everyone who was with him; his wives, handmaids, and his children, including even Joseph who was a child, all prostrated themselves before him.[178]

{550} Since Joseph became a king and Jacob's grief was removed by him, he is more deserving of being an object of prostration.[179] This is a refutation of he who disapproved of (the story of) Jacob's prostration before Joseph in the Qur'an, as has been mentioned previously.[180]

{551} It is mentioned that Jacob settled in Salem, a city of Shechem, in the land of Canaan, and that the father of Shechem, son of Hamora, the head of the land, raped Jacob's slave girl and daughter, and then asked Jacob and his sons for (the latter's) hand.[181] And they were angry about that and said to him: 'If you and everyone who is in your city circumcise yourselves, we shall marry you (to her) and you and us shall be one single nation.' And he accepted that, and he and the people of his city all circumcised themselves. Then the sons of Jacob entered the city while its people were hurt in the pain of circumcision, and killed everyone who was there, and took their properties.[182]

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[176] See Genesis 32:31–32.

[177] Q 3:93. See Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, vol. IV, pp. 3–9.

[178] See Genesis 33:3–7.

[179] See Genesis 42:6.

[180] See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, § 535.

[181] Although in the Biblical text it is only Jacob's daughter Dinah who is raped by Shechem, for some reason in Ṭūfī's reference Jacob's female slave is also reported to have been raped. This is further explained in the subsequent passage which contains Ṭūfī's comments on this Biblical story.

[182] See Genesis 33:18 and 34:1–29.

{552} قلت: نسبة هذا إلى يعقوب، وهو من أكرم الأنبياء على الله حتى أنهم سمّوا الله ظهر إسرائيل أي عونه وناصره، قبيح جداً. إذ كيف يسلّط على أمّ ولد نبيّه وابنته من يفجر بها، وهو قادر على عصمتها منه بما عصم به سارة من أبيمالخ[162] ملك فلسطين؟ وأمّا ما حكي عن بني يعقوب من مكرهم بأهل القرية، فقبيح أيضاً، إذ || فيه غدر. ولعلّ فتكهم بهم قد كان لغير هذا السبب، كالجهاد في الله ونحو ذلك. ولكن هذه من أكاذيب اليهود على الله ورسله وتحريفهم. ظ267

{553} وذكر أنّ الله استعلن على يعقوب وهو إذ أقبل من فدّن أرام. وبارك الله عليه وقال له: "لا يدعى[163] أيضاً اسمك يعقوب، ولكن يكن اسمك إسرائيل". وقال الله: "أنا الله إيل أشدّ. أعظّمك وأكثّرك وسائر الشعوب منك".[164]

{554} قلت: هاهنا ذكر أنّ المستعلن على يعقوب هو الله، وفي قصّة الرجل الذي صارعه ذكر أنه كان ملكاً وقال له: "اسمك إسرائيل، لأنّك قاومت الملك والرجل". فدلّ على أنّ ذلك لم يكن هو الله كما توهّم بعضهم. فإن ادّعى مدّع أنّ هذه القصّة حكاية عن تلك، فعليه الدليل.

{555} وذكر أنّ راحيل ماتت في نفاسها ببنيامين، وسمّته ابن أوجاعي، وأنها دفنت على طريق أَفْرَث وهي بيت لحم. ونصب يعقوب على قبرها نُصْبةً[165] هي إلى يومنا هذا.

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[162] ش: ايتمالخ. [163] ك: يدعا. [164] ك: معك. [165] ك: نصبته.

{552} I say: It is extremely repugnant to attribute this to Jacob, who is one of the most noble prophets to God, so much so that (the Jews) have named God the Supporter of Israel, meaning his Helper and his Ally. For how could He give power over the mother of His prophet's children[183] and his daughter to someone who would rape them, when He is capable of protecting them from him just as He protected Sarah from Abimelech, the king of Palestine? As for what is narrated about the sons of Jacob deceiving the people of the city, this is also repugnant, because there is treachery in it. Perhaps their 267b
assassination of them was for another reason, such as fighting for the sake of God and the like. However, as it stands this is one of the Jewish lies about God and His messengers, and one of their distortions.

{553} It is mentioned that God revealed Himself to Jacob when he came from Paddan Aram. And God blessed him and said to him: 'Your name shall not be called any more "Jacob", but "Israel" shall be your name.' God further said: 'I am God, the Almighty (*El Shaddai*). I shall make you great, and multiply you and other nations from you.'[184]

{554} I say: Here it is mentioned that the one who revealed himself to Jacob is God Himself, while in the story of the man who wrestled with him it is mentioned that he was an angel and that he said to him: 'Your name shall be Israel, for you have withstood the angel and the man.'[185] Therefore, this indicates that the (wrestler) was not God Himself, as some of them have imagined. And if someone claims that this story narrates that event, then he has to prove it.

{555} It is mentioned that Rachel died after giving birth to Benjamin, whom she called the 'son of my pains', and that she was buried on the way to Ephrath, that is, Bethlehem. And Jacob set up a pillar on her tomb which exists to this very day.[186]

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[183] Ṭūfī might be referring either to Bilhah (the handmaid of Jacob's wife Rachel) or Zilpah (the handmaid of Jacob's wife Leah), as they were Jacob's two concubines who also bore him children, according to Genesis 30:3–12 and 35:25–26. However, there is no rape incident involved between his concubine and Shechem in the Biblical text. There is, however, a story about Reuben, son of Jacob, lying with his father's concubine Bilhah in Genesis 35:22 which will be discussed by Ṭūfī in the passages below (§§ 557–558 and 593–594).

[184] Genesis 35:9–11.

[185] Genesis 32:29.

[186] Genesis 35:18–20.

{556} قلت: وقد بيّنّا أنّ هذا لا يقدح في صحّة قوله تعالى: ﴿وَرَفَعَ أَبَوَيْهِ عَلَى الْعَرْشِ﴾ في قصّة يوسف بناءً على أنه دعا خالته، وهي أخت أمّه لياء زوجة أبيه، أماً مجازاً، كما كان يدعى يوسف النجّار،[166] زوج مريم، أباً للمسيح إذا قيل: "جاء أبواه يطلبانه" و"كان مع أبويه" وقد نطق به الإنجيل. وقد سبق بيانه في الكلام عليه.

{557} وذكر أنّ روبين[167] بن يعقوب جامع سرّيّة أبيه بلها، فبلغ ذلك إسرائيل، ولم يذكر عنه إنكار.

{558} فإن كان أنكر، فالشناعة على هذا الكلام من جهة أنّ الله لم يحصّن فراش نبيّه من الزناء ولم يعصم ابن نبيّه منه. وإن لم يكن أنكر، ففيه تشنيعان. **أحدهما** هذا المذكور، و**الثاني** نسبة يعقوب إلى الدياثة وعدم الغيرة على فراشه. ونحن نرى أنّ سوقياً لو عبث ابنُه بفراشه لغضب لذلك بالطبع دع الشرع.

{559} وذكر أنّ يوسف رأى أنه وإخوته جمعوا حُزَماً في المزرعة، وقد قامت حزمته، وجاءت حزم إخوته، فسجدت لها. فأبغضه إخوته لذلك.

{560} قلت: هذه الرؤيا لم يقصّها علينا القرآن. وإنّما قصّ رؤيا النجوم والشمس والقمر، وهي في التوراة كما في القرآن.

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166 ك – النجار. 167 ش ك: روبيل.

{556} I say: We have already explained that this does not impugn the correctness of the words of God, the Exalted: 'And he raised his parents upon the throne'[187] in the (Qur'anic) story of Joseph, based on the fact that he called his aunt—who was his mother's sister, Leah, his father's other wife—metaphorically 'mother', just as Joseph the carpenter, Mary's husband, was referred to as Christ's father when it was said: 'His parents came looking for him'[188] and 'He was with his parents,'[189] and the Gospel spoke about it. The explanation of this was mentioned above during our discourse about it.[190]

{557} It is mentioned that Reuben, son of Jacob, lay with his father's concubine Bilhah and this reached Israel,[191] but no disapproval from him is mentioned.

{558} If (Jacob) disapproved of it, then this statement requires condemnation insofar as God did not fortify His prophet's bed against adultery and did not protect His prophet's son from it. And if he did not disapprove of it, then there are two points demanding condemnation. **The first point** is the one mentioned above, while **the second point** is that this describes Jacob as a cuckold and someone lacking jealousy for his bed. However, we see that even one of the common people, were his son to violate his bed, would certainly become angry about that by nature, not to mention the fact that revealed law forbids it.

{559} It is mentioned that Joseph saw (in his dream) that he and his brothers gathered sheaves in the field and his sheaf stood up, while his brothers' sheaves came and prostrated themselves before it. Then his brothers hated him on account of that.[192]

{560} I say: The Qur'an does not narrate this dream to us. It only narrates the dream of the stars and the sun and the moon,[193] which is found in the Torah just as it is in the Qur'an:

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187 Q 12:100.
188 See Luke 2:41, 45.
189 See Luke 2:27.
190 See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 215–217.
191 Genesis 35:22.
192 Genesis 37:7–8.
193 See Q 12:4–6.

{561} و[ذكر] أنّ يعقوب زجره لمّا قصّها، وقال له: "ما هذه الرؤيا التي رأيت؟ أجيئ أنا وأمّك || و268
وإخوتك فنسجد لك على الأرض؟" وكان يعقوب قد وعى معنى الرؤيا.

{562} قلت: وإنّما أراد بذلك أن يصدّ عنه كيد إخوته له باستبعاده ذلك وإنكاره. قلت: ففي هذا فائدتان:

{563} **إحداهما**[168] قول يعقوب ليوسف: "أجيئ أنا وأمّك". فنقول: إن كانت أمّ يوسف التي ولدته حيّةً الآن، فهذا يناقض ما سبق في التوراة من أنها ماتت قبل هذا ودفنت ببيت لحم. فيكون هذا طعناً على التوراة التي يحتجّ بها اليهود والنصارى. وإن كانت قد ماتت، فقد سمّى يعقوب ليوسف بعد أمّه أماً. فتلك التي سجدت له مع يعقوب عند تأويل الرؤيا. ويحصل به جواب القادح في قوله تعالى: ﴿وَرَفَعَ أَبَوَيْهِ عَلَى الْعَرْشِ﴾.

{564} **الفائدة الثانية** أنّ بعض النصارى أنكر أنّ يعقوب وبنيه سجدوا ليوسف بناءً على أنّ التوراة لم يذكر فيها السجودُ عند[169] التقاء بعضهم ببعض، وإنّما اعتنقا وبكيا. وهذا لا يضرّنا، فإنّ ما نطق به القرآن من سجودهم له مستفاد من هاهنا. وذلك، لأنّ يعقوب فهم أنّ[170] تأويل رؤيا يوسف أنّ الشمس والقمر وإحدى عشر كوكباً سجدوا له سجود إخوة يوسف وأبويه له. وقد ثبت أنّ الرؤيا صحّت، فكذا تأويلها، خصوصاً والرؤيا رؤيا نبيّ والتأويل تأويل نبيّ.[171] وأيضاً فإنّ الرؤيا الأخرى، وهي سجود حزَمَته لحزمَته، تدلّ على ذلك، لأنّ الرؤيتين دلّتا على حكم واحد.

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[168] ش: احدهما. [169] ش + عند. [170] ش – أنّ. [171] ك + ايّا نبى.

{561} It is further (mentioned) that Jacob rebuked (Joseph) when he narrated it to him, and said to him: 'What is this dream that you have dreamed? I, and your mother, and your brothers come and prostrate ourselves on the ground before you?' But Jacob kept the meaning of the dream in mind.[194] 268a

{562} I say: (Jacob) only intended thereby to ward off (Joseph's) brothers' wiles against him by regarding it as far-fetched and reproaching him. I further say: Herein there are two benefits:

{563} **The first benefit** relates to Jacob's words to Joseph: 'I and your mother come'. So we say: If Joseph's mother, who gave birth to him, was alive at this time, then this contradicts that which preceded in the Torah, that she had died before this and was buried in Bethlehem.[195] Thus, this challenges the Torah which the Jews and the Christians use as an argument. And if she was dead (at that time), then Jacob called (some other woman) who came after his mother 'Joseph's mother'. So, it was that woman who prostrated herself together with Jacob before him, in accordance with the interpretation of the dream. And thereby, a response to the one who impugned the words of God, the Exalted: 'And he raised his parents upon the throne,'[196] is realised.[197]

{564} **The second benefit**: A certain Christian has denied that Jacob and his sons prostrated themselves before Joseph, relying on the fact that it is not mentioned in the Torah that they prostrated when they encountered each other; rather, they only hugged one another and cried. However, this argument does not create a problem for us, for what the Qur'an says about their prostration before him can also be deduced from this (Biblical passage). This is so, because Jacob understood that the interpretation of Joseph's dream of the sun and the moon and the eleven stars prostrating themselves before him meant the prostration of Joseph's brothers and his parents before him. Indeed, it is proven that the dream was authentic and so was its interpretation, especially since the dream was the dream of a prophet and the interpretation was the interpretation of a prophet. And the other dream, about the prostration of their sheaves before his sheaf, also indicates this, for both dreams indicate the same precept.[198]

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194 Genesis 37:9–11.

195 Genesis 35:19.

196 Q 12:100.

197 Ṭūfī has already discussed this twice (see *Taʿlīq*, §§ 556 and 563) and he will subsequently refer to it again in §§ 580–581 and 586–587.

198 This was discussed earlier in §§ 217, 534–535 and 549–550.

{565} قلت: وفي ورود القرآن برؤيا النجوم دون رؤيا الحزم أقوى دليل على صدق محمّد عليه السلام، وأنّ القرآن وحي من الله، وأنه إنمّا أخبر بما أوحي إليه. وإلاّ، فلو كان ينقل ذلك من كتب الأوّلين لتتبّعها ولظفر برؤيا الحزم ولذكرها خشية أن يُطعن عليه بالزيادة والنقص. فاعلم ذلك.

{566} وذكر أنّ يعقوب قال ليوسف: "إنّ إخوتك يرعون في أرض كذا. فاذهب، فأتني بخبرهم وخبر الغنم".

{567} قلت: وهذا مخالف لما في القرآن من أنّ إخوته سألوا أباهم أن يرسله معهم، وهو أشبه بالصواب، لأنّ يعقوب كان قد علم بغض إخوة يوسف له وحسدهم له على رؤياه التي رأى. فكان أحزم من أن يسلّمه إليهم اغتباطاً إلاّ بسؤال ملحٍّ.

{568} وذكر أنّ يهوذا وجد كنّته || امرأة ابنه على الطريق في صفة زانية. فصالحها على أن يزني بها ظ268
بجَدْيٍ من الغنم. ورهنها[172] على الجدي خاتمه وعمامته وقضيباً كان في يده.[173] ولم يعلم أنها كنّته، وكانت أيّماً من ابنه. فلمّا ظهر حملها أمر بها لتُرجم. فأرته العلامة، فتركها.

{569} قلت: هذا فيه من الشناعة ما لا يستجيز عاقل أن ينسبه إلى حُثالة السوقة فضلاً عن نبيّ من[174] الأنبياء. والشناعة فيه من وجهين:

{570} **أحدهما** نسبة يهوذا إلى الزناء وإلى نقص العقل حتى بذل خاتمه وعمامته وعصاه في قضاء

[172] ش: ورهنتها. [173] ش: بيده. [174] ك – من.

{565} I say: The fact that the Qur'an has transmitted the dream of the stars but not the dream of the sheaves is the strongest proof for the truthfulness of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, and that the Qur'an is a revelation from God, and that he has only informed people about what was revealed to him. Otherwise, had he been transmitting this from the books of the earlier communities, he would have followed it exactly and acquired knowledge of the dream of the sheaves and mentioned it, lest he be discredited for adding or omitting anything. So, be aware of that.

{566} It is mentioned that Jacob said to Joseph: 'Your brothers are pasturing the flock in such-and-such a land. So go and bring me their news and the news of the flock.'[199]

{567} I say: This is in opposition to what is found in the Qur'an, that his brothers asked their father to send (Joseph) with them.[200] This is more likely to be the truth, for Jacob was aware of Joseph's brothers' hatred for him and their envy of him, because of the dream he had seen. Therefore, he was too cautious to hand him over to them gladly, without persistent entreaty.

{568} It is mentioned that Judah found his daughter-in-law, his son's wife, on the road dressed as a prostitute. And he made an agreement with her that he would commit adultery with her for (the price of) a young goat. He deposited with her his signet-ring, his turban, and the staff that was in his hand as a pledge in lieu of the young goat. But he did not know that she was his daughter-in-law, and that she was the widow of his son. And when her pregnancy appeared, he ordered her to be stoned. Then she showed him the token, and he left her.[201] 268b

{569} I say: This contains such disgrace that no intelligent man would deem it permissible to attribute it to even the lowest of the common people, let alone to one of the prophets. The disgrace presents itself therein in two ways:

{570} **The first** is that adultery and lack of intelligence is attributed to Judah to the point where he freely parts with his signet-ring, his turban, and his staff in order to achieve his desire, substituting them for a young goat. It has

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[199] Genesis 37:13–14.

[200] 'They said: O our father! Why will you not trust us with Joseph, when surely we are his sincere well-wishers? Send him with us tomorrow that he may enjoy himself and play. And surely we shall take good care of him' (Q 12:11–12).

[201] Genesis 38:12–26.

شهوة عوضُها جدي. وقد صحّ وثبت أنّ حاجب بن زرارة سيّد بني تميم،[175] وهو من أجلاف الجاهليّة، إنّما رهن قوسه من خشناد بن خشناد، نائب كسرى على سواد العراق،[176] على أمر عظيم. و[177]حملته عزّة نفسه أن وفى[178] بما رهنها بها حتى ضرب المثل بقوس حاجب. وافتخرت بها تميم خصوصاً والعرب عموماً حتى قال الشاعر:

تُزهَى علينا بقوس حاجبها زهو تميمٍ بقوس حاجبها.[179]

{571} **الثاني** أنه حابى في حدّ من حدود الله، وأبطله لهوى نفسه. ولعلّ اليهود اعتمدوا على هذا الفُشار والهذيان حتى كانوا إذا زنى[180] فيهم الشريف حمّموه، أي سوّدوا وجهه بالحمم،[181] وتركوه، وإذا زنى[182] فيهم الوضيع رجموه.

{572} وذكر أنّ امرأة الذي اشترى يوسف راودته عن نفسه، فلم يجبها. فدخل ذات يوم البيت لشغله، فدخلت عليه، وأخذت بثوبه، وقالت له: "ضاجعني!" فلم يفعل. وخرج هارباً إلى السوق، وترك ثوبه في يدها. فلمّا جاء سيّده قالت له: "إنّ هذا العبرانيّ دخل عليّ ليفضحني. فلمّا دفعت صوتي ترك ثيابه في يدي وهرب إلى السوق". فلمّا سمع سيّده اشتدّ غضبه، وسجن يوسف في السجن الذي فيه أسرى الملك.[183]

{573} قلت: فهذا فيه نقص عمّا حكي في القرآن من شهادة الشاهد، وأمرها بالاستغفار ويوسف بالإعراض، واجتماع النسوة، وتقطيع أيديهنّ. وهو أشبه بالصواب، لأنّ يوسف كان عند سيّده

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[175] ك – سيد بني تميم. [176] ك – على سواد العراق. [177] ش – و. [178] ك: وفا. [179] ك – حتى قال الشاعر ترهى علينا بقوس حاجبها زهو تميم بقوس حاجبها. [180] ش ك: زنا. [181] ش + وهو الفحم. [182] ش ك: زنا. [183] ش: ذلك.

been authentically transmitted and proven that Ḥājib b. Zurāra, the head of the Banū Tamīm, who was a coarse, uncivil man of the Jāhiliyya, deposited his bow with Khushnād b. Khushnād, Khosrau's representative in the lands of Iraq, as a pledge in lieu of a great matter. His sense of self-dignity drove him to fulfil what he had pledged for, and a proverb about Ḥājib's bow has been coined as a result. Arabs in general and Tamīm in particular pride themselves upon this so much so that the poet says: 'She vaunts herself over us with her eyebrow's arch, just as Tamīm vaunt the bow of Ḥājib.'[202]

{571} **The second** is that (Judah) showed respect for one of the restrictive ordinances of God [i.e. legal punishments], yet invalidated it on account of his own whimsical desire. Perhaps the Jews relied on this vain boasting and folly, such that when a noble man among them committed adultery, they used to blacken his face with charcoal and leave him, while when a common man committed adultery, they used to stone him.[203]

{572} It is mentioned that the wife of the man who bought Joseph sought to seduce him, but he did not comply with her wish. Then, one day he entered the house for his work and she entered the room, grabbed him by his garment and said to him: 'Lie with me!' But he did not do so. Instead he went out, running to the market, and left his garment in her hand. Then, when his master came, she said to him: 'Truly, this Hebrew came to me to dishonour me. And when I lifted up my voice crying out he left his garment in my hand and ran away to the market.' And when his master heard of this, his anger was kindled, and he put Joseph into the prison, where the king's prisoners were kept.[204]

{573} I say: (In the Biblical account) there are omissions of what is narrated in the Qur'an, such as the testimony of a witness, (Potiphar's wife) being commanded to ask forgiveness, Joseph being asked to overlook this, and the women's gathering and cutting their hands.[205] (The Qur'anic narrative)

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[202] The poet is playing with the words *qaws* and *ḥājib* which stand for 'arch' and 'bow', and 'eyebrow' and 'Ḥājib' respectively. So, *bi-qaws ḥājibihā* appears twice, meaning 'with her eyebrow's arch' in the first case and 'the bow of Ḥājib' in the second. The verse and the story are mentioned by Abū Manṣur ʿAbd al-Malik al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038) in his *Thimār al-qulūb fī al-muḍāf wa-al-mansūb*, ed. M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1965, pp. 625–626.

[203] This is an allusion to the Jewish practice in Medina at the time of the Prophet, as described by various *ḥadīths* in Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Tafsīr Āl ʿImrān" 6; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "Ḥudūd" 26.

[204] See Genesis 39:7–20.

[205] See Q 12:26–31.

بمنزلة عظيمة، ووجد على وجهه بركةً ويُمناً، وعرف منه الصدق والأمانة، كما حكي في التوراة. فمن المحال عادةً أنه كان يحبسه لقول امرأة متّهمة[184] من غير دليل ولا بحث عن سرّ القضيّة. || وكذلك 269و كان يوسف كريماً على الله، والله معه. فبعيد أن[185] كان يسلّمه لما يمضح عرضه من غير برهان تبرءة.

{574} وذكر رؤيا الساقي والخبّاز، والسبع البقرات[186] والسبع[187] السنابل، كما في القرآن، غير أنه ذكر أنّ السنابل اليابسات ابتلعن السنابل الخضر. وهذا لم يصرَّح به في القرآن، غير أنّ لفظه يحتمله. وصرّح به وثيمة في **القصص** أنّ السنابل اليابسة أكلت السنابل الخضر.

{575} وذكر أنّ إخوة يوسف لمّا جاءوا ليمتاروا من مصر عرفهم يوسف، وهم له منكرون. وقال لهم: "أنتم جواسيس!" قالوا: "لا، ولكنّا نمتار لأهلنا. ونحن اثنا عشر رجلاً بنو أب واحد، لكن أحدنا مفقود، والآخر أصغرنا عند أبيه". فقال يوسف: "بهذا أمتحن صدقكم: احبسوا عندي أحدكم، وخذوا ميرتكم، واتوني إذا رجعتم بأخيكم الذي عند أبيكم لأعلم أنّكم صدقتموني ولستم بجواسيس". فاحتبس عنده شمعون. وأرسلهم بالميرة، وجعل بضاعتهم في رحالهم. فلمّا رجعوا وقالوا لأبيهم: "أرسل معنا بنيامين"، قال لهم: "إنّ أخاه قد مات، ولم يبق لأمّه غيره. ولعلّه تصيبه مصيبة في الطريق، فأنزل إلى غول الجحيم".

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[184] ش: تتّهمه. [185] لـ: انه. [186] ش: بقرات. [187] ش: وسبع.

is more likely to be the truth, because Joseph occupied a high rank in the eyes of his master, and due to him, (the master) experienced blessings and much prosperity, and learned from him sincerity and trust, as it is narrated in the Torah.[206] Furthermore, it customarily would have been impossible to imprison him due to the word of an accusing woman without proof or investigation into the mysteries of the matter. In addition, Joseph was honoured 269a
before God and God was with him. So, it is unlikely that He would submit him to something which might damage his reputation without providing a decisive proof of exoneration.

{574} The dream of the cupbearer and the baker,[207] and the dream of the seven cows and the seven ears of grain, are mentioned[208] in line with the Qur'an,[209] except that here it is also mentioned that the dry ears of grain swallowed up the green ears of grain.[210] This is not explicitly stated in the Qur'an, but its wording may imply it.[211] And Wathīma explicitly states in the *Qiṣaṣ* that the dry ears of grain ate the green ears of grain.[212]

{575} It is mentioned that when Joseph's brothers came to purchase provisions from Egypt, Joseph recognised them, but they did not recognise him. And he said to them: 'You are spies!' They said: 'Nay, rather we (came to) purchase provisions for our family. We are twelve men, the sons of one man, but one of us is lost and the other one, our youngest, is with his father.' Then Joseph said: 'Hereby I shall test your truthfulness: Let one of you be detained with me, and take your provisions, and when you come back bring me your brother who is with your father, so that I know that you have told me the truth and you are not spies.' Thus, Simeon was detained with him. And (Joseph) sent them with their provisions and put their merchandise into their saddlebags. And when they returned and said to their father: 'Send Benjamin with us,' he said to them: 'His brother died and none is left for his mother other than him. Should a misfortune afflict him on the way, then I shall fall into the depths of Hell-Fire.'[213]

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[206] See Genesis 39:4–6.
[207] See Genesis 40:9–19.
[208] See Genesis 41:1–32.
[209] See Q 12:36–49.
[210] See Genesis 41:7, 24.
[211] See Q 12:43, 46.
[212] This must have been in the first part of Wathīma's work, which is lost. As pointed out earlier (see p. 161, fn. 45), only the second part of this work, from the story of Khiḍr to the account of the Light of Muḥammad, is extant and published.
[213] It may also mean: 'I shall fall into the misfortune of Hell-Fire.' See Genesis 42:7–38.

{576} قلت: قوله "ولم يبق لأمّه غيره" دليل على أنّ أمّه حيّة بعد، إذ هذا ظاهر في أنه منعهم من أخذه مراعاةً لقلبها وخاطرها. وهو ينافي كونها ماتت في النفاس به. ويحتمل أنه أراد أنه لم يبق من ولد أمّه غيره، فلا يكون مناقضاً لموتها المقدَّم ذكره.

{577} وقوله: "فأنزل إلى غول الجحيم" يحتمل أمرين: **أحدهما** أنه أراد "يُسعَّر في قلبي نارُ الحزن عليه كنار الجحيم". **والثاني** أن يكون أراد "لعظم مصيبتي أُغلب، فأتسخَّط بالقضاء، فأستحقّ نار الجحيم".

{578} على أنه حكي بعد هذا أنّ يوسف لمّا حبس بنيامين على الصاع قال له يهوذا: "إنّي كفلت لأبي بردّ ولده هذا. وإنّ أبانا قال لنا: "إنّي أخشى أن تصيب بنيامين مصيبة في الطريق، فتهبطون بسببي إلى الجحيم". وإنّي أخشى أن رجعنا ولم ير[188] [أبونا] الغلام معنا يموت. فنهبط بسبب عبدك أبينا بالوجع إلى الهاوية. فاجعلني أمكث عندك بدل الغلام".

{579} قلت: وهذا ظاهره[189] يخالف ظاهر قول يعقوب: "فأنزل || إلى غول الجحيم" إلاّ أن يتأوّل على معنى "إنّ نزولكم بذلك إلى الجحيم كنزولي، لأنّكم منّي". ظ269

{580} وذكر أنهم قالوا ليوسف: "إنّ لنا أباً شيخاً، وله ابن صغير، وهو ابن كبره. ومات أخوه، وهو واحد، لا غير لأمّه وأبيه. وأبوه يحبّه".

{581} قلت: فهذا يدلّ على أنّ أمّ بنيامين حيّة يومئذ،[190] وهي راحيل أمّ يوسف،[191] لأنّ التأويل الذي ذكرنا أنه محتمل في قول يعقوب: "إنّ أخاه قد مات، ولم يبق لأمّه غيره" لا يصحّ هاهنا، إذ لا

[188] ك: ولم نر. [189] ك – ظاهره. [190] ك: الى الآن. [191] ك: وهي ام يوسف راحيل.

{576} I say: (Jacob's) words, 'and none is left for his mother other than him,'[214] is an indication that (Joseph's) mother was still alive, for this explicitly means that (Jacob) forbade them to take him, out of regard for her heart and her mind. This contradicts the fact that she had died after giving birth to (Benjamin). Yet, it may be understood that he meant that from the children of his mother no child other than (Benjamin) was left, and this is in no contradiction to her death mentioned earlier.

{577} As for (Jacob's) words: 'then I shall fall into the depths of Hell-Fire,'[215] they may be interpreted as two things. **The first** is that he may have meant, 'The fire of my sorrow for him shall be kindled in my heart like the fire of Hell.' **The second** is that he may have meant, 'I shall be overcome by the magnitude of my misfortune and become displeased with divine destiny, then I will deserve the fire of Hell.'

{578} Moreover, it is narrated hereafter that when Joseph detained Benjamin for (the theft of) the cup, Judah said to him: 'I have guaranteed to my father to bring back this child of his. For our father said to us: "I fear that a misfortune may afflict Benjamin on the way, and then you fall into Hell-Fire because of me." So, I fear that if we return and he does not see the boy with us, he shall die. And because of your servant, our father, we shall fall into the Abyss of Hell in agony. Let me remain with you instead of the boy.'[216]

{579} I say: The explicit meaning of this contradicts the explicit meaning of Jacob's words: 'then I shall fall into the depths of Hell-Fire,' unless it is 269b
interpreted to mean, 'Your falling into Hell-Fire because of this is like my falling, for you are from me.'

{580} It is mentioned that they said to Joseph: 'We have an old father and he has a young son, who is the child of his old age. His brother has died, so he is alone, and his mother and father have none other. And his father loves him.'[217]

{581} I say: This indicates that Benjamin's mother, namely, Rachel, Joseph's mother, was still alive at that time, because the interpretation we have mentioned earlier as being probable regarding the words of Jacob, 'His brother

[214] Genesis 42:38.
[215] Genesis 42:38.
[216] See Genesis 44:30–33.
[217] Genesis 44:20.

يصحّ أن يقال: إنه واحد لا غير ليعقوب، إذ بنو يعقوب كثير. ولا يصحّ أن يكون الضمير في "لأمّه وأبيه" عائداً إلى يوسف بتقدير[192] "وهو واحد، لا غير لأمّ يوسف وأبيه"، لأنه خلاف الظاهر، إذ مرادهم ترقيق يوسفَ عليه. ولا يحصل ذلك بما ذكر. فتعيّن أنّ معناه "هو واحد، لا غير لأبويه". وذلك يقتضي أنّ أبويه حيّان.

{582} وذكر أنّ يعقوب لمّا حضرت أيّام موته حلّف يوسفَ أن لا يقبره بمصر، بل عند أبويه إبراهيم وإسحاق. فحلف له، وسجد إسرائيل على رأس عصاه ليوسف.[193]

{583} وسبق أنّ إخوة يوسف سجدوا له في اجتماعهم به في المرّة الأولى والثانية مراراً. وهذا يردّ على الطاعن في قوله تعالى: ﴿وَخَرُّوا لَهُ سُجَّداً﴾، لأنّ وقت ملتقى يعقوب بيوسف أولى بالسجود له هو وبنوه حتى يظهر لأيهم زوال الحسد لأخيهم.

{584} وذكر أنّ يعقوب لمّا مرض جاءه يوسف وابناه منشّى وأفرائيم.[194] فقال له يعقوب كلاماً منه أنّ الله استعلن عليه بأرض كنعان، ووعده أن يعطي خلفه من بعده هذه الأرض ميراثاً للدهر.

{585} قلت: وهذا كذب من اليهود على الله وعلى إسرائيل، لأنّ ملك بني إسرائيل زال عن أرض كنعان وغيرها منذ بعث إليهم المسيح فكذّبوه وهمّوا بقتله. فخرج عنهم إلى الأبد. فأين صدق هذا

[192] ك: بتقد. [193] ش: يوسف. [194] ش ك: افرام.

died, and none is left for his mother other than him,'[218] is not applicable here, for it is incorrect to say that he was alone and Jacob had no other son, when Jacob's sons were many. It is also incorrect to say that the personal pronoun in 'his mother and father' refers to Joseph, meaning, presumably, 'he is alone, and Joseph's mother and father have none other,' because this is opposite to the explicit meaning of this statement, as their intention was to soften Joseph's heart for him. And that cannot be achieved with the interpretation mentioned above. Thus, it becomes clear that this means 'he is alone, and his parents have none other.' This requires that his parents were both alive.[219]

{582} It is mentioned that when the time of Jacob's death arrived, he asked Joseph to swear that he would not bury him in Egypt, but near his two fathers Abraham and Isaac. And he swore to him, and Israel prostrated himself upon the head of his staff before Joseph.[220]

{583} It has been previously mentioned that Joseph's brothers prostrated themselves before him several times when they met with him the first time and the second.[221] This refutes the one who challenged the words of God, the Exalted, 'And they fell down before him prostrate,'[222] because the time of Jacob's encounter with Joseph was the most suitable occasion for him and his brothers to prostrate themselves before him so that it would become apparent to their father that their envy for their brother had ceased to exist.

{584} It is mentioned that when Jacob fell ill, Joseph and his two sons Manasseh and Ephraim came to him. And Jacob said to him words which meant that God had revealed Himself to him in the land of Canaan and promised him that He would grant to his successors after him this land as an inheritance forever.[223]

{585} I say: This is a Jewish lie about God and about Israel, because the rule of the children of Israel over the land of Canaan and others has vanished since the time that Christ was sent to them with his mission, and they called him a liar and attempted to kill him. Thus, they lost it forever. So where is the

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218 Genesis 42:38.
219 See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 217, 556, 563 and 586–587.
220 Genesis 47:29–31.
221 Genesis 42:6 and 43:26.
222 Q 12:100.
223 Genesis 48:1–4.

الوعد، إن كان من الله على لسان إسرائيل؟ وإنّما كان هذا الوعد لإبراهيم في خلفه. فكان ذلك في بني إسماعيل، وهم[195] العرب، فهو إلي الآن وحتى الأبد إن شاء الله تعالى.

{586} وذكر أنه من جملة كلامه ليوسف أن قال له: "وأنا حين أقبلت من فدّن أرام – يعني قدومه من عند خاله لابان من حوران – ماتت راحيل أمّك في أرض كنعان في الطريق على مجرى فرسخ من الدخول || إلى أَفْرَث. فقبرتُها ثمّ في بيت لحم". و270

{587} قلت: هذا كالنصّ الأوّل على موت راحيل قديماً. وقد بيّنّا في مواضع من التوراة ما يدلّ على أنها حيّة إلى ما بعد ذلك. وهو تهافت في التوراة. فإن تأوّلوا المواضع الدالّة على بقائها تأويلاً صحيحاً لم يضرّنا، لأنّ مقصودنا إجابة الطاعن من النصارى على قوله تعالى: ﴿وَرَفَعَ أَبَوَيْهِ عَلَى الْعَرْشِ﴾. وهو حاصل بما قررناه عند قول يعقوب ليوسف حين رأى الرؤيا: "أأسجد لك أنا وأمّك وإخوتك؟"

{588} وذكر أنّ يعقوب قال ليوسف: "قدّم ابنيك أبارك عليهما". فأدناهما منه، فسجدا له[196] على الأرض. وجعل يوسف ابنه أفرائيم على يمينه عن يسار إسرائيل ومنشّى على يساره عن يمين إسرائيل. فجعل إسرائيل يمينه على رأس أفرائيم وهو الأصغر وشمالَه على رأس منشّى، وخالف بين يديه من أجل أن منشّى كان البكر.

{589} قلت: هذا تعليل غير مناسب، لأنّ كون منشّى هو البكر الأكبر يقتضي أن يخصّه بيده اليمين التي هي أيمن وأبرك، لأنّ العادة جرت بتفضيل بكورة الأولاد وكبارهم.

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[195] ك – وهم. [196] ك – له.

truthfulness of this promise, if it was really from God through the mouth of Israel? However, this promise was only for Abraham with respect to his successors. And that was with respect to the children of Ishmael, namely, the Arabs, and is valid until today and forever, if God, Exalted is He, wills.

{586} It is mentioned that among the things included in (Jacob's) speech to Joseph was that he said to him: 'And when I came from Paddan Aram—meaning his return from his uncle Laban from Haran—Rachel, your mother, died in the land of Canaan on the way, about one parasang [i.e. three miles] distance from Ephrath. So, I buried her there, in Bethlehem.'[224] 270a

{587} I say: This is just like the first scriptural text about Rachel's early death.[225] We have already explained, in various passages of the Torah, the things which indicate that she was still alive after that time.[226] And this is a case of incoherence present in the Torah. However, if they interpreted the passages which indicate her remaining alive with a sound interpretation, it would not harm us, because our aim is to respond to the Christian who challenged the words of God, the Exalted, 'And he raised his parents upon the throne.'[227] And this is achieved by what we have established regarding Jacob's words to Joseph at the time that he saw the dream: 'I, and your mother, and your brothers prostrate ourselves before you?'[228]

{588} It is mentioned that Jacob said to Joseph: 'Bring your two sons near, I shall bless them.' And he brought them near to him and they prostrated themselves upon the ground before him. Joseph placed his son Ephraim on his right hand, to Israel's left hand, and Manasseh on his left hand, to Israel's right hand. Then, Israel placed his right hand on Ephraim's head, who was the younger one, and his left hand on Manasseh's head, and he crossed his hands because Manasseh was the firstborn.[229]

{589} I say: This is incoherent reasoning, because the fact that Manasseh was the firstborn, the eldest, requires that (Jacob) distinguish him by his right hand, which is more privileged and more blessed, for as the custom runs, preference is given to the firstborn and the older children.

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224 Genesis 48:7.
225 See Genesis 35:19.
226 See Ṭūfī, *Taʿlīq*, §§ 217, 556, 563 and 580–581.
227 Q 12:100.
228 Genesis 37:10.
229 Genesis 48:9, 12–14.

{590} فإن قيل: إنّما خصّ أفرائيم بيمينه لصغره خيراً له ورحمةً.

{591} قلنا: فكان ينبغي أن يذكر أفرائيم ويعلّل بذلك. وإلاّ، فمنشّى لا مدخل له إذاً[197] هاهنا يقتضي ذكره. فهذا كلام فيه اعتلال ينزَّه عنه آحادُ العقلاء فضلاً عن الله ورسله. ولهذا قال بعد ذلك أنّ يوسف غمَّه وضعُ يده اليمنى على أفرائيم الأصغر والشمال على منشّى الأكبر، وقال: "يا أبتاه هذا هو الأكبر". فقال: "قد علمتُ يا بنيّ. وهو يكون لشعب كبير، غير أنّ أخاه الأصغر يعلو عليه، وذرّيته أوفر الشعوب".

{592} قلت: فاستدراك يوسف على يعقوب يدلّ على فساد التعليل المتقدَّم بأنّ منشّى هو الأكبر، إذ هو غير مناسب. وطعننا هاهنا إنّما هو على هذا التعليل، لا على فعل يعقوب، لأنه بيّن حكمة فعله. وتبيّن ما قاله بأنّ يوشع بن نون كان من ولد أفرائيم، ولم يعلم من ولد منشّى مثله ومثل سبطه. والله أعلم.

{593} وذكر أنّ إسرائيل لمّا جمع بنيه وأخبرهم بما[198] يكون لكلّ منهم في مستقبله تغيّظ[199] على روبين[200] وقال له: "نجّستَ فراشي"، || يعني كونه وطئ سرّيّة أبيه. ظ270

{594} وقد بيّنّا فيما سبق أنّ هذا صعب من القول وأنه باطل.

[197] ك: اذن. [198] ش: ما. [199] ك: تغيض. [200] ش ك: روبيل.

{590} If it is said: He distinguished Ephraim by his right hand because he was younger, out of benevolence towards him and compassion.

{591} We say: In that case Ephraim should have been mentioned and (his being the younger son, hence more deserving of benevolence and mercy) should have been brought forth as a reason (for Jacob's blessing). And if not, then there is no basis for Manasseh to be mentioned [as the firstborn] here. So these words contain defective reasoning which intelligent people are free from, let alone God and His messengers. Because of this, (the Book of Genesis) says thereafter that Joseph was distressed by (Jacob's) putting his right hand on Ephraim the younger son and his left hand on Manasseh the older son, and he said: 'O father, this one is older.' And (Jacob) replied: 'I know, O my dear son. And he shall become a big nation, but his younger brother shall surpass him, and his offspring shall be the most numerous of nations.'[230]

{592} I say: Joseph's attempt to correct Jacob indicates the erroneousness of the earlier reasoning that Manasseh was the older son, for that is incoherent. Our challenge here is directed only against this reasoning, not against Jacob's act, for he explained the wisdom behind his act. Further, what he said has come true, as Joshua, son of Nun, was one of the children of Ephraim,[231] whereas no one like him or like his tribe has been known among the children of Manasseh. And God knows best.

{593} It is mentioned that when Israel gathered his sons and informed them about what would happen to each one of them in his future life, he became furious at Reuben and said to him: 'You defiled my bed,'[232] meaning his lying with his father's concubine.[233] 270b

{594} We have already explained earlier that this is a reprehensible statement and that it is false.[234]

230 Genesis 48:18–19.
231 See Numbers 13:8.
232 Genesis 49:1–4.
233 See Genesis 35:22.
234 Ṭūfī, *Ta'līq*, §§557–558.

{595} وقال: "لا يُفقَد الملك والنبوّة والكهونة من سبط يهوذا ومن بين فخذيه حتى يأتي من هي له. وإيّاه تنتظر الشعوب. الرابط في الشجرة جَحْشَه وفي القضيب ابنَ أتانِه. تحمرّ من الخمر عيناه، وأشدّ بياضاً من اللبن أسنانه".

{596} قلت: هذا فيه بيان ضلال اليهود والنصارى جميعاً وكفرهم وافترائهم على الله ورسله. أمّا اليهود، فلأنهم كفروا بالمسيح وآذوه وهمّوا بقتله، وهو الموعود به في كلام إسرائيل هذا. وهذه صفاته، لأنه من سبط يهوذا، وله كانت تنتظر الشعوب، وبه كانت تبشّر[201] الرسل، وهو ركب الحمار وشرب الخمر. وأمّا النصارى، فلأنّ إسرائيل أخبر بأنّ المسيح الذي هذه صفاته ملك نبيّ كاهن. ولو كان إلهاً أو ابن إله لما سكت عن بيانه في معرض هذا التعظيم. فلعنة الله على الطائفتين اليهود والنصارى! فإنّ اليهود مغضوب عليهم، والنصارى ضالّون.

{597} وقال: "إيسّاخر رجل جبّار جالس بين السبل. ورأى محلّته حسنةً وأرضه خيّرةً. يطأطئ كتفَه للطاعة وأداء الجزية".

{598} قلت: هذا إسرائيل صلوات الله عليه قد أنصف بين المسلمين واليهود من قبل الإسلام بنحو ألفي سنة. فشهد عليهم بالجبروت، وهو من أعظم أنواع الشرّ، وهو الذي منعهم من الإيمان بمحمّد صلّى الله عليه وسلّم.[202] وأوعدهم على ذلك[203] الذلّ والصغار وأداء الجزية. وشهد لأرضهم الذي يؤدّون فيها الجزية بالحسن والخير، وتلك أرض الإسلام، إذ لا جزية على اليهود إلاّ فيها.

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[201] ش: يبشر. [202] ك: بمحمد عليه السلام. [203] ش + على ذلك.

{595} (Israel) further said: 'The kingdom, the prophethood and the priesthood shall not be lost from the tribe of Judah and from his sub-tribes until he to whom these belong comes. It is he that the nations are awaiting. He shall bind his young donkey unto the tree and unto the branch his she-ass's colt. His eyes shall be red from wine, and his teeth whiter than milk.'[235]

{596} I say: This demonstrates both the Jews' and the Christians' error, their unbelief, and their forgery of lies about God and His messengers. As for the Jews, it is so because they disbelieved in Christ, hurt him and attempted to kill him, although he is the promised one in these words of Israel. These are his attributes, for he was from the tribe of Judah, the nations were awaiting him, the messengers were announcing the glad tidings of him, and he rode a donkey, and drank wine. As for the Christians, it is so because Israel foretold that Christ, whose attributes these are, would be a king, a prophet and a priest. Had he been a god or the son of a god, he would not have declined to explain this on the occasion of this glorification. God's curse be upon both groups, the Jews and the Christians! The Jews are those who have earned (God's) anger and the Christians are those who have gone astray.[236]

{597} (Israel) also said: 'Issachar is a haughty man, sitting between the roads. He finds his place beautiful and his land good. But he shall bow his shoulder into compliance to the obligation of the poll tax.'[237]

{598} I say: Here Israel, may God's blessings be upon him, has indeed acted fairly between the Muslims and the Jews about two thousand years before Islam. For he testified against them with the charge of haughtiness, which is one of the greatest kinds of evil, and which is what prevented them from believing in Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace. And he threatened them therefore with humiliation, lowliness and the obligation to pay the poll tax. He further attested that the land in which they were to pay the poll tax would be beautiful and good, and that is the land of Islam, for there is no poll tax obligation upon the Jews except therein.

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[235] Genesis 49:10–12. Ṭūfī quotes and comments on the same passage in his *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, p. 354).

[236] This is a reference to the *ḥadīth*: 'The Jews are those who have earned (His) anger and the Christians are those who have gone astray' (Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Tafsīr al-Qur'ān" 2), which stands as an interpretation of the Qur'anic verses: 'Show us the straight path. The path of those whom You have favoured; not the (path) of those who earn Your anger, nor of those who go astray' (Q 1:7).

[237] Genesis 49:14–15.

{599} وذكر أنّ يعقوب أوصى أن يدفن عند أبيه إبراهيم. فلمّا مات أمر يوسف بتحنيطه. وبكى عليه أهل مصر سبعين يوماً. ثمّ توجّه به يوسف ليدفنه حيث أوصى.

{600} قلت: هذا من جملة ما أورده بعض النصارى على صدق محمّد عليه السلام فيما يروى عنه أنه قال: "لم[204] يقبر نبيّ إلاّ حيث مات". قلت:[205] والجواب عن هذا من وجوه:

{601} **أحدها** أنّا قد بيّنّا تهافت التوراة وتحريف اليهود والنصارى كتب الأوّلين، فلا وثوق بها. || و271

{602} **الثاني** أنه قد ذكر أنّ يعقوب بقي بمصر، يبكى عليه سبعين يوماً. ولو بقي ذلك القدر غير مدفون، لأنْتَنَ وأربح، إذ هو بشر على كلّ حال. وذلك إهانة للميّت. ولهذا جاء في شرعنا أنّ من إكرام الميّت أن يبادَر بدفنه. فدلّ على أنهم دفنوه حتى انقضت مناحتهم عليه، ثمّ استخرجوه فنقلوه إلى آبائه. يقال: إنهم نقلوه في تابوت ساج، وحينئذ لا يكون نقله منافياً لدفنه حيث مات. فإن قيل: لعلّهم صبّروه حتى مكث تلك المدّة، ولم يحتج إلى دفن. قلنا: هذا لم ينقل في التوراة ولا غيرها. ومجرّد احتماله لا يكفي في التصديق بوقوعه. وما ذكر من تحنيطه لا يدلّ على تصبيره، إذ كلّ الموتى ينحطون عند الإمكان.

{603} **الثالث**، وهو المختار عندنا في الجواب عن هذا الإشكال، منع صحّة الحديث. فإنّا لا نعلم أحداً رواه إلاّ أحمد قال: "حدّثنا[206] عبد الرزّاق, قال: أخبرنا[207] ابن جريج, قال: أخبرني أبي أنّ أصحاب النبيّ

[204] ش + يدفن. [205] ش – قلت. [206] ك: ثنا. [207] ك: انا.

{599} It is mentioned that Jacob willed that he be buried near his father Abraham.[238] So, when he died, Joseph commanded him to be embalmed. And the people of Egypt mourned for him seventy days. Then, Joseph betook himself to bury him where he had willed.[239]

{600} I say: This is one of the things that a certain Christian cited against the truthfulness of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, regarding what was related from him of his saying: 'A prophet is not to be buried except where he dies.'[240] I say: One can respond to this in a number of ways:

{601} **The first** is that we have already explained the incoherence of the Torah and the Jewish and Christian alterations of the earlier scriptures. Therefore, one cannot rely upon these scriptures. 271a

{602} **The second** concerns the mention that Jacob remained in Egypt, being mourned for seventy days. If he remained that long without being buried, then he would certainly have decomposed and begun to smell, for he was a human being after all. And this would be an insult to the dead person. Therefore, according to our revealed law, one of the ways of honouring a dead person is to hasten his burial. And this indicates that they kept him buried until their lamentation for him was completed, then they exhumed him and moved him to his fathers' (burial place). One may say: 'They carried him in a wooden coffin. Therefore, his translocation does not contradict his being buried where he died.'[241] But if it is said: 'Perhaps they preserved him so that he remained that period of time without needing to be buried.' We say: This is transmitted neither in the Torah, nor elsewhere. The mere probability of it does not suffice for confirming its occurrence. And the mention of his embalming does not indicate that he was preserved, for all dead people are embalmed when possible.

{603} **The third**, which according to us is the preferable response to this ambiguity, consists of not accepting the authenticity of this *ḥadīth*. This is because we know of no one who has related it except Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal] who says: "Abd al-Razzāq narrated to us saying, Ibn Jurayj informed us

238 See Genesis 49:29–31.
239 See Genesis 50:2–5.
240 Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1/7.
241 Ṭūfī's point is that Jacob was effectively buried, for he was sealed permanently in a wooden coffin and moved from one location to another therein.

صلّى الله عليه وسلّم لم يدروا أين يقبرونه[208] حتى قال أبو بكر: "سمعت رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم يقول: "لم يقبر نبيّ إلاّ حيث يموت"." فأخرّوا فراشه، وحفروا له تحت فراشه."

{604} قلت: وفي هذا الحديث جهالة وإرسال، لأنّ أبا ابن جريج لا يعلم حالُه في الرواية، وقد أرسله عن الصحابة، فلا نعلم هل سمعه منهم أو من غيرهم عنهم. وهاتان علّتان لا يبنى على ما كانتا فيه من الحديث فرعٌ فضلاً عن أن نلتزم تسليمَه والجوابَ عنه فيما يقدح في أصل الشريعة. ورواه ابن هشام في **السيرة** [من وجه لا يسكن إليه أيضا].[209] فمنع صحّته أسهل علينا. لكن[210] قد ذكر السهيليّ في **شرح السيرة** [أن النبيّ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم لمّا مات قالوا له: كيف نصلّي عليك؟ قال: "إذا وضعتموني على شفير قبري في بيتي فاخرجوا عنّي، فإن الملائكة تصلّي عليّ أوّلا." وساق الحديث].[211] وروى الترمذيّ بإسناده من حديث عائشة قالت: "لمّا قبض رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم اختلفوا في دفنه. فقال أبو بكر: "سمعت من رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم شيئاً ما || نسيته. ظ271
قال: "ما قبض الله نبياً إلاّ في الموضع الذي يحبّ أن يُدفن فيه." ادفنوه في موضع فراشه"." وهو حديث غريب وفي إسناده عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر[212] المليكيّ وهو يضعَّف.[213]

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[208] ك: يقبروه. [209] كذا في **الإنتصارات الإسلامية** للمؤلّف، 1/511. ش: (بقية هذا السطر والذي يليه ساقط، أي كلام ممحي غير مقروء)؛ ك: (كلمات غير واضحة ويليها سطر ساقط، أي كلام ممحي غير مقروء). [210] ك – لكن. [211] كذا في **الإنتصارات الإسلامية** للمؤلّف، 1/512. ش: (بقية هذا السطر والذي يليه ساقط، أي كلام ممحي غير مقروء)؛ ك: (كلمات غير واضحة ويليها سطر ساقط، أي كلام ممحي غير مقروء). [212] ك – بن أبي بكر. [213] ك: ضعف، + والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على نبينا وسلم. (هنا ينتهي الكتاب في النسخة الخطية بمكتبة كوبريلي).

saying, my father informed me that the companions of the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, did not know where to entomb him until Abū Bakr said: 'I have heard the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, saying: "A prophet is not to be buried except where he dies".' So, they took down his bed and dug for him a grave underneath his bed.'[242]

{604} I say: There is ignorance (*jahāla*) and an incomplete chain of transmission (*irsāl*) in this *ḥadīth*, because Ibn Jurayj's father's status in reporting is not known, and he professed to have transmitted it directly from the companions, but we do not know whether he heard it from them or from someone else who had transmitted it from them. Due to the presence of these two flaws in this *ḥadīth*, one is not able to build upon it a subsidiary precept (*farʿ*),[243] let alone be obligated to accept and follow it in a context where a principal precept (*aṣl*)[244] of the revealed religion is impugned. Ibn Hishām also relates it in the *Sīra* [in a manner that cannot be relied upon either].[245] Thus, rejecting its authenticity is easier for us. However, ['Abd al-Raḥmān] al-Suhaylī [d. 581/1185] mentions in the *Sharḥ al-Sīra* [that when the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, was dying they said to him: 'How shall we pray for you?' He said: 'When you lay me on the fringes of my tomb in my house, depart from me, for the angels shall pray for me first.' Then, he cited the above-mentioned *ḥadīth*.][246] Tirmidhī also relates through his *isnād* [i.e. chain of transmission] part of the *ḥadīth* narrated by 'Ā'isha who says: 'When the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, passed away (the companions) disagreed over his burial. And Abū Bakr said: 'I heard from the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, something I have not forgotten. He said: "God does 271b
not cause a prophet to pass away, except in the place where he loves to be buried." Bury him in the place of his bed".' However, this is a *gharīb* (strange or scarce) *ḥadīth*[247] and its *isnād* includes 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr al-Malīkī who is regarded to be a weak (narrator).[248]

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[242] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1/7.

[243] In general, these consist of rulings related to religious practices.

[244] These refer to fundamental tenets of faith.

[245] The same is mentioned in Ṭūfī's *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 511. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, vol. IV, p. 314.

[246] The same is mentioned in Ṭūfī's *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 512. See 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf fī sharḥ al-sīra al-nabawiyya li-Ibn al-Hishām*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Wakīl, Cairo, 1967, vol. VII, pp. 588–590.

[247] *Gharīb ḥadīth* refers to a *ḥadīth* which at some stage of the *isnād* has only a single reporter (*rāwī*).

[248] Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, "Janā'iz" 33.

{605} وكلّ هذه روايات لا يثبت بها ما يلزم به هذا المحذورُ، مع أنّ هذا الحديث لا يبنى لنا عليه حكمٌ شرعيّ أصليّ ولا فرعيّ، فإهداره لا يضرّنا. ولو كان ممّا يبنى عليه حكمٌ فرعيّ لم يضرّنا أيضاً، لأنّ الفروع تثبت بما لا يثبت به الأصول، ويقدح في أدلّة الأصول ما لا يقدح في أدلّة الفروع. فإنّ التوحيد لا يثبت إلاّ بالبرهان الساطع، والنبوّة لا تستقرّ إلاّ بالدليل القاطع. وما عداهما من أحكام الملّة يكفي فيه خبر مستفيض أو مشهور أو قياس علّة أو دلالة أو سنّة. ونظير ذلك من المحسوسات أنّ البنيان يحكَم أسُّه بالآلات التي يؤمن معها التهوّر. فإذا ارتفع الأساس وقع التسامح وارتفع التشديد في ذلك.

{606} وإنّما اخترنا في الجواب عن هذا منع صحّة الحديث، لأنّ **الجواب الأوّل** تكذيب للخصم، ولا يحصل به كبير غرض من حيث الجدل، وإن كان الخصم كاذباً في نفس الأمر. و**الجواب الثاني** إجابة عن سؤال كلّيّ بصورة جزئيّة منه، فتبقى بقيّة الجزئيّات واردةً، إذ مقتضى الإنصاف في البحث والجواب عن هذا السؤال أن يبيّن المسلمون أنّ كلّ واحد[214] من الأنبياء قبر حيث مات. والأنبياء كثيرون، والزمان متقادم. والنقول قد تعذّر تصحيحها إلى الزمن القريب. فما ظنّك بالبعيد الذي قد وقع الناس منه في حيص بيص؟ أمّا إذا منعنا صحّة الحديث، كان السؤال من أصله غير واردٍ، واسترحنا من التعب. والله أعلم.

[214] ش + واحد.

{605} Despite all these reports, nothing is established that can eliminate the problems (related to the transmission of this *ḥadīth*). In addition, neither a principal (*aṣlī*) nor a subsidiary (*farʿī*) religious precept can be built upon this *ḥadīth*, in our view. Therefore, discarding it would not harm us. And even if this *ḥadīth* were one of the proofs that a subsidiary precept could be built upon, it would not harm our position, because subsidiary rulings can be established by things upon which principal rulings cannot be established. Hence, what may impugn the proofs of the principal (precepts) may not impugn the proofs of the subsidiary (precepts). So, the unity of God cannot be proven except by an evident decisive proof and prophethood cannot be established except by definitive evidence. For anything other than these two precepts of religion, a *mustafīḍ* (exhaustive)[249] or *mashhūr* (famous)[250] report, or an analogy based on the same *ratio legis* or an indication, or the Sunna is sufficient. The equivalent of this among the things perceptible through the senses is a building where its foundation is fortified with the devices which secure it against collapsing. And when the building is erected, then the instability is gone and the tools of reinforcement therein are removed.

{606} We have chosen not to accept the authenticity of the abovementioned *ḥadīth* as a response to this only because **the first response** consists of accusing the opponent of lying, but, from the perspective of dialectics, not much of a goal can be achieved by it, even if the opponent is actually a liar. **The second response** consists of answering a general question by answering only some of its particulars, while the rest of its particulars continue to appear, but fairness in examining and responding to this question would require that Muslims demonstrate that every one of the prophets was entombed where he died. However, the prophets were very numerous and much time has passed since then. And the authentication of reports that do not go very far back has become unfeasible. What then do you think of (reports going back to) the ancient times in respect to which people have already fallen into confusion? But if we do not accept the authenticity of this *ḥadīth*, then the argument does not arise at all and we are saved from the trouble. And God knows best.

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[249] *Mustafīḍ* is a solitary *ḥadīth* (*khabar al-aḥad*) which begins with a single reporter, but then in one or more layers it acquires multiple channels of transmission.

[250] *Mashhūr* is a solitary *ḥadīth* (*khabar al-aḥad*) which also begins with a single reporter, but then the channels of transmission multiply so much so that it reaches a *tawātur* status.

وهذا آخر ما وقع الاختيار عليه من **التعليق على التوراة وغيرها**. ووافق الفراغ من نسخه بكرة يوم الأربعاء الثاني والعشرين من شهر صفر سنة ثمان وعشرين وسبعمائة. والحمد لله أوّلاً وآخراً وظاهراً وباطناً. || وصلّى الله على سيّدنا محمّد وآله وصحبه وسلّم تسليماً كثيراً طيّباً مباركاً. و272

This is the end of what (Ṭūfī) has chosen to (write) as part of the *Critical Commentary of the Torah and Other* (*Books*). The completion of its copying corresponded to the early morning of Wednesday, the twenty-second of the month of Ṣafar, year seven hundred and twenty-eight [ca. 6 January 1328]. Praise be to God at the beginning and at the end, outwardly and inwardly. And may God bless our master, Muḥammad, his family and his companions, 272a
and grant them a peace that is abundant, good and blessed.

APPENDIX ONE

LIST OF ṬŪFĪ'S WORKS

1. *Published Books and Unpublished Manuscripts*

Uṣūl al-Fiqh

Mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa is an abridgment of Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī's (d. 620/1223) famous work in legal theory, *Rawḍat al-nāẓir wa-junnat al-munāẓir*, which served as a textbook at Ḥanbalī madrasas. Ṭūfī's abridgment, defined by Ibn Badrān as 'the best, the most comprehensive and the most useful work in the field',[1] is one of Ṭūfī's early works (completed in 704/1304).[2] It was published under the title *al-Bulbul fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (ed. S.M. Lahhām, Beirut, 1999).

Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa, a three-volume commentary on his abovementioned summary of Ibn Qudāma's *Rawḍat al-nāẓir* (written in 708/1308–1309).[3] The work has been published twice: *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa*, ed. ʿA.b.ʿA.-M. al-Turkī (Beirut, 1987–1989, vols. I–III) and *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa*, ed. I.b.ʿA. Āl Ibrāhīm (Riyadh, 1989, vols. I–III).

Nihāyat al-sūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl, another work in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, a MS of which is preserved in Cairo (Dār al-Kutub, Uṣūl Taymūr no. 179, pp. 1–16).

Al-Ṣaʿqa al-ghaḍabiyya fī al-radd ʿalā munkirī al-ʿarabiyya, a book in *uṣūl al-fiqh* (written at the Mustanṣiriyya Madrasa in 695/1296).[4] It was edited by M.b.K. al-Fāḍil (Riyadh, 1997).

Tafsīr *and Qur'anic Studies*

Al-Iksīr fī qawāʿid al-tafsīr, on the importance and role of linguistics in Qur'anic exegesis. It also reflects upon the literary aspects (*faṣāḥa* and *balāgha*) and stylistic features (*ījāz-iṭnāb* and *taqdīm-ta'khīr*) of the Qur'an. It was published under the title *al-Iksīr fī ʿilm al-tafsīr* (ed. ʿA.-Q. Ḥusayn, Cairo, 1977).

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[1] ʿA.-Q. Ibn Badrān, *al-Madkhal ilā madhhab al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, ed. ʿA. bin ʿA.-M. al-Turkī, Beirut, 1985, p. 461.

[2] See Turkī's introduction to *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa*, vol. I, p. 12.

[3] Ṭūfī, *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa*, vol. II, p. 215.

[4] According to the main MS that the published edition relies upon, Ṭūfī completed this work in Baghdad in 725, while all biographical sources state that he died in 716. The editor thus clarifies that the date given by the MS must be a mistake on the part of the copyist and suggests 695 as the correct date for the completion of the work, i.e. the period of time when Ṭūfī was still in Baghdad (see Ṭūfī, *Ṣaʿqa*, pp. 190–192, 632).

Al-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya ilā al-mabāḥith al-uṣūliyya, a theological commentary on the Qur'an, considered to be Ṭūfī's last work[5] (completed in 716/1316,[6] just a few months before his death). In this work, Ṭūfī's main goal is to read the Qur'an from the *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* perspectives. It is highly praised by ʿUlaymī who describes it as an original work with 'no equivalent'.[7] There are two editions, one published in three volumes by A-ʿĀ. Ḥasan (Cairo, 2002) and another one-volume edition by M.Ḥ. Ismāʿīl (Beirut, 2005).

Īḍāḥ al-bayān ʿan maʿnā umm al-Qur'ān,[8] a commentary on *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*, the latter part of which also includes Ṭūfī's comments on *sūrat al-Falaq* and *al-Nās*. It was written in 711/1311 whilst Ṭūfī was in prison (*Sijn Raḥbat Bāb al-Īd*) in Cairo. It was edited by ʿAlī Ḥusayn al-Bawwāb and published in *Majallat al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyya*, 36 (1992–1993), Riyadh, pp. 335–361.

Bayān mā waqaʿa fī al-Qur'ān min al-aʿdād, a study on numbers in the Qur'an, written in 711/1311 whilst he was in prison (*Sijn Raḥbat Bāb al-Īd*) in Cairo. A MS of the work is preserved in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek, Landberg, no. 752, ff. 74a–77b).

Tafsīr sūrat al-Inshiqāq, *Tafsīr sūrat Qāf*,[9] *Tafsīr sūrat al-Qiyāma*,[10] *Tafsīr sūrat al-Naba'*,[11] and *Tafsīr sūrat al-Ṭāriq* are commentaries on *sūrat al-Inshiqāq*, *Qāf*, *al-Qiyāma*, *al-Naba'* and *al-Ṭāriq*, all written during his imprisonment in Cairo (*Sijn Raḥbat Bāb al-Īd*) in 711/1311. The collection was published under the title *Tafsīr Suwar Qāf, al-Qiyāma, al-Naba', al-Inshiqāq, al-Ṭāriq* (ed. ʿA.Ḥ. al-Bawwāb, Riyadh: Maktabat al-Tawba, 1992), which I have not had the opportunity to consult.

Al-Shāriḥa fī tajwīd al-Fātiḥa, a short composition in verse covering the recitation rules (*tajwīd*) of *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*. Although according to the Süleymaniye Library catalogue the work is attributed to Ṭūfī, both of the preserved MSS (Ayasofya, no. 59, f. 7b and Kılıç Ali Paşa, no. 1029, ff. 212a–212b) identify the author as Ṣarṣarī only, providing no other details about his name or identity. This lack of information, as well as the fact that none of his biographers have mentioned such work among his writings, cause a certain degree of hesitation in attributing it to Ṭūfī.

ʿAlam al-jadhal fī ʿilm al-jadal, written in Cairo in 709/1310[12] and published as *ʿAlam al-jadhal fī ʿilm al-jadal. Das Banner der Fröhlichkeit über die Wissenschaft vom Disput*, ed. W.P. Heinrichs, Weisbaden, 1987. This work analyses Qur'anic verses of debate (*nuṣūṣ al-munāẓarāt*), drawing on the principles of the art of disputation and dialectics (*qawāʿid al-jadal wa-al-munāẓara*),[13] a study which both Zarkashī

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[5] ʿUlaymī, *Durr*, vol. II, p. 465; Zayd, *Maṣlaḥa*, p. 186; Heinrichs, "al-Ṭūfī", p. 589.

[6] See Ṭūfī's own note (*Ishārāt*, vol. II, 256).

[7] ʿUlaymī, *Durr*, vol. II, p. 465.

[8] The biographers call it *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿālamīn* (Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 367; ʿUlaymī, *Uns*, vol. II, p. 258; *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 6; *Durr*, vol. II, p. 464).

[9] A MS is preserved in Berlin, Landberg, no. 752, ff. 34b–47b.

[10] A MS is preserved in Berlin, Landberg, no. 752, ff. 77b–83a.

[11] A MS is preserved in Berlin, Landberg, no. 752, ff. 83a–87b.

[12] Ṭūfī, *ʿAlam*, p. 244.

[13] There is an unpublished study of this work by ʿĀ'isha Yūsuf al-Mannāʿī from Qatar University entitled *Jadal al-Qur'ān ʿinda Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī*.

(d. 794/1392) and Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) find to be a unique example of the *jadal al-Qur'ān* genre.[14] Yet others suggest that Ṭūfī did not aim to create a new genre and that many previous exegetes (*mufassirūn*) preceded him with their work. What distinguishes Ṭūfī's study from the rest and makes it original, however, is that the entire fifth chapter is dedicated to a systematic survey of the Qur'anic text, offering numerous examples of argumentation.[15] Thus Ṭufī's work represents, in Jane D. McAuliffe's words, 'the emergence of a further stage in the developed analysis of Qur'anic *jadal*, the production of a topical *tafsīr*,'[16] which Rosalind W. Gwynne calls *tafsīr jadalī*.[17]

Ḥadīth

Sharḥ arbaʿīn al-Nawawī, written in 713/1313–1314 while Ṭūfī was in Qūṣ.[18] It was published under the title *Kitāb al-taʿyīn fī sharḥ al-arbaʿīn* (ed. A.Ḥ.M. ʿUthmān, Beirut–Mecca, 1998). An excerpt of this work has been published several times. More information on this is provided in the section titled 'Ṭūfī's Understanding of *Maṣlaḥa*' in the present study.

Mukhtaṣar al-Tirmidhī, an abridgment of Tirmidhī's *Jāmiʿ*, which has not been published yet and a MS of which (in two volumes) is preserved in Cairo (Dār al-Kutub, no. 487).

Arabic Literature

Mawāʾid al-ḥays fī fawāʾid Imriʾ al-Qays, a literary critique of pre-Islamic Arab poetry (believed to have been written between 714/1314 and 715/1315).[19] It was published by M. ʿUlayyān (Amman, 1994).

Al-Shiʿār ʿalā mukhtār al-ashʿār, a work on poetry (written in 712/1312). According to Brockelmann, a manuscript of this work is preserved in Damascus (Ẓāhiriyya, no. 232).[20]

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[14] Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī, *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Qur'ān*, ed. M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1957, vol. II; p. 24; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qur'ān*, Beirut, 1987, vol. II, p. 293.

[15] See N.ʿA.-R. al-Muwāfī, "Fann al-munāẓara ʿinda Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī. Dirāsat fī kitāb "'Alam al-jadhal fī ʿilm al-jadal"", *Majallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb: Jāmiʿat al-Qāhira*, 60/1 (2000), pp. 67–68.

[16] J.D. McAuliffe, "Debate with them in the Better Way: The Construction of a Qur'ānic Commonplace", *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature: Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach* (*Proceedings of the International Symposium in Beirut, June 25th–June 30th, 1996*), eds. A. Neuwirth et al., Beirut, 1999, p. 181.

[17] R.W. Gwynne, *Logic, Rhetoric, and Legal Reasoning in the Qur'ān: God's Arguments*, London, 2004, p. xiv. Chapter 10 (pp. 192–202) of this study looks at various Qur'anic examples of debating technique and etiquette as presented and discussed by Ṭūfī.

[18] Zayd, *Maṣlaḥa*, p. 106.

[19] See the editor's introduction to the *Mawāʾid*, p. 107.

[20] Brockelmann, *Suppl.*, vol. II, p. 134; the editor's introduction to *Ishārāt*, vol. I, pp. 142–143.

Doctrinal Theology (ʿIlm al-Kalām)

Ḥallāl al-ʿuqad fī bayān aḥkām al-muʿtaqad or *Qudwat al-muhtadīn ilā maqāṣid al-dīn*, a theological treatise structured in accordance with *ḥadīth Jibrīl*, in which topics are discussed under three main categories: *īmān*, *islām* and *iḥsān* (written in Cairo in 711/1311 during his imprisonment). A MS is preserved in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek, Landberg, no. 752, ff. 3b–34a).

Dar' al-qawl al-qabīḥ bi-al-taḥsīn wa-al-taqbīḥ, a theological treatise on the question of *taḥsīn* and *taqbīḥ* (i.e. determining what is good and what is detestable), one of the key topics discussed in both *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature. The work was written in 708/1308–1309[21] and was critically edited by Ayman M. Shihadeh (Riyadh, 2005) who describes it as a unique work on the subject within Sunni circles.[22]

Taʿālīq ʿalā al-Anājīl wa-tanāquḍihā,[23] or *Taʿālīq ʿalā al-Anājīl*,[24] or *Taʿlīq ʿalā al-Anājīl al-arbaʿa*,[25] a commentary on the four Gospels, the main focus of the present study. Information on the preserved MSS is provided in the introduction to the critical edition of the text.

Al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī daf ʿ al-shubah al-naṣrāniyya, an apology for Islam penned as a response to an anti-Islamic polemic written by an anonymous Christian. The work was written at the Ṣāliḥiyya Madrasa in Cairo between 12 Shawwāl and 7 Dhū al-Qaʿda 707 (ca. 4–29 April 1308), and then revised with minor corrections and additions. The revision was completed on 10 Shawwāl 708 (ca. 23 March 1309).[26] The Intiṣārāt has been published twice, first as *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī ʿilm muqāranat al-adyān* (ed. A. Ḥ. al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1983)[27] and then as *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī kashf shubah al-naṣrāniyya* (ed. S.b.M. al-Qarnī, Riyadh, 1999, vols. I–II). More information on this work is provided in the introduction of the present study.

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[21] Ṭūfī, *Dar'*, p. 224.

[22] The editor's introduction to *Dar'*, p. 13.

[23] Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 367; ʿUlaymī, *Uns*, vol. II, p. 258; *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 6; *Durr*, vol. II, p. 464.

[24] Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vol. III, p. 189.

[25] Brockelmann, *Suppl.*, vol. II, p. 134.

[26] Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, vol. I, p. 167; vol. II, pp. 758–759.

[27] It was reviewed by G.C. Anawati in "Textes arabes anciens édités en égypte au cours des années 1985 à 1987", *MIDEO*, 18 (1988), Cairo, pp. 292–295.

2. *Unpreserved Works*[28]

Al-Ādāb al-sharʿiyya, a work on Islamic ethics.[29]

Al-ʿAdhāb al-wāṣib ʿalā arwāḥ al-nawāṣib,[30] described as a treatise revealing Ṭūfī's Shīʿī leanings. According to Ziriklī, it was on account of this book that Ṭūfī was imprisoned and punished in Cairo.[31]

Al-Bāhir fī aḥkām al-bāṭin wa-al-ẓāhir,[32] a polemic against the Ittiḥādiyya.

Al-Bāriʿ fī al-shiʿr al-rāʾiʿ, a work on poetry, mentioned twice by Ṭūfī in his *al-Shiʿār*.[33]

Bughyat al-sāʾil fī ummahāt al-masāʾil,[34] a book on *uṣūl al-dīn*.

Bughyat al-wāṣil ilā maʿrifat al-fawāṣil,[35] or *Fawāṣil al-āyāt*, on rhyming prose.

Dafʿ (*or Rafʿ*) *al-malām ʿan ahl al-manṭiq wa-al-kalām*,[36] a treatise in defence of logic and speculative theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*).

Dafʿ al-taʿāruḍ ʿammā yūhim al-tanāquḍ fī al-Kitāb wa-al-Sunna,[37] a treatise in refutation of the claim that there are contradictory verses in the Qur'an and Sunna.

Al-Dharīʿa ilā maʿrifat asrār al-sharīʿa

Ghaflat al-mujtāz fī ʿilm al-ḥaqīqa wa-al-majāz,[38] or *ʿUqlat al-mujtāz fī al-ḥaqīqa wa-al-majāz*, on the literal and metaphorical use of language.

Ibṭāl al-ḥiyal[39]

Izālat al-ankād fī masʾalat kād[40]

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[28] These are writings attributed to Ṭūfī, the texts of which are not known to have survived. See Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, vol. II, p. 447; Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, pp. 367–368; ʿUlaymī, *Uns*, vol. II, pp. 257–258; *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 6; *Durr*, vol. II, pp. 464–465; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, vol. II, p. 155; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vol. VI, p. 39; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, vol. I, p. 599; Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, pp. 219, 248, 251, 363, 756, 827, 837, 878, 1153, 1293, 1343, 1359, 1616, 1626, 1738, 1790; Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat*, vol. I, pp. 400–401; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam*, vol. III, p. 266; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vol. III, pp. 189–190.

92 :24 .p ,II .lov ,*aḍwar-la raṣathkum ḥrahS* sih ni ti ot srefer īfūṬ

[30] In Baghdādī's *Hadiyyat* this is entitled: *al-ʿAdhāb al-wājib ʿalā arwāḥ al-nawāṣib* (vol. I, p. 401).

[31] Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vol. III, p. 189.

[32] Ṭūfi refers to it in his *Ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 190).

[33] Ff. 3b and 14a; see the editor's introduction to *Ishārāt*, vol. I, p. 131.

48 :)662 .p ,III .lov(*liʾāsam-la tāhammu īf limāhs-la tayhguB* :si eltit eht *majʿuM* sʾalāḥḥaK nI .4 .p ,)7791 ,oriaC ,nyasuḤ .Q-.Aʿ .de(*rīskI* sih ni krow siht ot srefer īfūṬ

[35] Ṭūfi refers to this book in his *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa*, vol. II, pp. 6 and 32.

[36] Ṭūfi mentions it in his *Ishārāt*, vol. III, p. 305.

[37] Ṭūfi refers to it in his *Ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 34.

[38] In ʿUlaymī's *Uns* this is wrongly entitled *ʿInāyat al-mujtāz fī ʿilm al-ḥaqīqa wa-al-majāz* (vol. II, p. 258).

[39] Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. II, p. 132.

[40] Different sources mention it under different titles: *Izālat al-inkād fī masʾalat kād* (Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, vol. II, p. 447); *Izālat al-inkār fī masʾalat kād* (Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, vol. I, p. 599) and *Izālat al-inkār fī masʾalat al-abkār* (Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, p. 71; Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat*, vol. I, p. 400; M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische literatur in arabischer sprache: zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden, nebst anhängen verwandten inhalts*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 28).

Miʿrāj al-wuṣūl ilā ʿilm al-uṣūl, another work in *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Brockelmann mistakenly locates it in the Süleymaniye Library (no. 792),[41] the MS of which in reality contains Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghayṭī's (d. ca. 984/1576) famous *al-Miʿrāj* on the Prophet's Ascension.

Mukhtaṣar al-jadal, an analysis of the concept of *naskh*, 'abrogation', drawing on examples from the Torah and the Qur'an.[42] This may be the same work as that referred to as 'a shorter work in *jadal*' by Ibn Rajab and ʿUlaymī.[43]

Mukhtaṣar al-ḥāṣil, an abridgment of Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Urmawī's (d. 653/1255) *al-Ḥāṣil min al-maḥṣūl fī uṣūl al-fiqh* which is an abridgment of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) *al-Maḥṣūl fī ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh*.

Mukhtaṣar al-maḥṣūl,[44] an abridgement of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Maḥṣūl fī ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh*.

Muqaddima fī ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ, a work on inheritance law.

Al-Nūr al-wahhāj fī al-isrāʾ wa-al-miʿrāj, on the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension.

Qabas al-iqtidāʾ

Qaṣīda fī al-ʿaqīda, a poem on doctrine.

Al-Qawāʿid al-kubrā, a work on Ḥanbalī substantive law (*furūʿ al-fiqh*).

Al-Qawāʿid al-ṣughrā,[45] another work on Ḥanbalī substantive law (*furūʿ al-fiqh*).

Al-Raḥīq al-salsal fī al-adab al-musalsal

Al-Risāla al-ʿulwiyya fī al-qawāʿid al-ʿarabiyya, on Arabic grammar.

Al-Riyāḍ al-nawāḍir fī al-ashbāh wa-al-naẓāʾir, a treatise on the linguistic features of the Qur'an, mentioned by Ṭūfī in several of his writings.[46]

Sharḥ maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī, a two-volume commentary on Abū Muḥammad Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī's (d. 516/1122) *Maqāmāt*.

Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-Khiraqī, a commentary on half of ʿUmar b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khiraqī's (d. 334/945) *Mukhtaṣar*, the famous companion to Ḥanbalite *fiqh* which served as a textbook at madrasas.[47]

Sharḥ qaṣīda fī al-ʿaqīda, a commentary on his own poem on doctrine.

Taʿālīq ʿalā al-radd ʿalā jamāʿat min al-naṣārā, most probably an alternative title for the *Taʿlīq*.

Talkhīṣ al-mawḍūʿāt,[48] a work discussing fabricated *ḥadīths*.

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[41] Brockelmann, *Suppl.*, vol. II, p. 134.

[42] ?1982 .p ,I .lov(*tārāhsI* eht ni ti ot srefer īfūṬ

[43] Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 367; ʿUlaymī, *Uns*, vol. II, p. 257; *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 6; *Durr*, vol. II, p. 464.

[44] Baghdādī wrongly calls it *Mukhtaṣar al-Muḥaṣṣal* in his *Hadiyyat*, vol. I, p. 400.

[45] Ṭūfī mentions it in the *Ḥallāl* (f. 30a), *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa* (vol. II, pp. 175, 212) and *Intiṣārāt* (vol. I, p. 235). In the latter, he also calls it *al-Qawāʿid al-dimashqiyya* (ibid., vol. II, pp. 619, 670).

[46] Ṭūfī, *Nihāyat al-sūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*, Dār al-Kutub, Uṣūl Taymūr no. 179, p. 3; *Īḍāḥ al-bayān*, p. 348; *Mawāʾid*, p. 157.

[47] See Ibn Badrān, *Madkhal*, pp. 424–429; Koca, *İslam Hukuk Tarihinde Selefî Söylem*, pp. 223–227.

[48] Ṭūfī informs us that in this work he analysed the famous prophetic report which warns people not to attribute false statements to the Prophet (Ṭūfī, *Ṣaʿqa*, p. 319).

Tuḥfat ahl al-adab fī maʿrifat lisān al-ʿarab, on the Arabic language.

In addition to these, Ṭūfī is credited with other abridgements of various well-known books of *uṣūl* and *ḥadīth*, although according to his biographers, he was not considered to be an authority on the latter. He is also known for his poems in praise of the Prophet, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal[49] and Ibn Taymiyya.[50]

[49] Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl*, vol. II, p. 368; ʿUlaymī, *Manhaj*, vol. V, p. 7; *Uns*, vol. II, p. 258; *Durr*, vol. II, p. 465.

[50] Ṭūfī's *qaṣīda* in praise of Ibn Taymiyya is quoted by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Dimashqī's *al-ʿUqūd al-durriyya min manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya*, ed. A.M.Ṭ.b.F. al-Ḥulwānī, Cairo, 2002, p. 197.

APPENDIX TWO

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